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# The social and religious implications of anarchism

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BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

THE SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS IMPLICATIONS OF ANARCHISM

Submitted by

Salvatore Giambarresi

(B.R.E.1924 - S.T.B. 1925)

In partial fulfilment of requirements for  
the degree of Master of Arts

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THE SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS IMPLICATIONS OF ANARCHISM

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCAION

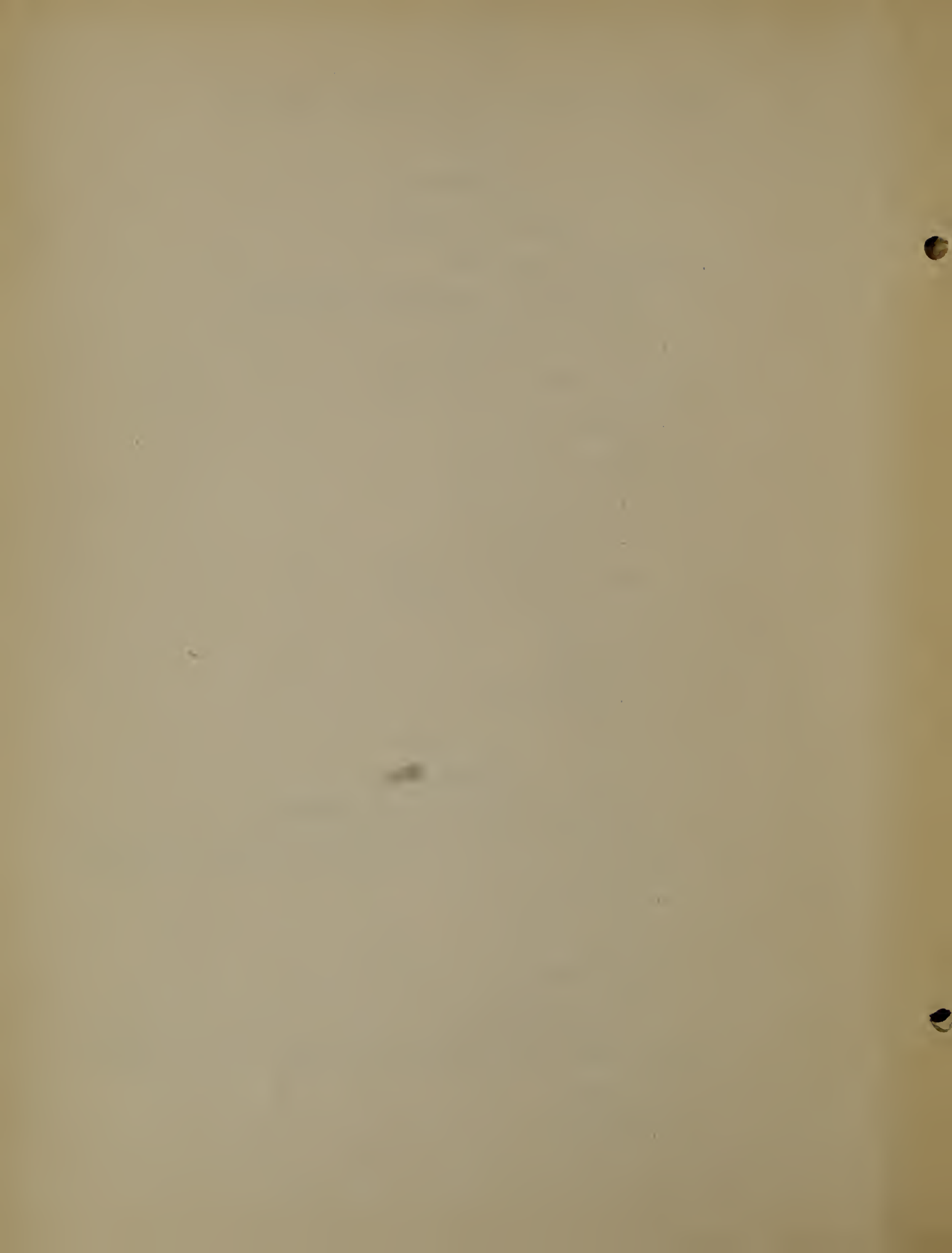
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C H A P T E R I

I N T R O D U C T I O N

H I S T O R Y O F A N A R C H I S M

A. Definition of Anarchism

1. Individualism (Philosophical Anarchism)
2. Communist Anarchism

B. Origin of Anarchist Philosophy

1. Chinese Teaching
2. Christian Teaching
  - a. Jesus (Tolstoy)
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CHAPTER I  
HISTORY OF ANARCHISM

A. Definition of Anarchism

a. The Century Dictionary defines individualism, as it is used in social science, as "the theory of government which favors the non-interference of the state in the affairs of individuals."

Philosophical anarchism believes with Tucker in "a state of society in which the non-invasive individual is not coerced into co-operation even for the defense of his neighbors, and in which each enjoys the highest degree of liberty compatible with equality of liberty."<sup>1</sup>

Communist anarchism is that branch of anarchism which stands for the abolition of the state, written laws, religion, and the like, by violence and force; and believes that man naturally and freely can acquire morality, regulate family ties without marriage laws, industry, education, commerce, etc. by and through a free society without any organized governmental control.

1. Individualism (Philosophical anarchism)

(a) According to Dr. R. Eucken "the term individualism comes from the Greek word *ἀτομω*" meaning 'that which cannot be cut, or divided.'<sup>2</sup> Cicero and Seneca used it in the same way. It has two meanings; (1) "A single thing, and (2) that of unique or peculiar thing."

(b) E. Ehrhardt says "the term individualism may be taken either in a general or in a normative sense. In the former sense it

1 - Bliss--Encyclopedia of Social Reform pages 41-42

2 - Hastings, James Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Vol. VII page 222



denotes the systems which appear in religious and political society and their laws, as well as in the great manifestations of the human mind, creations of isolated or associated individuals; in the latter it denotes a principle according to which the integral and free development of the individual ought to be the aim of social life. Individualism in the genetic sense has a historical significance; individualism in the normative sense has a moral significance."<sup>1</sup>

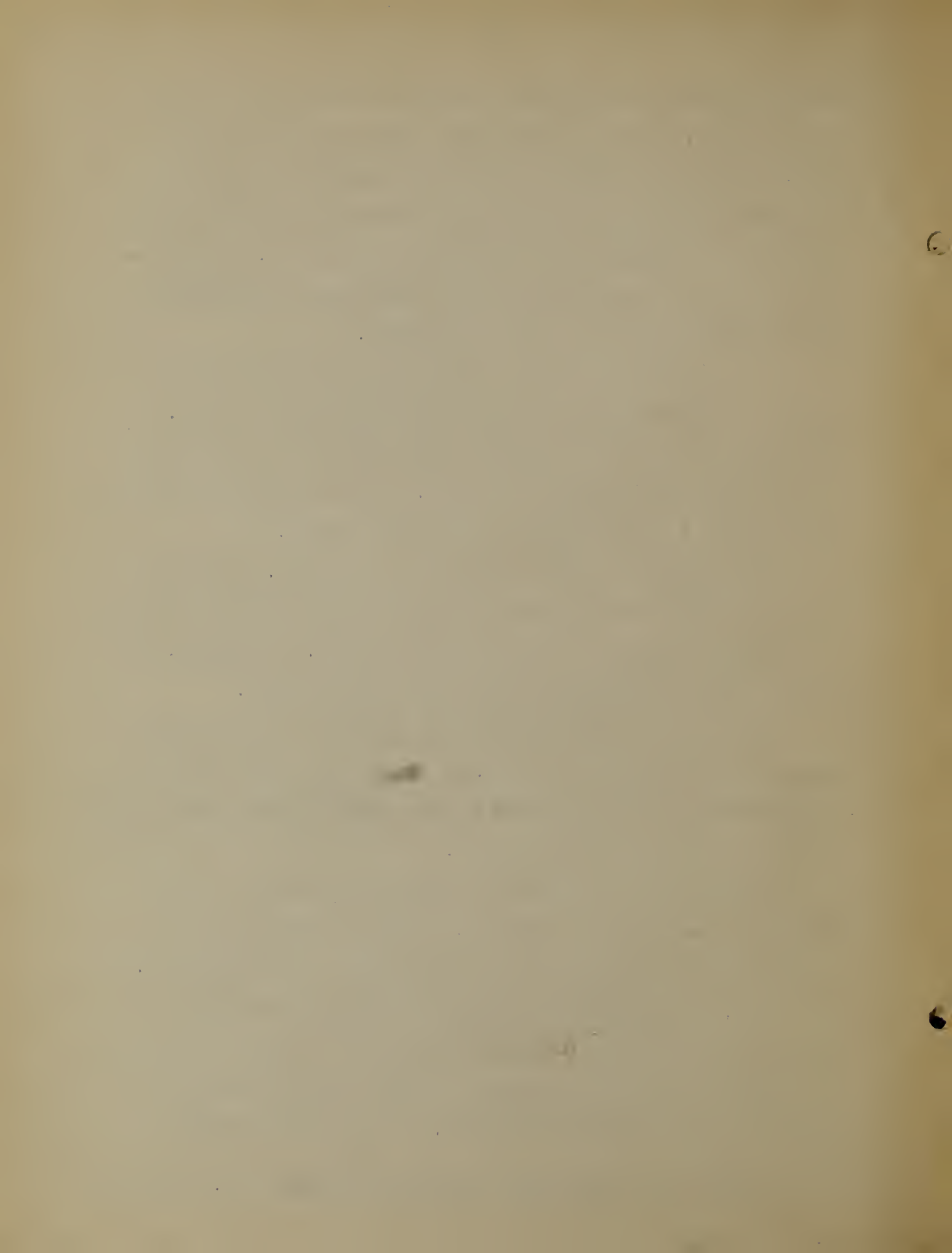
(c) What is the aim of philosophical individualism? It aims at a free co-operative society and the abolition of the state. Philosophical individualism emphasizes education and a passive attitude of life, towards the tyranny of the state. It says: "Educate the people, and the state will disappear as an evolutionary process."

This philosophical individualism is not a new thing, it belongs to all ages and all the generations of human society have had philosophical individualism represented in the life of the nations. The Hebrews, the Greeks, and even the Romans had philosophical individualism.

Individualists believe that Jesus was an advocate of philosophical individualism and that the prophets, the saints and all the leaders of the primitive Christian church had an individualistic attitude toward life, in relation to God and their neighbors.

The philosophical individualist thinks that the state is an embodiment of the principle of invasion. It says that the government is "the subjection of the non-invasive individual to an external will."

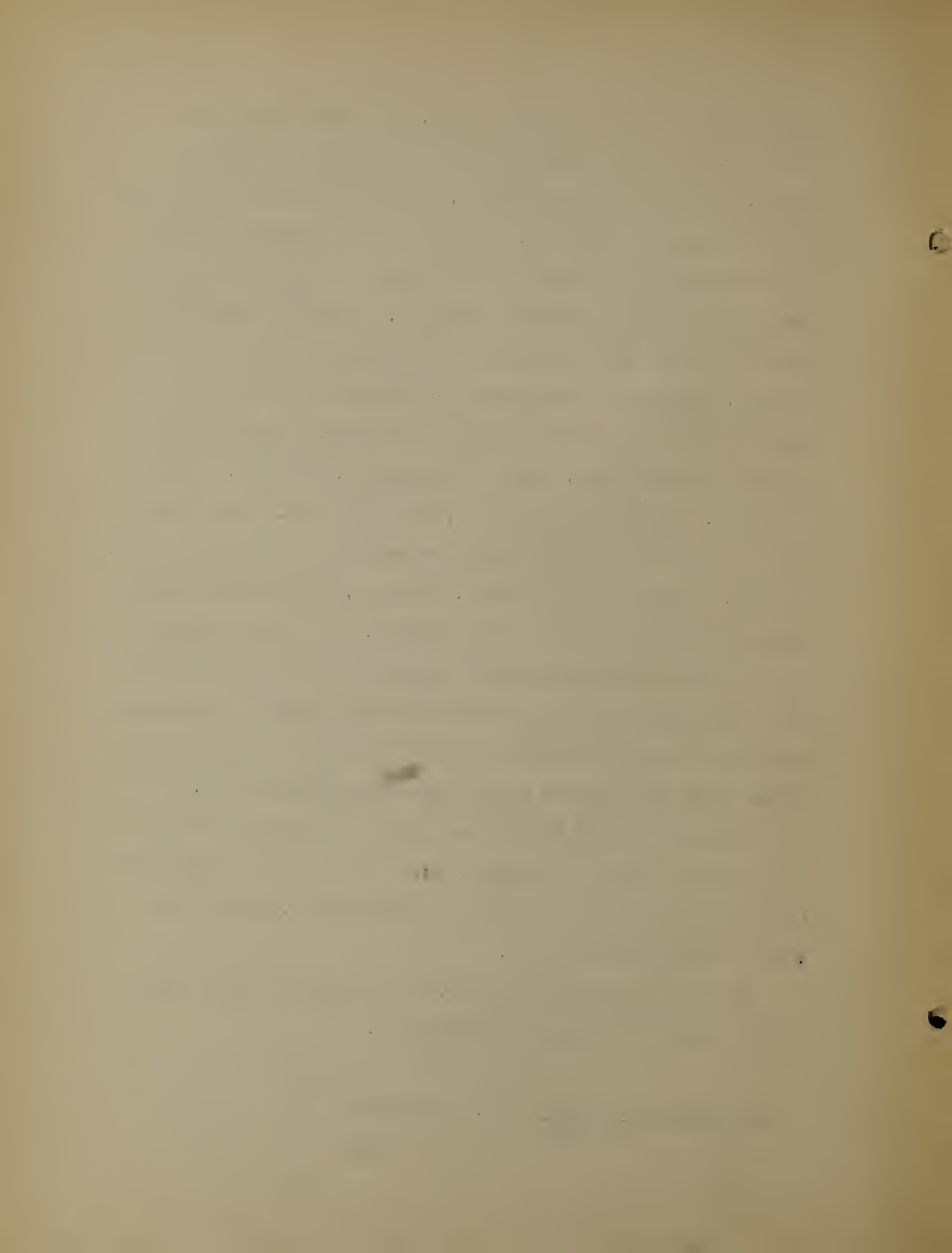
Again, in the Encyclopedia Britannica we read that "Anarchism comes from the Greek word *ἀναρχία*" contrary to authority and is the name given to a principle or theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government, harmony in such a society



being obtained not by submission to law, or by obedience to any authority, but by free agreements concluded between the various groups, territorial and professional, freely constituted, for the sake of production and consumption, as also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of a civilized being. \* \* \* They would represent an interwoven network, composed of an infinite variety of groups and federations of all sizes and degrees, local, regional, national and international--temporary or more or less permanent--for all possible purposes: production, consumption and exchange, communications, sanitary arrangements, education, mutual protection, defense of the territory, and so on; and, on the other hand, for the satisfaction of an ever-increasing number of scientific, artistic, literary and social needs. Moreover, such a society would represent nothing immutable; on the contrary, as is seen in organic life at large, harmony would result from an ever-changing adjustment and re-adjustment of equilibrium between the multitudes of forces and influences, and this adjustment would be the easier to obtain as none of the forces would enjoy a special protection from the state."<sup>1</sup>

The anarchists believe that man should not be forced by laws or by any imposed taboos to do things. His free action must guide him and he must constantly live in the realm of self-control, rather than moved by external will or rule.

Anarchism is as old as humanity, but it has been shaped into a written principle in the nineteenth century.



## B. Historical Sketch of Philosophical Anarchism

Historically anarchism may be traced back to William Thompson, England 1825, Josiah Warren 1827, New England, and P. F. Proudhon 1840.

### 1. Philosophical Anarchism in America

Josiah Warren was a great admirer of Robert Owen who believed in socialist communism, that is, each working for all. Warren visited the Owenite community established at New Harmony and saw how they were living. In this observation he thought he had discovered the reasons why the Owenite organization failed.

As often happens to man, the experience he had in New Harmony brought him to the other extreme of radicalism. That is, he reached the conclusion that the salvation of society lies, not in the idea of one working for all, and vice versa, but in each one living in his own way absolutely free, without the interference of state or society.

His complaints were on the ground that cost was the true limit of price. He published two books: True Civilization in 1840 and Equalible Commerce.

After Warren we have Lysander Spooner, a lawyer at Worcester, Mass. who believed in the individual sovereignty rather than the tyranny of the state. His anarchistic ideas spread soon in America because at that time the states were talking about the tyranny of the federal government and the rights of the states. The United States of America was in its formation and the states wanted more rights and less authority in the hands of the federal government. In 1844 Spooner established a private mail between Boston and New York and later extended it to Philadelphia and Baltimore. The government forced him to give it up; and he was persecuted all the rest of his life.



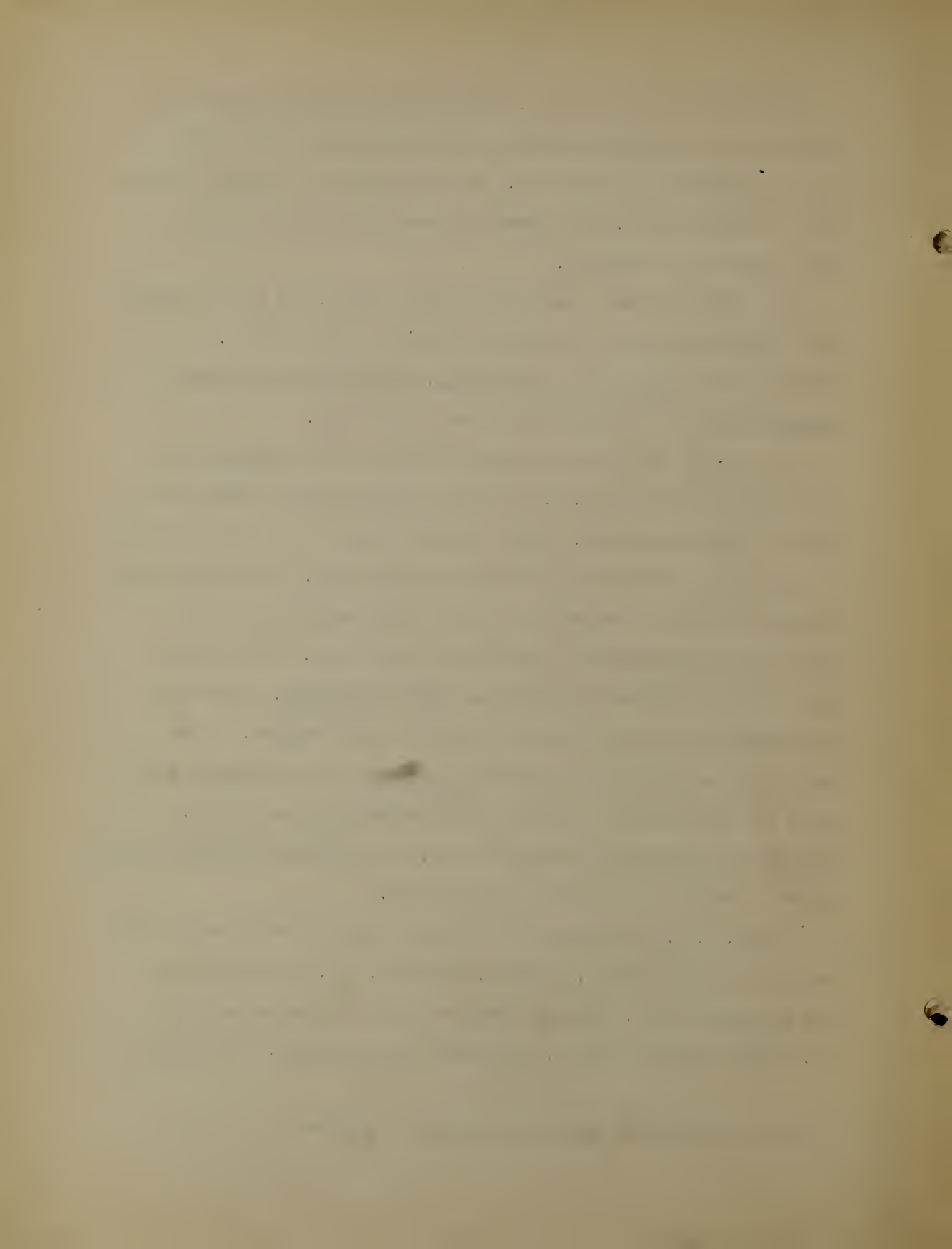
Warren had a brave disciple, Stephen Pearl Andrews who dedicated all his life to the question of the family and marriage rather than to economic questions, as Warren did. He was admired by his teacher Warren and his contemporaries. Even today the anarchists think of him as a great authority on Anarchism.

Also Colonel Greene, a keen and logical thinker, and a great scholar, gave a large propagation to anarchistic ideas in Massachusetts. He published a book Socialistic, Communistic, Mutualistic and Financial Fragments which is a master piece of anarchistic work.

But the man that really propagated and gave a full propaganda of anarchistic doctrine was B. R. Tucker who assimilated the viewpoints of Warren, Proudhon and Green. He was the first one in America to formulate a consistent and comprehensive anarchistic philosophy. He was young when he came in touch with Warren's and Greene's philosophy while he was studying at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. It was Green who led him to consider Proudhon's book What is Property. This book impressed Tucker so much that he translated it into English. A few years later he started his periodical Liberty which for more than twenty years was the exponent of Anarchistic philosophical views of life. He synthesized the Warren and Proudhon views, by rejecting the inconsistencies in the former and the crudities of the latter.

As Mr. C. L. Swartz states it<sup>1</sup>"He may be said to have organized the various anarchistic ideas, economic, political, etc., into a coherent and systematic whole. Where Proudhon was vague and Warren inadequate Mr. Tucker is clear, logical, consistent, and scientific. Mr. Tucker

1 The Encyclopedia of Social Reform (Bliss) page 45



has influenced a considerable number of able men in journalism and other professions, as well as some of the prominent men in the labor movement."

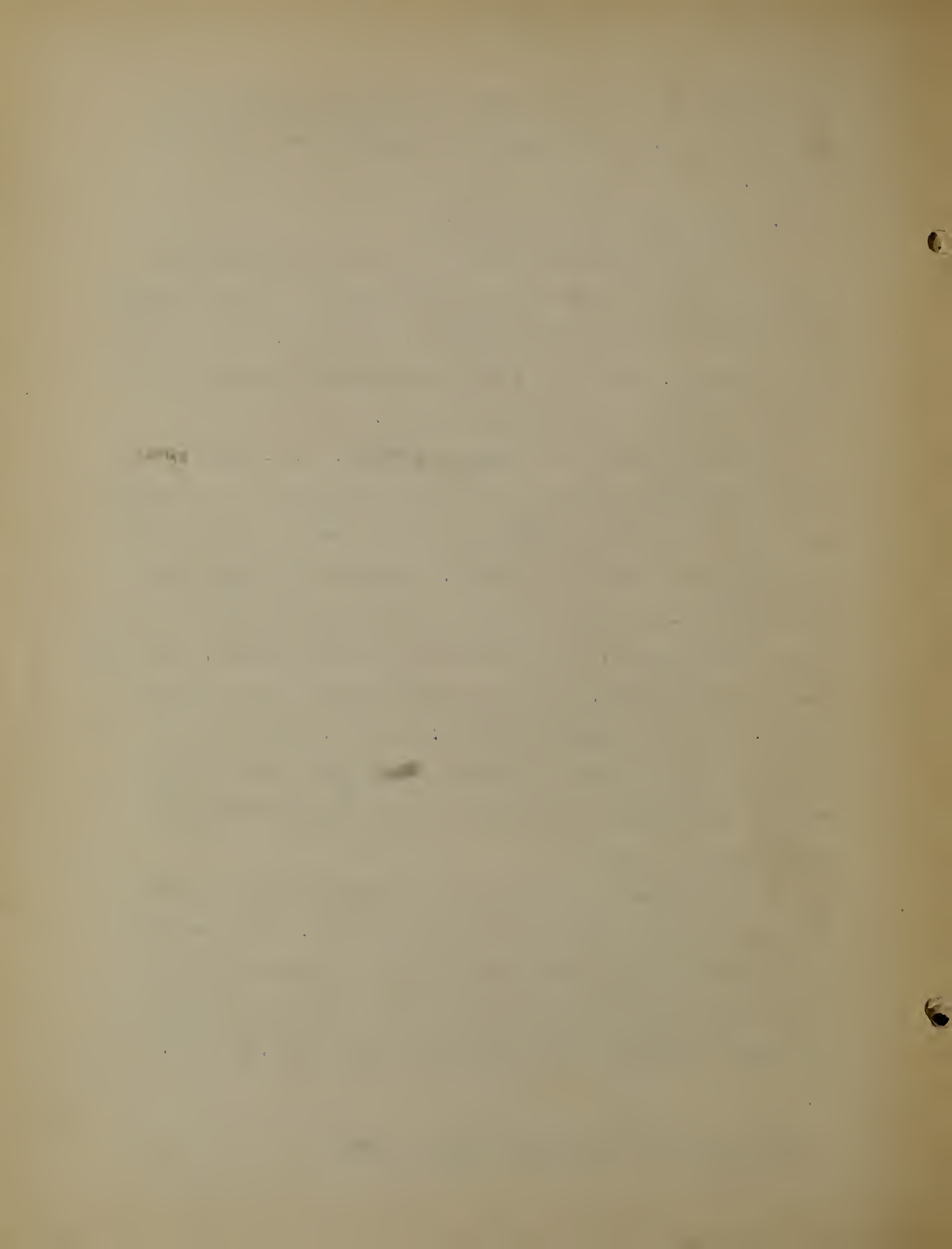
## 2. Philosophical Anarchism in Europe

But philosophical anarchism had its real historical start in Europe and the man who led Europe to look toward philosophical anarchism as the salvation of European society was P. F. Proudhon. He was the son of a poor family. He lived in a life of poverty and ill-paid work till he came out with his protest against property.

In 1840 he published a book What is Property. C. L. Swartz *speaks* of this and Proudhon by saying,<sup>1</sup> "He first with genius and with learning and acumen rarely equaled pleaded for absolute liberty of the individual and the doing away with all government. Property in its modern sense he showed to be, not the product of individual labor on the part of the owners of the property, but the product of the labor of others, taken from them by legalized wrong, or by aid of monopolies and class legislation created by sentence; 'Property is theft?' The cure, he argued was to do away with all government and then each individual could retain that which he had produced so that justice and order and well-being would be the result of liberty."

For the publication of this book he was persecuted till his death which came in 1865. He travelled through all Europe. He was banished from France and passed a great deal of his life in Belgium. In France he was persecuted by the political authorities and loved by the people. In 1848 he was elected to the constituent assembly by 77,000 votes.

1 Encyclopedia of Social Reform (Bliss) page 45



But he was misunderstood by the masses. As C. L. Swartz says, "Proudhon himself declared that even those who voted for him ~~did~~ not understand his views. He believed that in America his thoughts would find root."<sup>1</sup>

His literary productions were:

1. What is Property 1840
2. The Creation of Order in Humanity 1843
3. A System of Economical Contradictions 1848
4. Justice in the Revolution and in the Church 1858
5. Justice (Revised edition) 1859-60

Philosophical anarchism as Proudhon predicted was misunderstood in Europe and only a few have represented it. In Germany we have Gasper Schmidt and John Henry Mackay, a Scotchman by birth, with a German mother. This scholar has developed philosophical anarchism in poems and novels. In England we note Herbert Spencer, Auberon Herbert, Wordsworth, Denisthorpe, Thomas Mackay, Frederick Millar, and others.

### 3. Purpose and Aims of Philosophical Anarchism

Philosophical anarchism is a movement which tries to bring about the abolition of the state and the free government of man by man. C. L. Swartz says, "The individualists or philosophical anarchists seek to bring about a state of political freedom--of anarchy."<sup>2</sup>

Spencer says, "Every man is free, to do what he will, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man."<sup>3</sup>

The anarchists with B. R. Tucker believe that the state represents "the embodiment of the principle of invasion in an individual or band of

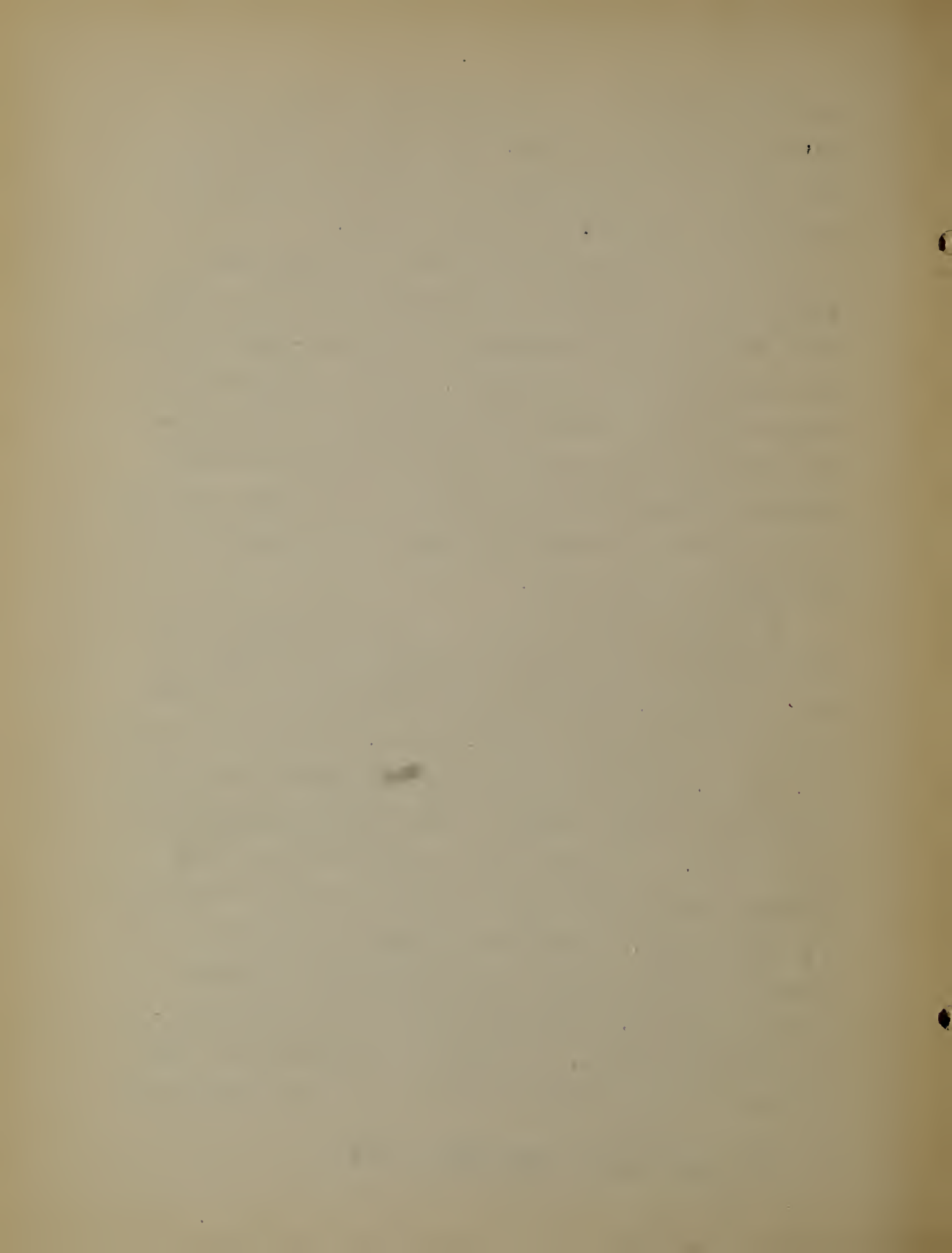
1 - Bliss Encyclopedia of Social Reform page 45  
2 - Bliss " " " " page 41  
3 - Bliss " " " " page 41



individuals, assuming to act as representatives or masters of the entire people within a given area." Tucker defines government as "The subjection of the non-invasive individual to an external will"<sup>1</sup> and invasion as "conduct violative of equal freedom."

Again the anarchists with Jefferson believe that "the best government is that which governs least," sympathizing with the position of the old Manchester individualists and laissez-faire-ists, who believed in a minimum of government interference, as well as with the less vague doctrines of the more radical modern individualists of the Spencerian school, who would limit the state to the sole function of protecting men against external and internal invaders, go a step farther and demand the dissolution of what remains of government, viz., compulsory taxation and compulsory military service.

The anarchists believe that the state should not assume the protective military and police function, and force men to recognize its services. Moreover, the anarchists do not believe that the government has the right to regulate production, industry, trade, banking, education, etc. As C. L. Swartz states it "By voluntary organization and voluntary taxation it is perfectly possible to protect liberty and property and to restrain crime. It is doubtless easy to imagine a society in which government concerns itself with nothing save preservation of order and punishment of crime, in which there are no public schools supported by compulsory taxation, no government interference with the issue of currency and banking, no custom-houses or duties on foreign imports, no government postal service, no censorship of literature and the stage, no attempt to enforce Sunday laws, etc. \* \* \* \* They insist on the



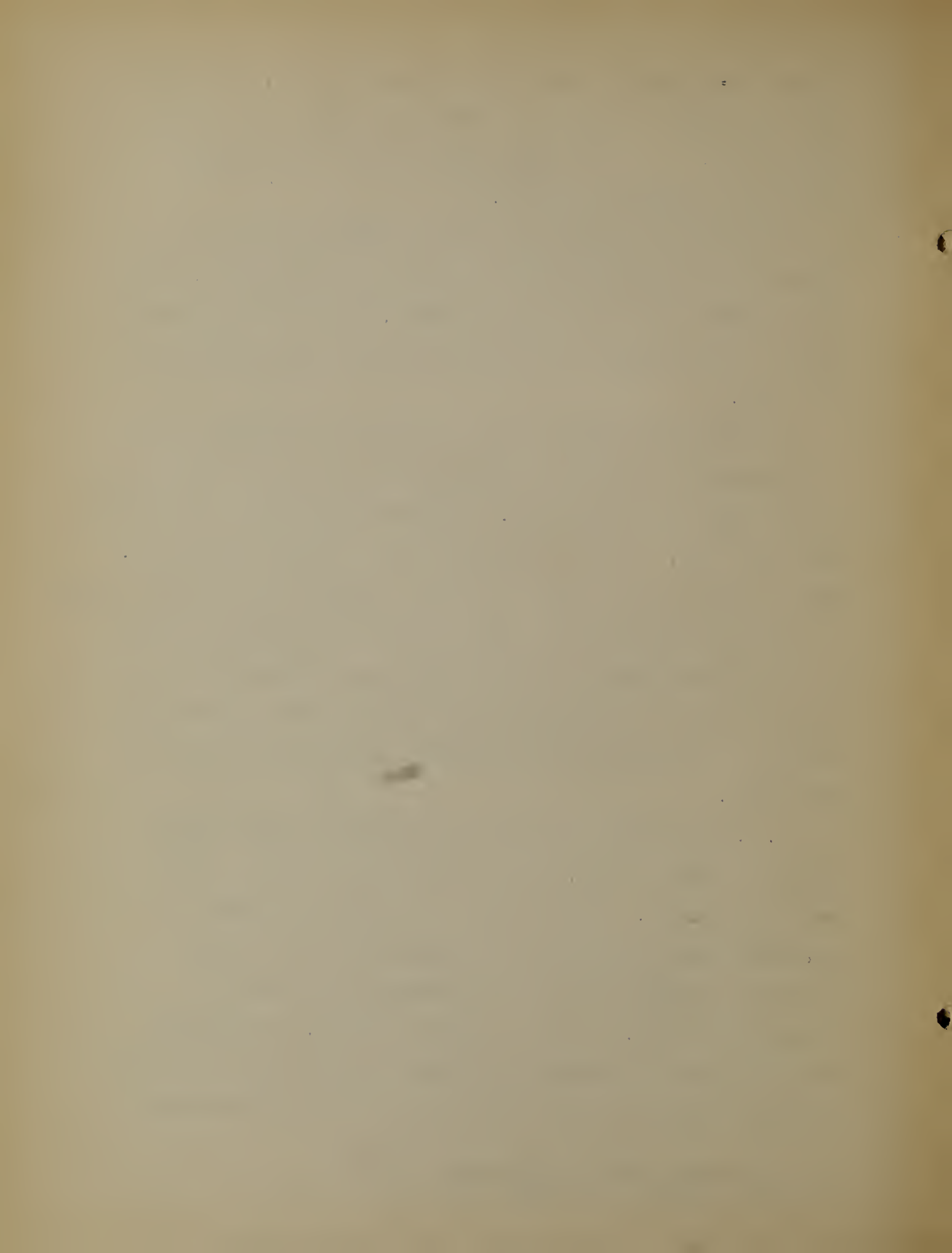
right of the non-aggressive individual to ignore the state, to dispense with the protective services of the defensive organization and remain outside of it. \* \* \* \* Criminals would still be tried by juries and punished by executive officers."<sup>1</sup>

Philosophical anarchism "repudiates all ethical principles and abandons all attempts at enforcing justice and protecting rights. Every man is allowed under it to govern his fellows, if he has the will and the power, and the struggle for existence in the simplest and crudest form is revived."<sup>2</sup>

The argument of Anarchism against the state and government, is found in the assertion that states are mere abstractions and that no majority has a moral right to tax the minority. Rights and duties belong to individuals and to them only. All that is external and not individual has no right. Again, if one individual has not the right to tax any other individual, how can a number of individuals impose rights or duties on the individual without his consent? The Anarchists believe that the voluntary group only is the supreme ruler and it has the only right to present matter concerning the welfare of its constituents and letting them judge and decide what they will accept.

C. L. Swartz says, "It is true that governments profess to have the public welfare in view, and to enforce nothing save what morality and justice dictate. Justice however, is invariably confounded by governments with legalism, and by the enforcement of justice they often mean the enforcement of the very laws which they enact in violation of justice. \* \* \* \* Strictly speaking, the enforcement of justice cannot be undertaken by government at all, since a government that should attempt to enforce justice would have to begin by signing

1 - Bliss Encyclopedia of Social Reform page 42  
2 - " " " " " " 42



its own death-warrant. A government that would enforce equal freedom and let the inoffensive alone would be, not a government, but a voluntary association for the protection of rights."<sup>1</sup>

The anarchists, even though they are against compulsory taxation and military service, agree that the last to disappear will be the police force. They find the solution of social problems in liberty rather than in regulation, in free competition rather than in state monopoly. Philosophical anarchists are against trusts and monopolies, and they are against private monopoly.

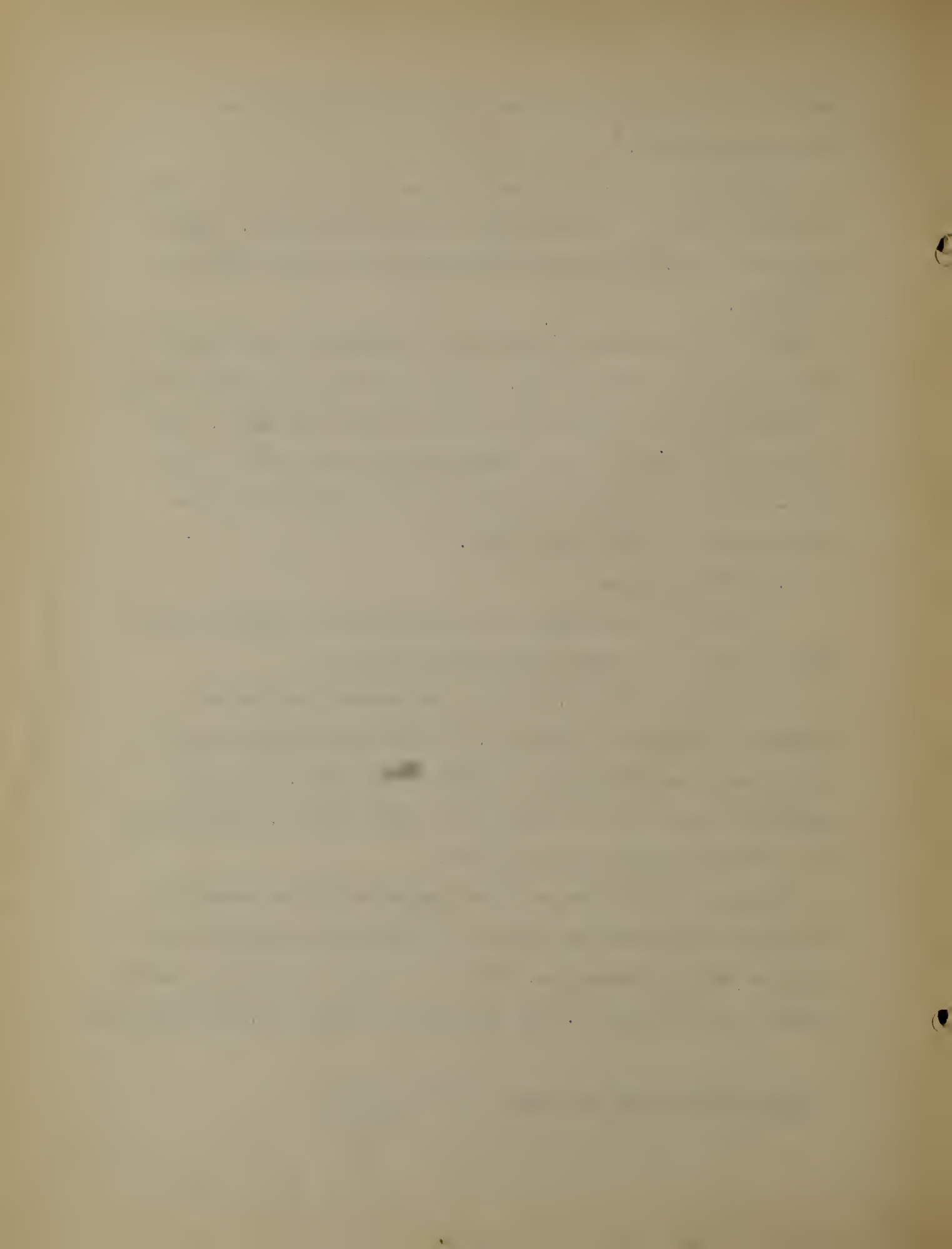
Monopoly for the anarchists is synonymous with injustice, so they ask for "equality of opportunity and free competition rather than restrictive paternalistic regulation of industry and commerce." Anarchists also are against the idea that government shall have the control of public education, postal service, welfare laws, sanitary supervision, etc. They think that private enterprises can do better than the government, because the government is the protector of corruption and inefficiency. Therefore the anarchists do not want any government because it is not necessary as well as unethical. As C. L. Swartz says "Government begins by coercing the non-invasive individual into co-operation for defense and offense, regardless of the fact that a benevolent despotism is not a whit more defensible than a selfish despotism."<sup>2</sup>

The philosophical anarchists believe that education only can save society from governmentalism and a trained minority can start an anarchistic society. C. L. Swartz says<sup>2</sup>, "Public opinion would not approve of a government campaign of violence against a number of intelligent and perfectly honest individuals banded together for the sole purpose of carrying on their legitimate activities and asserting their rights to

1 - Bliss The Encyclopedia of Social Reform page 43  
2 - " " " " " " " " "







are not good. The wise are not learned; the learned are not wise. The Holy man hoards not. The more he does for others the more he owns himself. The more he gives to others, the more will he himself lay up an abundance. Heaven, Reason is is to accomplish but not to strive.'

#### 5. Christian Teaching

Christian teachings are the outcome and the continuation of the prophetic utterances of those noble souls of Hebrew's historical religious development, who gave their life to preach to the people the importance and the worth of the individual.

Jeremiah says<sup>1</sup>, "In those days they shall not say any more, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge. But every one shall die for his own iniquity. \* \* \* \* And they shall be my people, and they shall teach no more every man his neighbor, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for they shall all know me from the least of them unto the greatest of them."

Christ reproaches the Pharisees that oppress and treat the poor harshly saying<sup>2</sup>, "The Scribes and the Pharisees sit on Moses seat: All things therefore whatsoever they bid you, these do and observe, but do not ye after their works; for they say and do not, yea, they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be born and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with their finger."

Again he says<sup>3</sup>, "Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy-laden and I will give you rest."

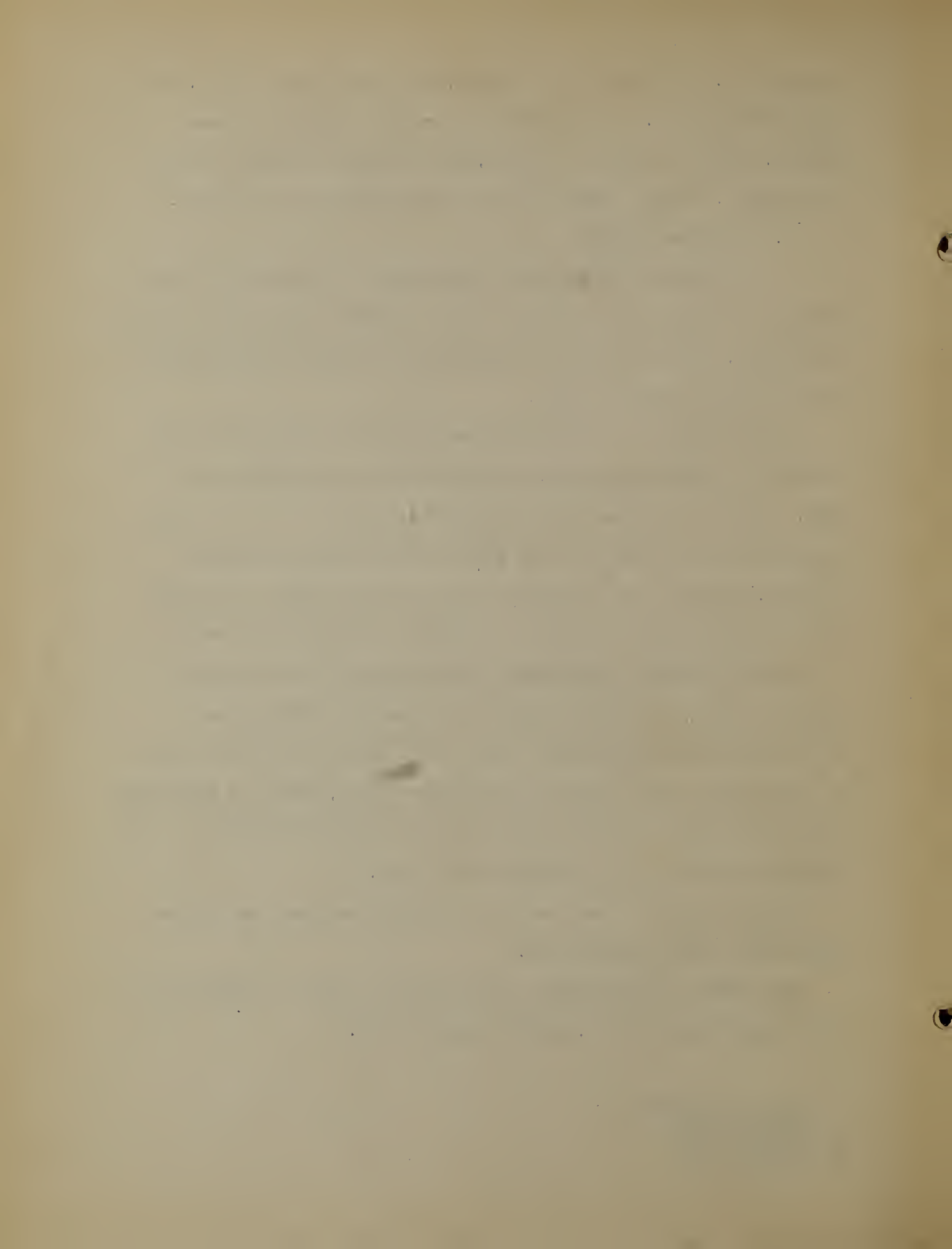
Paul says<sup>4</sup>, "For even when we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat."

1 Jeramiah 31:29-30

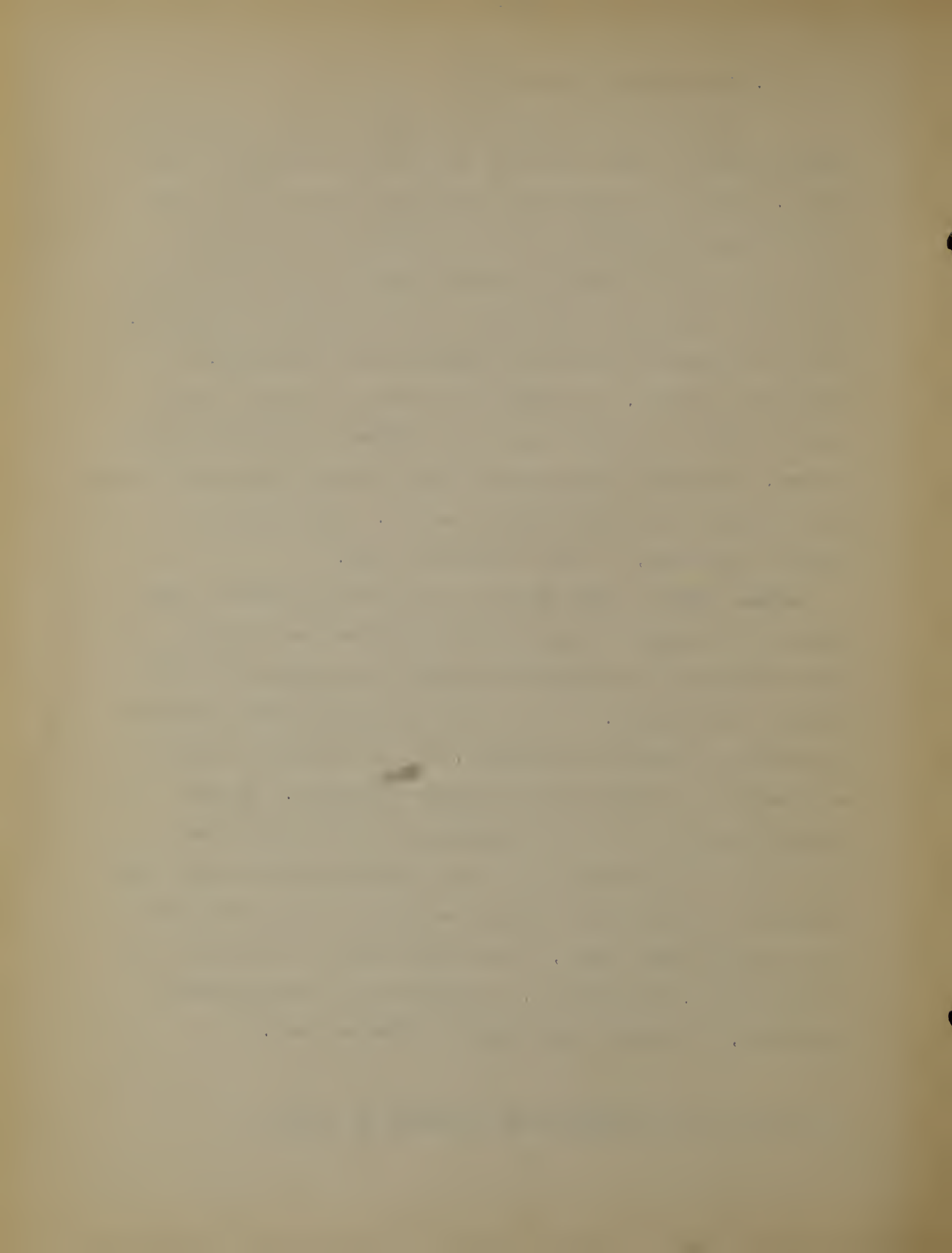
2. Matthew 23:2-3

3 Matthew 11:28

4 II Thess. 3:10











himself in a manner directly opposed to the doctrine of Christ by entering into military service and putting himself under training to be a murderer?

He thought that government led to war and racial differences. He says<sup>1</sup> "If your superior orders you to kill your child, your neighbor, your father, or your mother, will you obey? If you will not, there is an end of the argument, for if you may reject his authority in one instance, where is the limit of rejection? There is no rational limit to rejection? There is no rational limit but that which is assigned by Christianity, and that is both rational and practicable. \* \* \* \*  
If you believe that Jesus Christ has been prohibited slaughter, let not the opinions or the commands of a world induce you to join in it. By this steady and determinate pursuit of virtue; the benediction which attaches to those who hear the sayings of God, and do them, will rest upon you, and the time will come when even the world will honor you as contributors to the work of human reformation."

Again, he cites Muraviev-Karsky as a model of what every citizen and soldier ought to do, in order that philosophical anarchism may become a fact.<sup>2</sup> "This morning the commander of the fortress told me that five peasants belonging to the landowners of the government of Tambor had been recently sent into the province of Grusia. These men were intended to serve as soldiers, but they refused to obey. They were flogged several times and made to run the gantlet, but they were ready to give themselves up to the most cruel tortures, yea, even to death itself, to escape military service. Let us go our way and harm us not; we do no harm ourselves. All men are equal. The sovereign is a man

1 The Kingdom of God Is Within You Tolstoy pages 24-25  
2 " " " " " " " " " 27-28



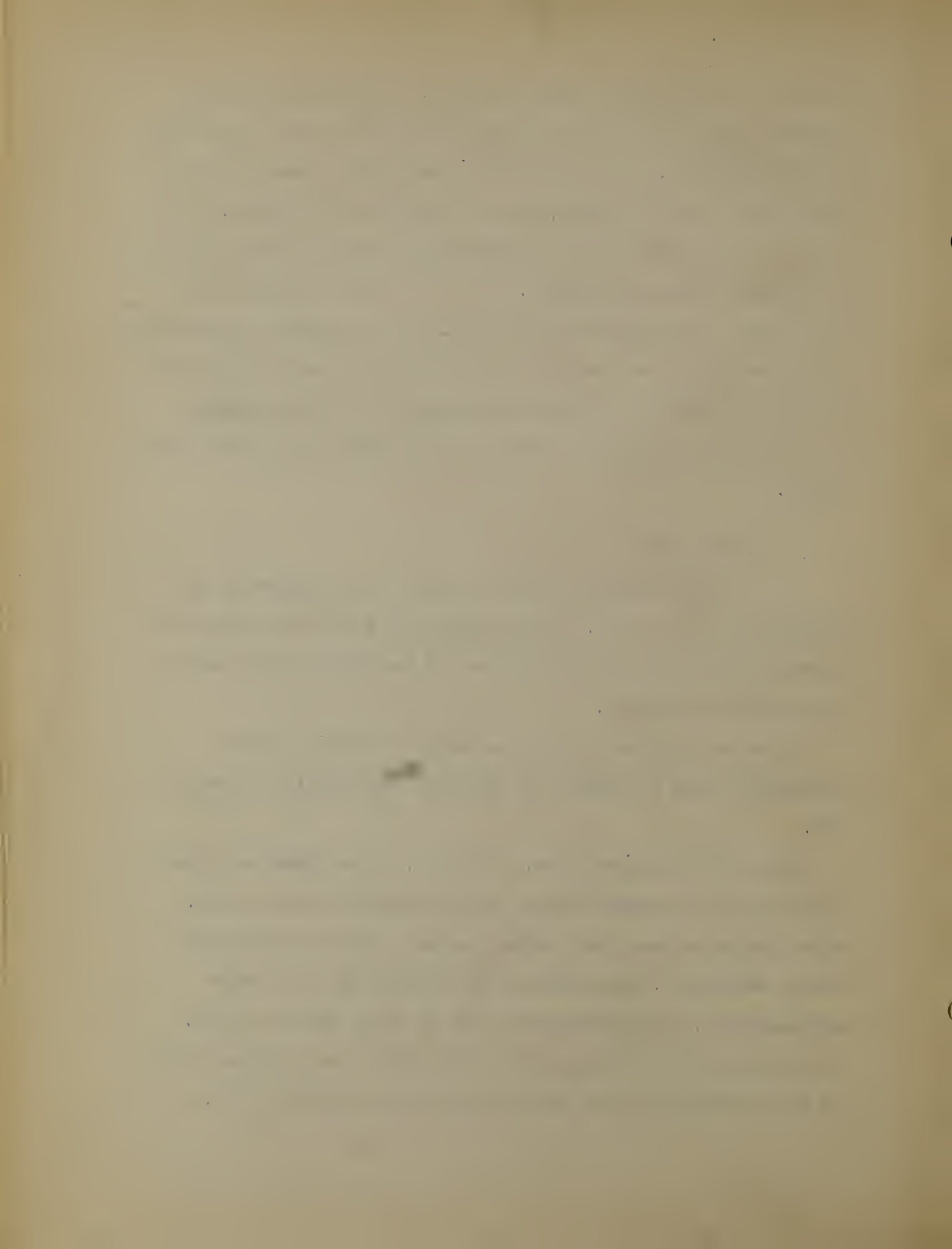
like one of us, why should we pay him taxes, and wherefore should we risk our lives to kill in battle those who have never done us any harm? Draw and quarter us, if you will, and we shall never change our minds, we will never wear the uniform, nor mess at the soldier's table. Some pitying soul may give us alms but from the government we neither have had nor will have anything whatsoever. \* \* \* \* Four times they were brought before the committee of Ministers, and it was finally decided that a report be made to the Czar, who ordered them to be sent to Grusia for discipline, and desired the Commander-in-Chief to forward a monthly report of the progress made in bringing these peasants to a proper frame of mind."

b. The Church

Neither has the church lost sight of the democratic and personalistic view of life. Origen, Augustine and many other Christian leaders always thought that the interest of the church centers in the welfare of the individual.

In the medieval ages we have the Bishop of Alba as a great representative and continuation of Christian individualistic views of life.

Again, Marco Giwolonno Vida, in Armenia, at the beginning of the 9th century, had a marked tendency of individualistic mode of life. Neither can we overlook the Hussite's movement centering in Chopeski and the anabaptists. Hans Denk was the most radical of all these mentioned above, who expressed more than the moral aspects of life. And inspite of the rigidity of the Catholic Church individualism never has been extinguished among the Christians in the orthodox world.



The protest of Luther, Huss, Calvin, Knox, Wesley and the others, is a clear indication of the dynamical power that is in the Gospel of Christ which wants to give a full expression to the life of the individual and to care for his own welfare. Wesley says<sup>1</sup>, "Condemn no man for not thinking as you think. Let everyone enjoy the free and full liberty of thinking for himself. Let every man use his own judgment, since every man must give an account of himself to God. Abhor every approach in any kind of a degree, to the spirit of persecution.

\* \* \* \* O that all men, would sit as loose to opinions as I do; that they would think and let think." Again he says<sup>2</sup>, "Labor to avoid all disobliging words or harshness of speech, all shyness or strangeness of behavior. Speak with all tenderness and love, and behave with all sweetness and courtesy you can; taking care not to give any needless offense to neighbor or stranger, friend or enemy". The Methodists<sup>3</sup> "desire to save their soul. Where this is, it is enough; they desire no more; they lay stress upon nothing else; they ask only is thy heart herein as my heart? If it be, give me thy hand."

#### C. Reaction Against the State (Communist Anarchism)

##### 1. Individualism in Greece

Prof. Adler in his *Geschichte des Socialismus und Kommunismus* in citing Aristippus (430 B.C.) says<sup>4</sup>, "Aristippus, one of the founders

- 1 - Wesley, John Wesley's Works Vol. 5 p. 253 Dr. Vaughan's notes
- 2 - Wesley, John " " Vol. 7 p. 321 " " "
- 3 - Wesley, John John Wesley and the Freedom of Opinion Journal, Dec. 3, 1776
- 4 - Encyclopedia Britannica p. 915



of the Cyrenian school, already taught that the wise must not give up their liberty to the state, and in reply to a question by Socrates he said that he did not desire to belong either to the governing or the governed class."

Zeno (c.270 B.C.) was the best exponent of Anarchist philosophy in Greece. Zeno<sup>1</sup> "repudiated the omnipresence of the state, its intervention and regimentation and proclaimed the sovereignty of the moral law of the individual."

He thought that the instinct of sociability so strong in man must be trained to overcome the egotistic instinct which leads man to a selfish and destructive life. He thinks that<sup>2</sup> "When men are reasonable enough to follow their natural instincts, they will unite across the frontiers and constitute the Cosmos. They will not have need of law--courts or police, will have no temples and no public worship, and use no money--free gifts taking the place of the exchanged."

From Greece, anarchist communism has come to us through the Roman Empire, down to the Dark Ages till we meet it in France at the time of the French Revolution in 1779.

In 1793 Godwin in his inquiry concerning Political Justice (two volumes) gave shape to the political and economical conception of anarchism. He said<sup>3</sup>, "Laws are not the product of the wisdom of our ancestors; they are the product of their passions, their timidity, their jealousies, and their ambition. The remedy they offer is worse than the evils they pretend to cure. If, and only if all laws and courts were abolished, and the decisions in the arising contests were left to reasonable men chosen for that purpose, real justice would gradually be evolved."

1	<u>Encyclopedia Britannica</u>	page	915
2	"	"	915
3	"	Vol. I	page 915
4	"	" I	" 918



He did not believe in the state. He says<sup>1</sup>; "A society can perfectly well exist without any government: only the communities should be small and perfectly autonomous." Speaking of property he says<sup>2</sup>, "Every one has the right to every substance capable of contributing to the benefit of a human being", must be regarded by justice alone: the substance must go "to him ~~who~~ most wants it."

## 2. Historical Sketch of Communist Anarchism

In this section of anarchism what we attempt to prove is that communist anarchism at large, is the outgrowth of the Latin and Slav civilization due to the bureaucratic policy of the church and the aristocratic administration of the states in which Orthodox Christianity has been represented.

In fact, the greatest exponent of Communist Anarchism is a Russian-- Michael Bakunin who being persecuted by the Russian government and those of the Catholic world became one of the most dangerous personalities of his age. The effect of his teachings has been disastrous and has arrested civilization in half of the European world. for many decades.

He was a disciple of P. F. Proudhon and misinterpreting the ideals of Proudhon gave to his master's philosophical anarchistic interpretation of life a communistic and materialistic one.

In 1864 with Karl Marx he founded the International in London, with Karl Marx as its president. A brief sketch of his life will help us to understand who he was and how he influenced the communistic movement in Europe and America.

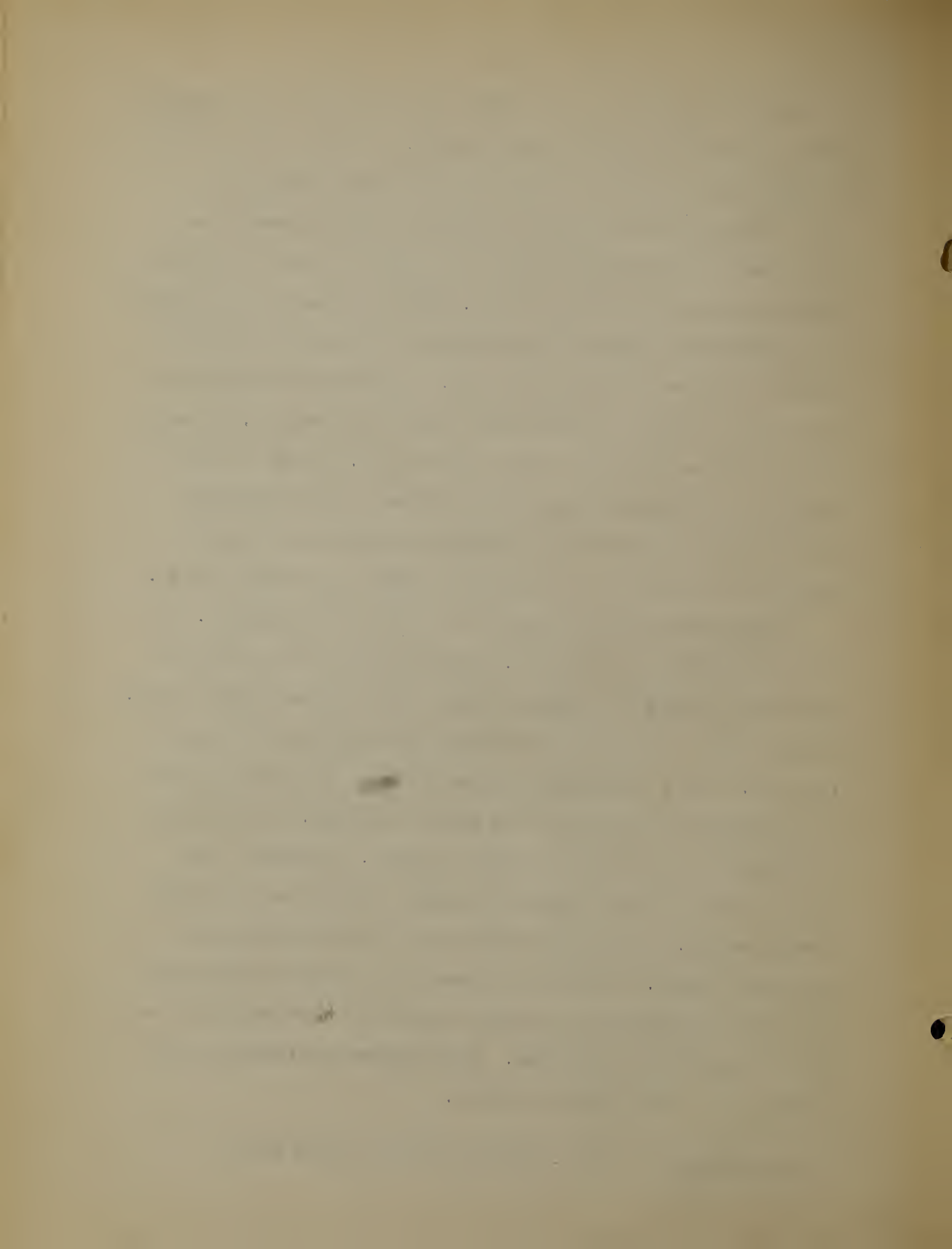
1 - Encyclopedia Britannica Vol. I page 915  
2 - " " Vol. I page 918



Bakunin was born at <sup>1</sup> "Pryamukhino in the Torshok of the Government belonging to what is known as greater Russia." In 1814 at the time when Napoleon I was disappearing from the political life of Europe his family belonged to the Russian aristocracy, and any one wonders how a son of Russian aristocracy was destined to become the leader of the most dangerous movement that men have known. What surprises us is that those who have through the centuries overthrown the aristocratic governments, generally have come from the aristocracy. The peers prepared the end of Charles I, the nobles destroyed the power of the Bourbons, and Robespierre himself was the son of nobility of the gown. Orsini who tried to ~~de~~stroy Napoleon III came from a noble parentage; those who brought about the death of Gustavus III of Sweden were nobles and the last Russian revolution was in a great measure helped by some aristocrats.

Bakunin had a personality and a voice which were commanding. He graduated from Cadet School at St. Petersburg and in 1830 he left the school with the rank of engineer in the artillery of the Imperial Guard. His eyes had an expression of great power and his face was strong and repulsive. Hegel, Schelling and Fichte attracted him, and he studied as many German philosophers as they came to his hands. In 1840 we see him absorbed in philosophical studies in Berlin. Attracted by the unrest in France he made there such friends as George Sand and Pierre Joseph Proudhon. He mixed with Polish exiles and with sundry Swiss reformers at Paris. As soon as the news of his advanced ideas reached Russia the Czar asked him to return to Russia and ~~he~~ refusing to do so, all his property was confiscated. This arbitrary act encouraged him to more more and more toward anarchism.

1 The Anarchists Ernest A. Vizetelly Chap. II page 21-22



From now on we see him writing articles for "La Reforme" (a journal edited by Flocon who at the French Revolution of 1848 became secretary of the Provisional Government). He made speeches to the Polish refugees in Paris urging them to unite with the revolutionaries of Russia in order to free their country of the Czar's tyranny. Obligated to quit France he went to Belgium where he made some converts to his revolutionary ideas at **Liege** and at **Verviers**.

The French Revolution of 1848 brought him to Paris among his friends and we find him again active helping the people of Prague against the Hapsburgs, those of Berlin against the Hohenzollerns becoming conspicuous among those of Dresden and Chemnitz. Arrested by the Prussian authorities and taken prisoner at Chemnitz he was sentenced to death and sent to the Konigstein fortress. His sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. He was claimed as being a prisoner of Austria for the uprising of Prague and sent there. In Austria he was sentenced to death again, but helped by the Bohemian and Hungarian patriots he escaped the supreme penalty. Then Russia claimed the right of having his person and he was sent there. In Russia he was sentenced to death but that was commuted to life imprisonment by the Emperor Nicholas. He remained seven years in the famous Petropawłowski prison where he spent part of his time in the subaqueous cells of Schlisselburg. Emperor Alexander II in 1857 sent him to exile in Siberia.

In 1859 he escaped from Siberia and landed in California. From then on we see Bakunin "hating authority in every form, inimical to the whole constitution of society." He had suffered more than ten years the iron of organized governments, all political Europe was against him, so naturally he turned against any form of government.



The political life of Europe at his time was tyrannical and militaristic--Alexander II oppressed the serfs, Poland was suffering Russian, Prussian, and Austrian tyranny, Germany was in her militaristic ascension, Italy was under the domination of tyrants and even France lost its independence being under the autocratic government of Napoleon III. As it is stated by E. A. Vizetelly, the political life of Europe was such that "laws grind the poor, and rich rule the law."<sup>1</sup>

In 1860 or 1861 we find Bakunin in London among other Russian leaders, Alexander Hertzén and Ogareff who published a very revolutionary organ, the "Kolokol" that is, "The Bell," and he wrote articles and co-operated with the Nihilists with all his power.

Bakunin's activity from 1861 to 1868 is of very little importance, only he finds himself fighting against another revolutionary leader of the same calibre, that of having socialistic tendencies, but with whom he could not agree. Between Carl Marx and himself, though there were many things in common, nevertheless was one thing on which they could not agree, that is, while Marx wanted better and more government, Bakunin did not want any government at all. At the congress of Berne in 1868 Bakunin saw the impossibility of being united with the Marx's group and with Elisee and Jaclard they formed the "so-called Alliance of the Social Democracy". This new alliance the following year broke the power of the International Working Men's Association, where Carl Marx was the only great exponent. But it was in Sept. 8, 1869 at the congress of Basle that Bakunin had his decided victory over Carl Marx' group.

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As Ernest A. Vizetelly in his Book The Anarchists states it<sup>1</sup>, "A bitter conflict soon began between Bakunin and Marx' representative, Outine. By fifty-four votes to four (sixteen delegates abstaining) the congress declared itself in favour of abolishing all property rights in land, but not in buildings or in industrial capital."

Again, in this meeting Bakunin angrily says<sup>1</sup> "I do not want merely the soil to become general property, I want all wealth to be the same! There must be a universal social liquidation. We must have the abolition of the state both politically and judicially. Individual property is the appropriation by an individual of the fruits of the general toil. I demand the destruction of all existing national and territorial states, and on their ruins the raising of an international state formed of all the millions of the workers, a state which it is the international duty to constitute by uniting the different complete social reorganization, from top to bottom."

Moreover as Vizetelly states it<sup>1</sup>, "A manifesto of his party emphasized his views by proclaiming atheism, and calling for the complete abolition of all class distinctions, the political, economical and social equality of both sexes, and the substitution of a world-wide union of free associations for all existing authoritarian governments."

After the Franco-German war we find Bakunin active in south France, with General Sedan Cluseret one of his followers. He gave a great deal of trouble to the communalists at Marseilles and Lyons. Challemel-Lacour, the prefect of Lyons was by Bakunin's party imprisoned Sept. 28, 1870 but released by the national guards "who were loyal to the National Defense Government.



The uprising suppressed by the communalists, Bakunin and Cluseret sought safety; Cluseret by flight away, Bakunin by returning to his safety place of refuge--Switzerland.

Bakunin in 1872 founded a new branch of the International called Federation Jurassienne and gained a great disciple Auguste Blaqui whose motto was "Neither any God nor any master." This Federation Jurassienne had as its aim the diffusion of Anarchist principles. It had its majority of adherents from Eastern France, and northern Italy. It had a bulletin and a periodical "L'Avant Gorde" published at Geneva, edited by Paul Brousse.

By the year 1873 Bakunin triumphed over Carl Marx' influence, the International from then on became a dead organization, and many of its principles were incorporated into the Federation Jurassienne. Anarchism from 1873 stood on a firm ground and began its triumphal march, slowly but surely towards its ascension.

But Bakunin's life spent in hardship, toil and continued struggle undermined his natural vigor. He died at Berne on June 13, 1876 at the age of 62, surrounded by his devoted disciples--Elisee Reclus, Paul Brousse, Savioni, J. Guillaume and Jankovsky.

Bakunin was an able organizer and a good writer. He wrote many books among which we mention:

1. God and the State
2. His Revolutionary Catechism
3. Principle of Revolution
4. Knouts--Germanic Empire
5. Mazzini's Political Theory

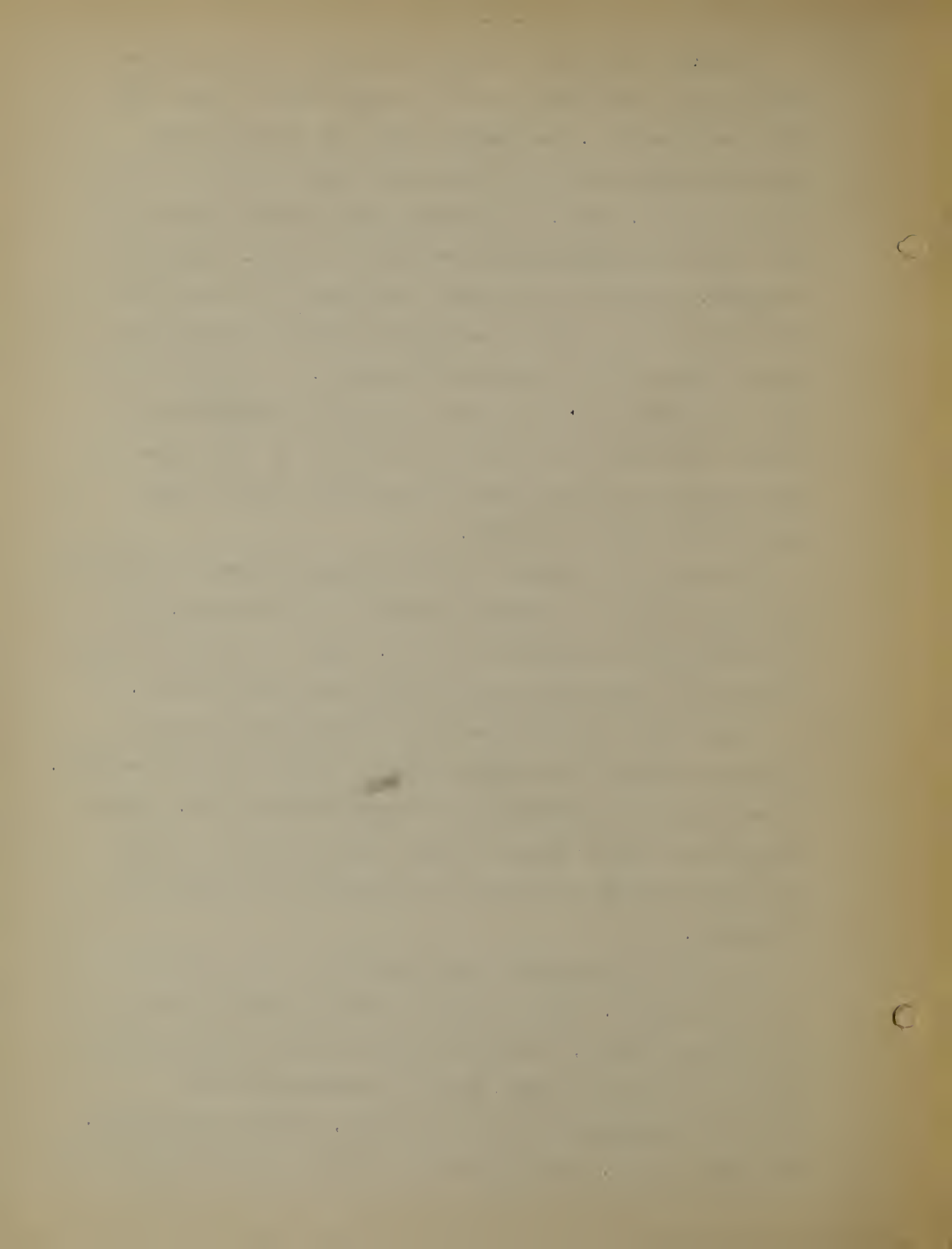


As we have said we want to bring out the point that anarchism has found a fertile ground among the Latin and Slavic nations rather than among the Anglo-Saxons. The reason is simple, the Latin and Slavic states have been more under the domination of tyranny both by the state and by the church. Again, we can clearly see in studying Anarchism that it is the child of bureaucracy and the result of tyranny. Where there is tyranny, where there are idle people, where there is a strong class distinction, there are radicals who agitate themselves to free society from the domination of absolutism and aristocracy. It is queer to note that while Bakunin spent a great deal of his life in Switzerland and England, nevertheless his anarchistic theories did not affect either of these countries but rather it made a great advance in France, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Austria and Russia.

This leads us to think that it is not freedom, democracy or toleration that brings radicalism or dangerous theories of life into being, but rather bureaucracy, tyranny and absolutism. Democracy, liberty and freedom are means which bring peace and harmony and understanding among men.

It was France with her Louises and her Napoleons who persecuted socialism and anarchism who helped radicals to organize their International. It was Spain with her Ferdinands who nourished anarchism there. It was Italy with her despotic tyrants who gave birth to anarchism. It was Russia with her Czars and Austria with her emperors who prepared the revolutions.

This anarchist propaganda spreads more in the cities and in the industrial sections. After the death of Bakunin we see Lyons, Vienne, Saint Etienne, Beziers, Uarborme and Cette and many other small centers. Fanelli, a disciple of Bakunin, through southern France carried anarchistic propaganda into Spain to Catalonia, Barcelona and Tarragona. Count Carlo Cafiero, Emericao Malatesta, and others were active introducing



anarchism into Italy.

Soon in northern Italy came signs of anarchistic activity--Milan, Bologna, Forli and Ravenna, and Rome and Naples saw and heard the violent attacks of these anarchist communists.

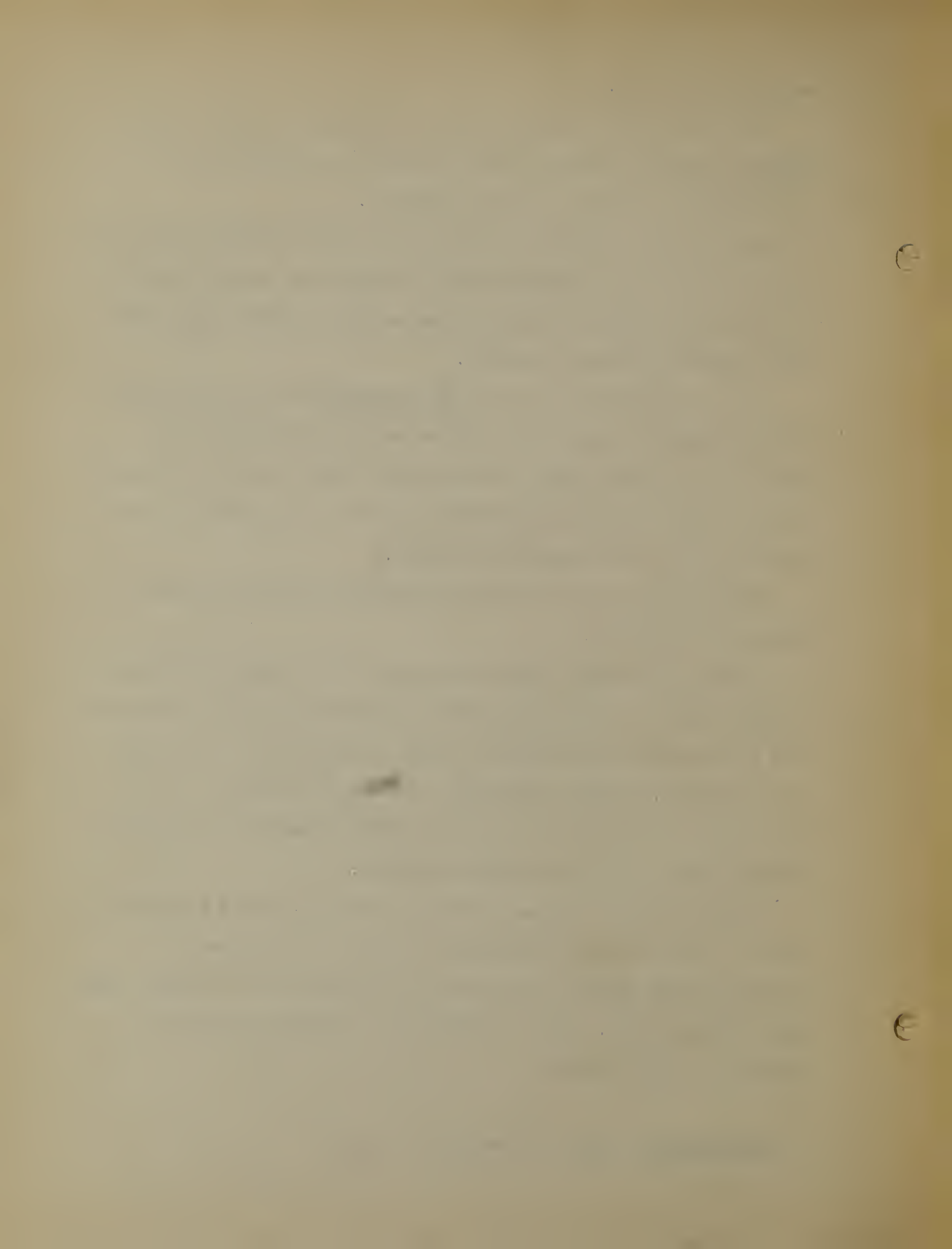
Count Cafiero and Malatesta through one of their friends, Ceccarelli, introduced anarchism in Benevento among the peasants. In 1877 the rural section of Benevento stirred up by these anarchist leaders, raised an armed insurrection in that district.

As E. A. Vizetelli in his book The Anarchists says<sup>1</sup>, "They seized several villages, notably Letino and San Sallo and appropriated the municipal funds, which they distributed among their followers, but troops were sent against them and the insurrection was soon suppressed, several men being captured and consigned to prison."

Belgium had its part of anarchism diffused by Gerambon, Piette, Huyskens and Chauviere.

Again, in this brief survey we have seen that communist anarchism belongs largely to the countries where the Catholic or Orthodox churches have been prominent and dominant. It has not been able to find a deep root in England, Holland, Switzerland, the United States, etc. If it found admirers and followers in those protestant countries it has been generally shaped into philosophical anarchism.

Moreover, though Germany responded more than any other protestant country to the anarchist propaganda, it was due to the system of government under William I and Bismarck who persecuted the radicals rather than tolerating them. And it was also due to the fact that half of Germany was still Catholic.



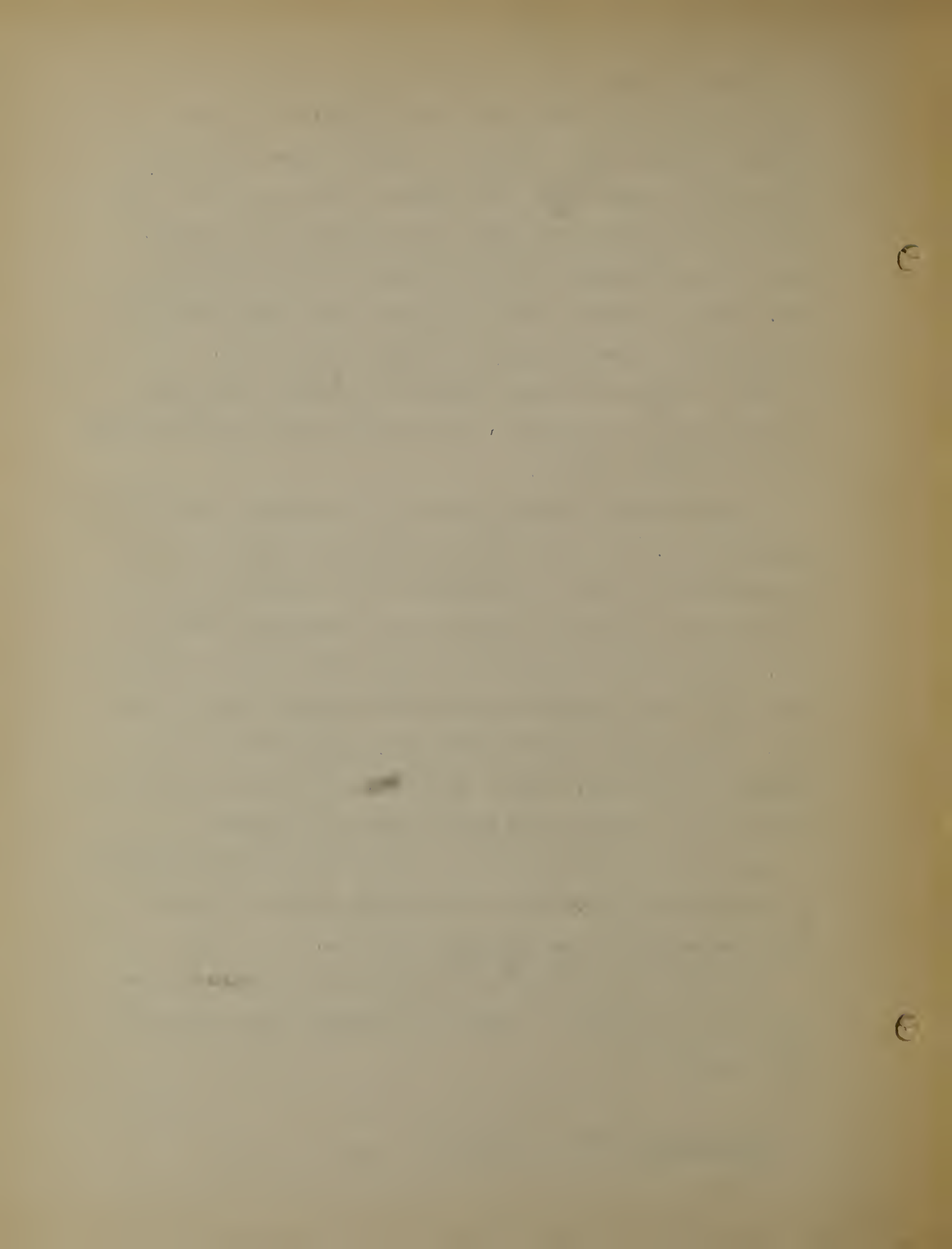
So history tells us that he who helped more than any other to establish anarchism in Germany was Prince Bismarck; for since 1875 , he began to propose to the reichstag a variety of repressive measures which were not adopted at the first appeal, but later on he imposed such measures to be adopted, as he said, for the security of the country. This attitude of Bismarck made the situation in Germany worse than ever. On May 11, 1878 the life of the Kaiser was attempted, while he was taking his customary afternoon drive in an open carriage. It was half past three o'clock when passing along <sup>11</sup> Uter den Linden near the Russian embassy a young fellow by the name of Emil Heinrich Max Hoedel fired at him with a revolver.

To understand why this young fellow with a socialistic and anarchistic tendency attempted the life of William the Kaiser is simple. In 1861 William became the emperor of Germany and as E. A. Vizetelly writes it, on the eve of his coronation standing before the Prussian Landtag he said,<sup>1</sup> "The rulers of Prussia receive their crowns from God. Tomorrow then, I shall take the crown from the Lord's table and place it on my head. This signifies royalty by God's grace, and therein lies the sacredness of the crown, which is inviolable. I know that you will so understand the ceremony which I have summoned you to witness."

After Heldel and Nobiling attempted the life of the Kaiser, Bismarck and the Emperor William began to threaten the liberals of Germany, Russia, Spain and Italy were doing the same thing.

In Spain on Oct. 25, 1878 King Alphonse XII was attacked by Juan Oliva Mancasi and on Dec. 31, 1879 he was attempted again by Francisco Otero Sonzalez.

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In Italy King Humbert I was assailed by one of Cafiero's disciples named Giovanni Passanante. Passanante gave in explaining what he did, as E. A. Vizetelly states it "His views which were those of the dissenters who had followed Bakunin's view which was carried into Italy by Cafiero and others. He wished, he said, to see misery cease, and so do all of us, but he also desired not merely the abolition of monarchies--he frankly declared that he detested kings--but the abolition of all authority as well."

In the year 1878 Pope Leo XIII alarmed at the progress of the radicals, condemned the doctrine of Socialism, Anarchism, and Nihilism, but his attitude and condemnation did not prevent anarchism from going on in its triumphant march. The time had changed, people did not believe in the pope's excommunication and the vatican's warnings failed to arrest the revolutionary tendencies.

About this time in France a great man with high intellectual qualities belonging to the nobility of France became an advocator of the anarchist communist theory--Emile Gantier. He was a fine writer and a powerful public speaker. He started an active campaign both by magazines and by lecturing, he travelled and lectured in many towns and cities in France. He was in Amiens, Le Havre, Beauvois, Reims, Versailles, Levallois, Perret (in the suburbs of Paris) Bourges, Villefranche, Lyons, Besseges, St. Etienne, Vienne, Arles, Marseilles, Beziers, Cette and Perpignan.

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In 1879 the French anarchists were numerous and till 1881 they regarded themselves as part of the socialist party. But in 1881 they were expelled and so they formed another separate group. The year 1881 was notable for the great activity which the anarchists expressed. On March 13 Alexander II of Russia was killed by a Nihilist by the name of Grivereetzky.

Johann Most from London published a communist anarchist journal called "Die Freiheit" (Liberty) and wrote an article entitled "At Last". In attempting to justify the assassination of Alexander II he says; "Seize them, seize those, and hold them fast,

But one shall reach thee still at last!"

The same year that Most was sentenced to 18 months of imprisonment, the life of President Garfield was attempted at Washington on July 12, 1881. He was wounded and he died on September 9th of the same year.

In that same year a congress was held at Cette, France, by southern Frenchmen and the majority voted in favor of anarchists views and methods of life. Another congress was held in London that year, where the anarchist representatives of Italy, France, Belgium, Spain, Germany, Austria, Switzerland and United States tried to reach a common understanding, but the congress was a failure.

In 1881 we saw two periodicals established "La Revolution Social" in Paris and "Le Droit Social" at Lyons. In its issue for Christmas day 1881, "Le Droit Social" published in a sentence what the anarchists wanted. It is said that this article was written by Count Carlo Cafiero who the next year became insane and died in 1883. He said<sup>1</sup>, "Our action must be permanent rebellion by speech, by writing, by the dagger, by the gun, by dynamite, and even by the voting paper when it is a question

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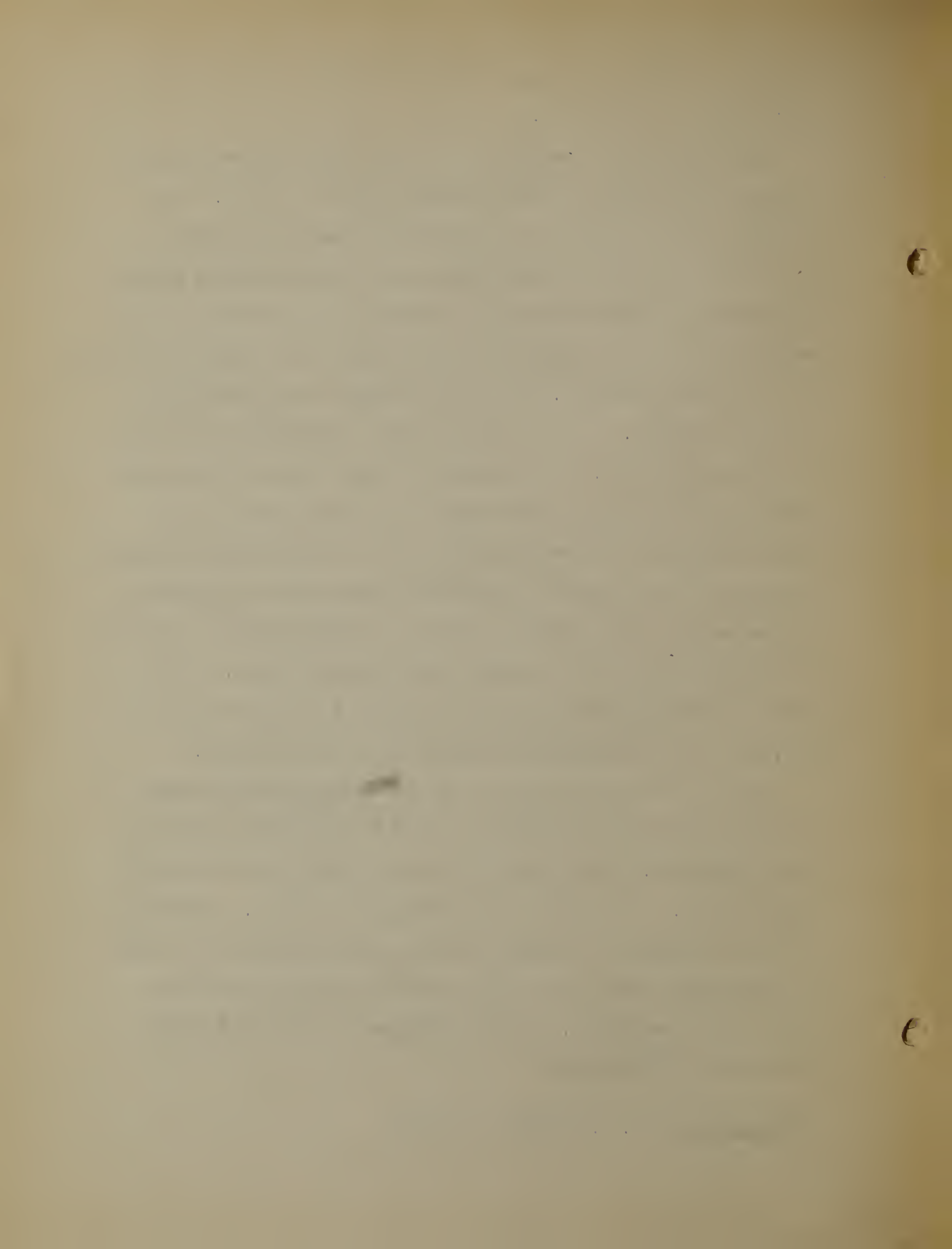
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of voting for Grinquet or Blanqui who are ineligible, for everything unlawful is of service to us."

Toward the close of September 1882 many anarchists were arrested at Lyons and by October 21 fifty-two anarchists were in jail. They were kept under lock and key till January when they were brought to trial, among them there (1) Emile Gaultier, the so-called French apostle of anarchism, (2) Toussaint Bordat, a journalist who collaborated with "De Droit Social" and "L'Étendard Revolutionnaire", (3) Joseph Bernard, and (4) Prince Peter Kropotkin. The latter narrated to the judges why he became an anarchist. A. E. Vizetelly quotes,<sup>1</sup> "My father was an owner of serfs--no of slaves. In my childhood I often witnessed such scenes as are described in 'Uncle Tom's Cabin'!" At sixteen years of age he was at the School of the Pages, which he left to join the army, securing a commission in the Cossacks and becoming, when he was only nineteen, an aide-de-camp to the Governor of Siberia. At that period he travelled over most of the province in question and in Manchuria also. "But I found that Russian Liberalism was only a mark, so I resigned from the army, and entered the Faculty of Mathematics at St. Petersburg."

After that he was secretary to the Russian Geographical Society, visited Belgium and Switzerland and in 1872 he became affiliated with the International. On his return to Russia he joined the Tchaikoviski secret society. In 1874 with his brother he was arrested. His brother was sent to Siberia, he remained in Russia under detention, but escaped in 1876 and went first to England and then to Switzerland under the name of Pierre Le Vachoff. There he collaborated with Elisée Reclus in carrying on "Le Revolte".

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Kropotkin said before the judge at Lyons what were his beliefs as an Anarchist. He said<sup>1</sup>, "When a party is placed in the necessity of employing dynamite it has to do so, as for instance in Russia, where the people would disappear if it did not employ the means which science places at its disposal. \* \* \* \* I have worked with all my strength for the triumph of the anarchist party in France and abroad also."

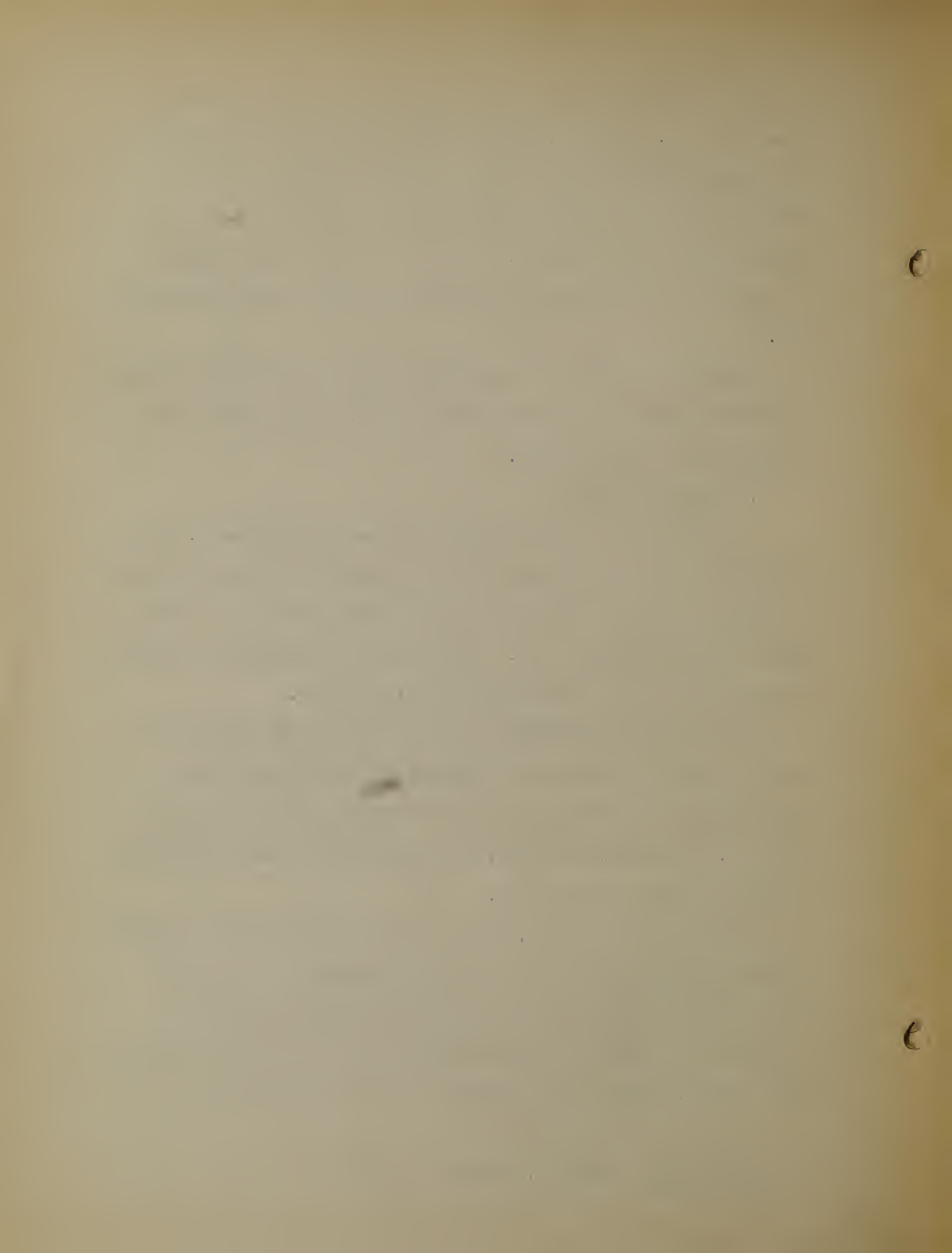
Speaking in his defense on anarchism he says that while the middle classes have already expropriated the nobility, so the masses shall expropriate the middle classes.

### 3. Anarchism in Spain

In Spain the conditions were no better than in France. While the anarchism was more socialistic in its ideal nevertheless it suffered more persecution and it reached an acute stage due more to the unwise means that the government used. The provinces which were more affected by anarchistic theories were Catalonia and Andalusia.

The province which suffered more, due to anarchistic tendencies was Andalusia. Her economical life, appealed more to lead the masses toward anarchism. In the year 1882 this province was in a deplorable condition. The dukes, marquises, and counts did not help their people and seldom visited their estates.

In 1882 Andalusia had 30,000 workers who belonged to the Federation of Workers with anarchists and socialists as leaders. But in 1882 Bartolome Lago Campos was expelled from the Federation of Workers because he was suspected of living in adultery with one of his comrade's wife. On Dec. 4, 1882 he was killed by his cousin Manuel Lago.



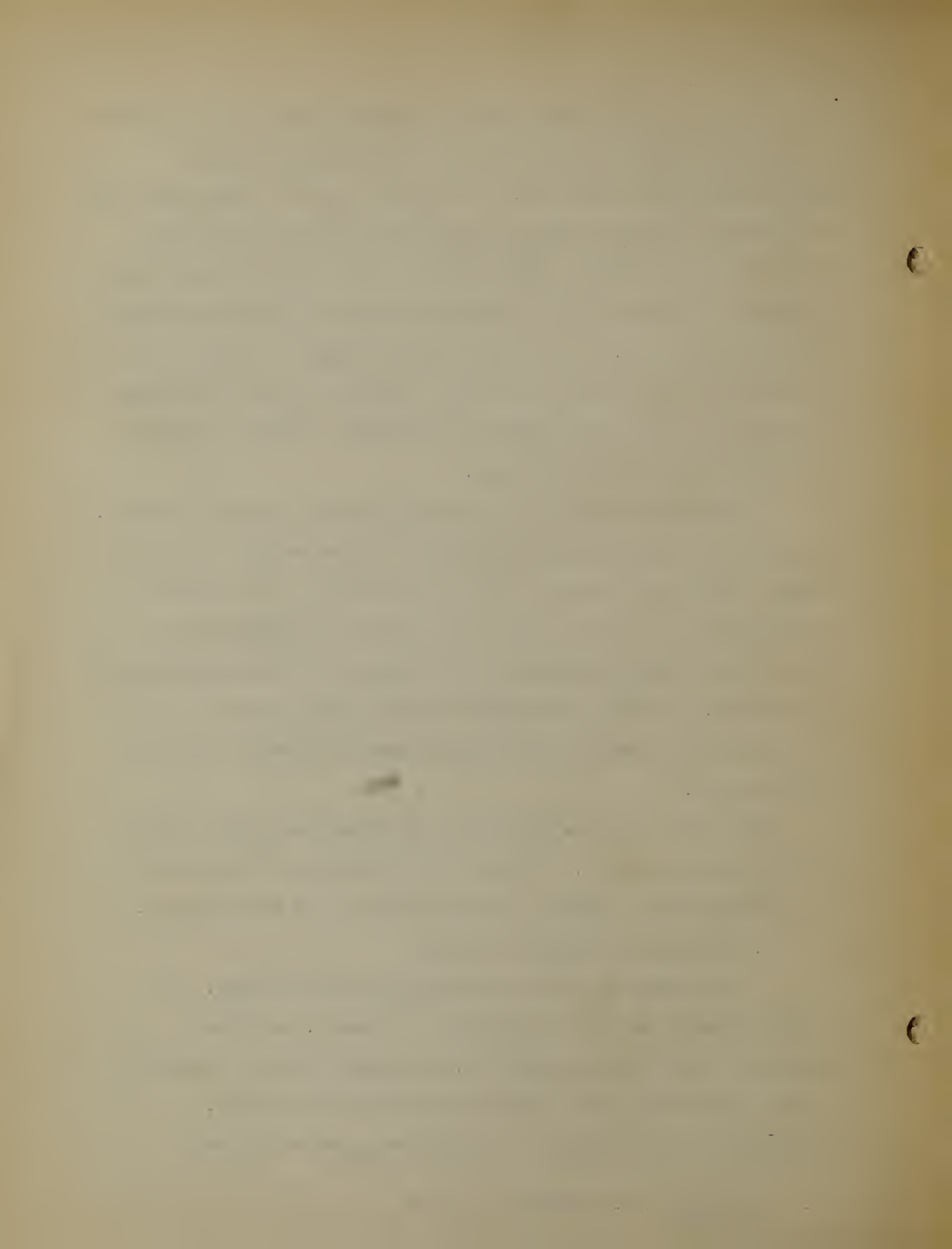
Sometime later the authorities were informed about the crime and the commander of the Civil Guard at Jezer, Don Tomas Perez Monforte, arrested one hundred anarchists. But this chief used too much imagination, and one day in seeing a stamp of a black hand, due to the fact that a man in reversing a bottle of ink spilled it on his hand which he cleaned on the wall, he thought it was a sign of revenge by the anarchists against the public authority. So Don Tomas Monforte assigned the name of "La Mano Nera" to the anarchist societies. This name from then on has been also given to the Sicilian Mafia and the Camorra of Naples, introduced by the Spaniards in the Middle Ages.

In 1882-3 the movement of the masses embraced a system of terrorism. E. A. Vizetelly stating the conditions and what the masses of people did, says,<sup>1</sup> "There were extortion, arson, and uprooting of the vineyards and the destruction of the crops of the wealthier landowners being among the proceedings advocated and occasionally attempted and even carried into effect. At the same time the authorities undoubtedly went too far in accusing the Andalusian Federation of Workers of general complicity in the affair."

This state of affairs brought into excitement the working classes of the province of Cadiz. In Puerta De Santa Maria an insurrection was attempted which added more victims on the part of the Anarchists.

#### 4. Anarchism in Germany and Austria

In Germany and Austria the conditions were different. In Germany dynamite was used in opposition to Bismarck, the Kaiser, Koniggratz, Worth, Mars-la-Tour, etc. In Austria there was opposition to the imperial laws which persecuted anarchism without mercy. Anarchism made great progress in Vienna, Prague, Pesth, Presburg,



Edenburg, Temesvar, Agram, Trieste, Styria and Carinthia.

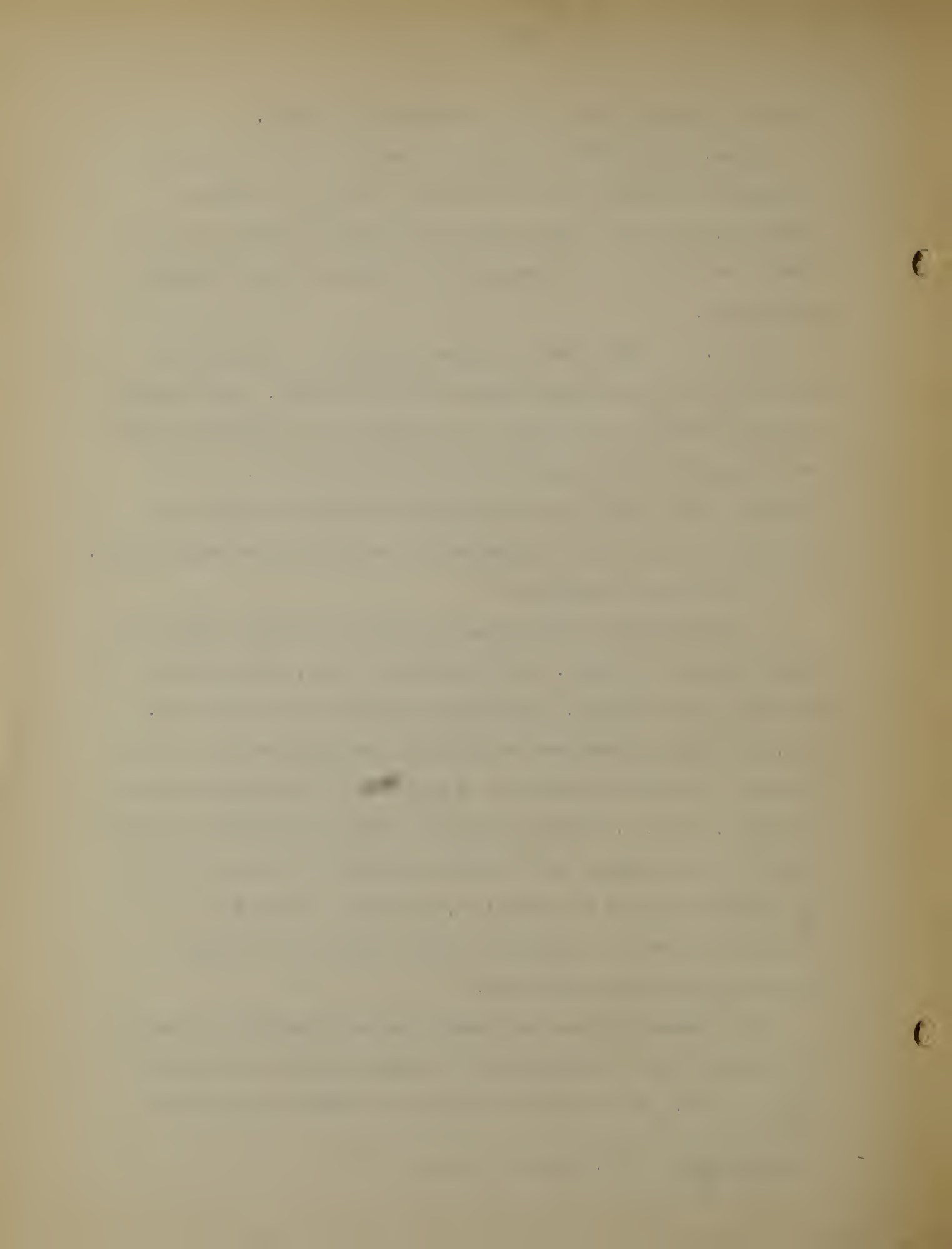
In Dec. 1883 a police superintendent was murdered at Florisdorf; a conspiracy to poison various people with cyanide of potassium was unravelled, but because there were found the name of Penket and he was found to be a disciple of Johann Mort, the anarchists and socialists were accused.

On Feb. 1, 1884 an imperial decree suspended the constitution, and from then on persecutions began from all directions. The socialist organ "Die Zukunft" (The Fortune) was suspended, many socialists leaders were expelled and 238 anarchists were placed under arrest. In this event while many socialists and anarchists were expelled, and others sentenced to imprisonment, Stellmacher was sentenced to the death penalty.

#### 5. Anarchism in Belgium.

In Belgium the situation was not indeed in a better shape than in France and other countries. Several thousand miners, glass-workers and others went on strike. They asked for eight hour's working day. Soon, the valley of Meuse and the province of Hainault were in a state of unrest. In Liege and Charleroi an explosion of destruction awakened the people. As E. A. Vizetelly states it<sup>1</sup>, "Public buildings, factories, convents, private houses were fired and pillaged by the men on strike. And Belgium socialists and anarchists, the latter of whom were reinforced by numerous foreigners, notable Germans, vied with one another in encouraging these deeds."

The government at once sent General Van der Smissen who succeeded in restoring order. Several editors of those extremist journals were sent to prison. These strikes for eight-hour working days were also



extended to the United States of America--New York, St. Louis, Milwaukee and Chicago.

6. Anarchism in America.

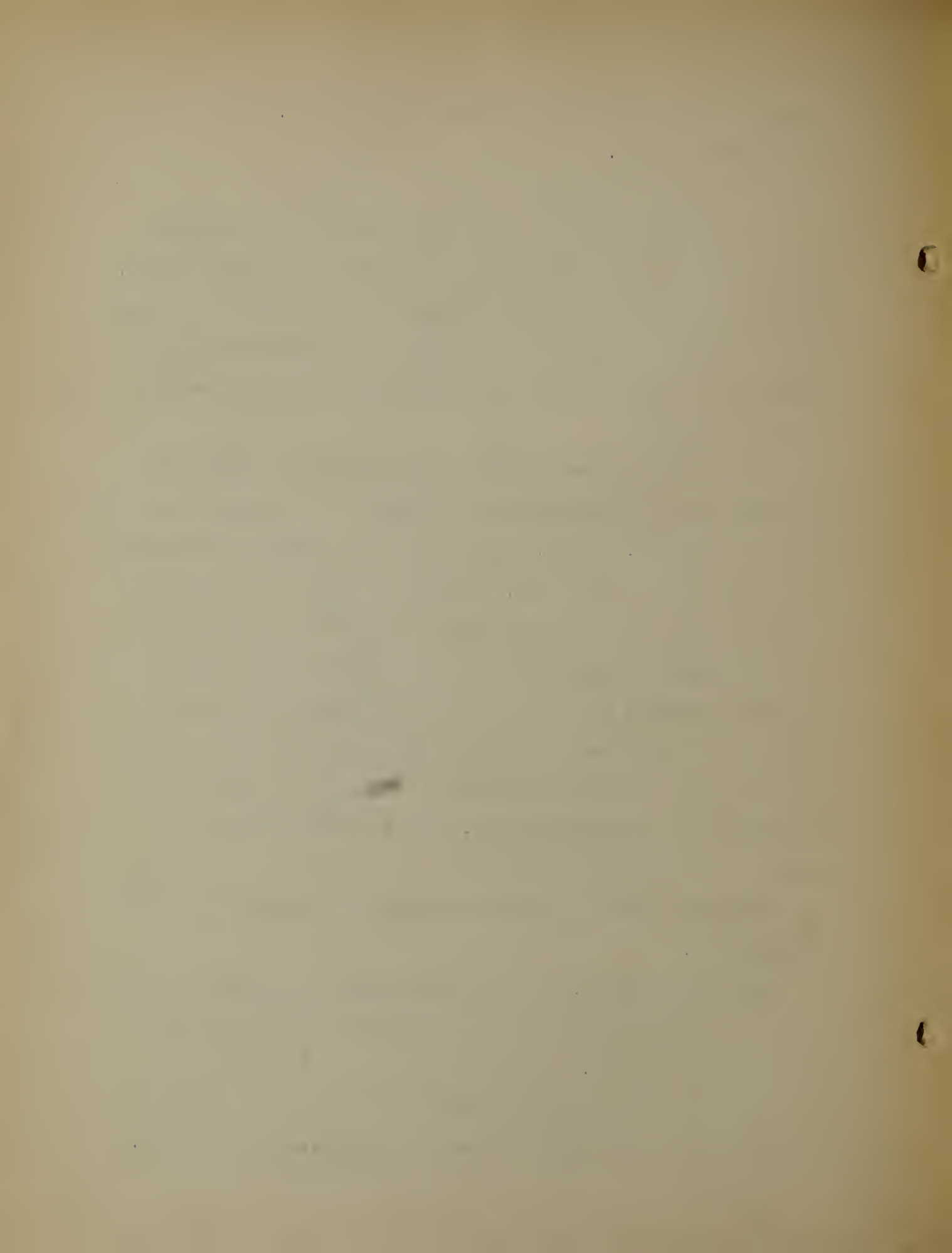
In America there were since 1883 anarchists of the extreme type as Michael Schwab, George Engels, Albert Parsons and August Spies. Spies edited a paper with which he incited the men on strike to violent actions and after the repulse of the attack on the McCormick Harvester Works, it convened an indignation meeting to protest against the behavior of the police.

On May 4th the strikers guided by three of the most progressive anarchist, Spies, Parsons, and Samuel Fielden held a meeting in Haymarket Square, Randolph St, Chicago. They inflamed the crowd who provoked the interference of the authorities. One hundred twenty-five police were sent to the spot but at the injunction of the police to the strikers to disperse, Samuel Fielden answered by shouting "To arms" and soon the reply came "Kill the -----!" A bomb was hurled at the police, five of which were killed and others and several of the strikers were injured. Eight of the demonstrators were arrested, and seven of them were sentenced to the death penalty. Schwab, Fielden, Parsons, Engels, etc. were hanged on Nov. 1887.

In Russia in 1887 the Nihilists attempted to assassinate the Czar Alexander III.

What remains for us, is to survey the political and economical and social life in those nations where Orthodox Christianity is strong or Protestantism is strong.

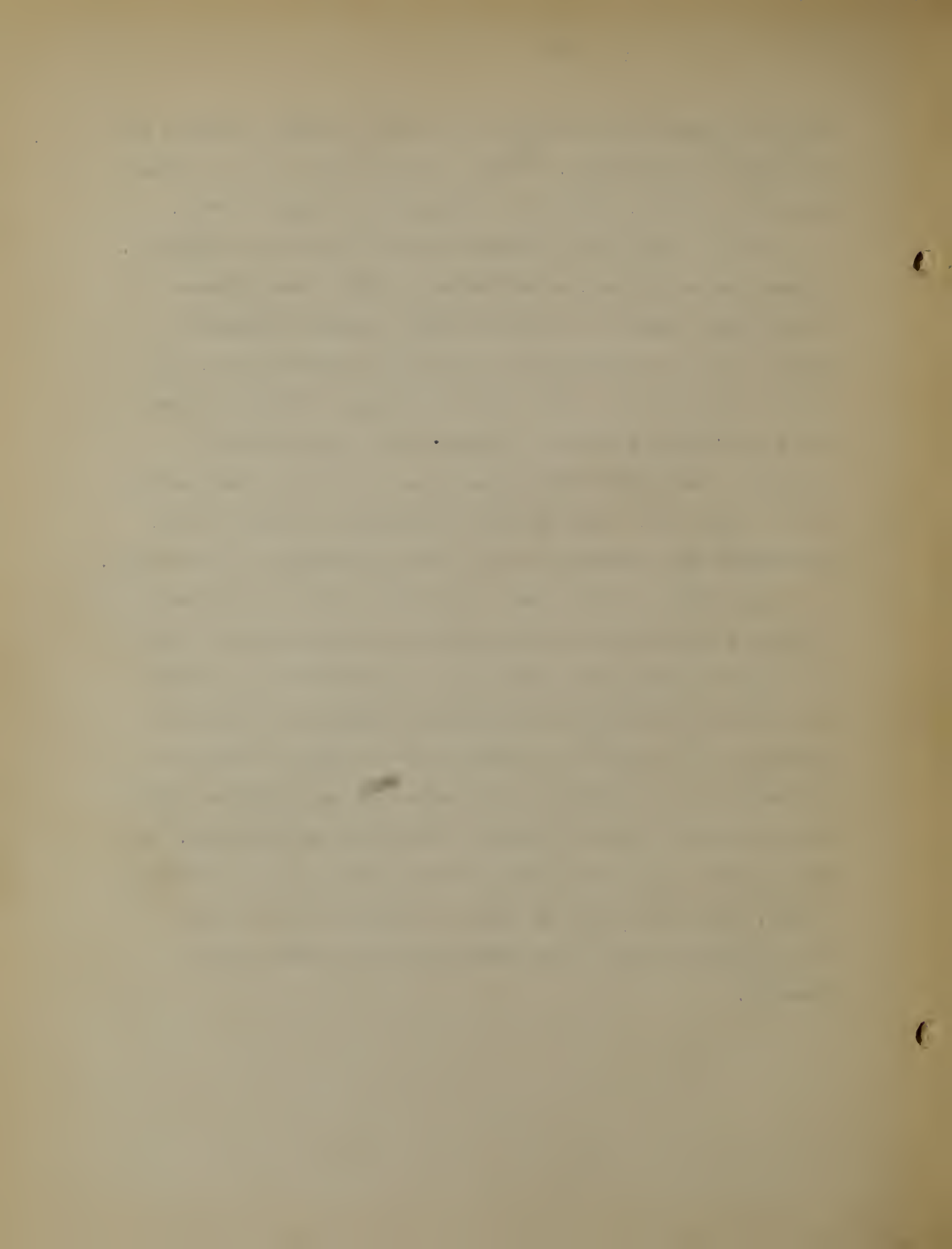
The great war has left Russia under the dominion of Communist anarchism, while both Latins and Slavs have undermined political life.



Italy with her Mussolini, Spain with her Revera, Portugal, Rumania, etc. are under the dictatorship. Neither in Latin America is the situation any better. Brazil, Mexico, etc. are always in a state of unrest.

But if we turn to the Protestant nations the picture is different. Germany has settled down, United States of America showed what an insignificant percent of the people profess themselves communists, England lives in relative peace, and Holland, Switzerland, etc. are solid in their political life. Their economical prosperity is great while the Orthodox world under the dominion of radicalism which professes to bring economical prosperity to the nations lives a relative life of starvation. Those Latin and Slav nations are the most poor, even though many of them are older in their achievements of civilization.

This brings us to the point to think that it is not the materialistic economical interpretation of life that brings prosperity in the world, but rather the idealistic, ethico-economic interpretation of history that civilizes the nations, and bring about progress and industrial revolution. And with this we do not consider anarchism necessary to the development of national life but rather a blind theory that brings the nations into a life of confusion, corruption, and immorality. We need a better theory than anarchism, we need democracy as the servant of man, which aims to give and take from society, having in view the fact that the worth of the individual is the supreme goal of humanity.



C H A P T E R I I

A N A R C H I S M I N R E L A T I O N  
T O T H E I N D I V I D U A L

A. Can Anarchism help man to solve his complicated life-problems?

1. His Physical Life

2. His Economic Life

3. His Moral Life

4. His Spiritual Life

B. Can Anarchism give the individual proper social environment?

1. Ethical

2. Esthetic

## CHAPTER II

### ANARCHISM IN RELATION TO THE INDIVIDUAL

A. Can anarchism help man to solve his complicated life problems?

Many times we have a perfect plan in our mind, we see the value of it, but when we apply it to the common life it does not work. Now the most important question for us in surveying anarchism is, can anarchism help man to create such an environment by which he can attain a more abundant physical, intellectual, economic, moral and spiritual life?

Is anarchism an altruistic movement or egoistic? Is it positive or negative? Does it build life or destroy it?

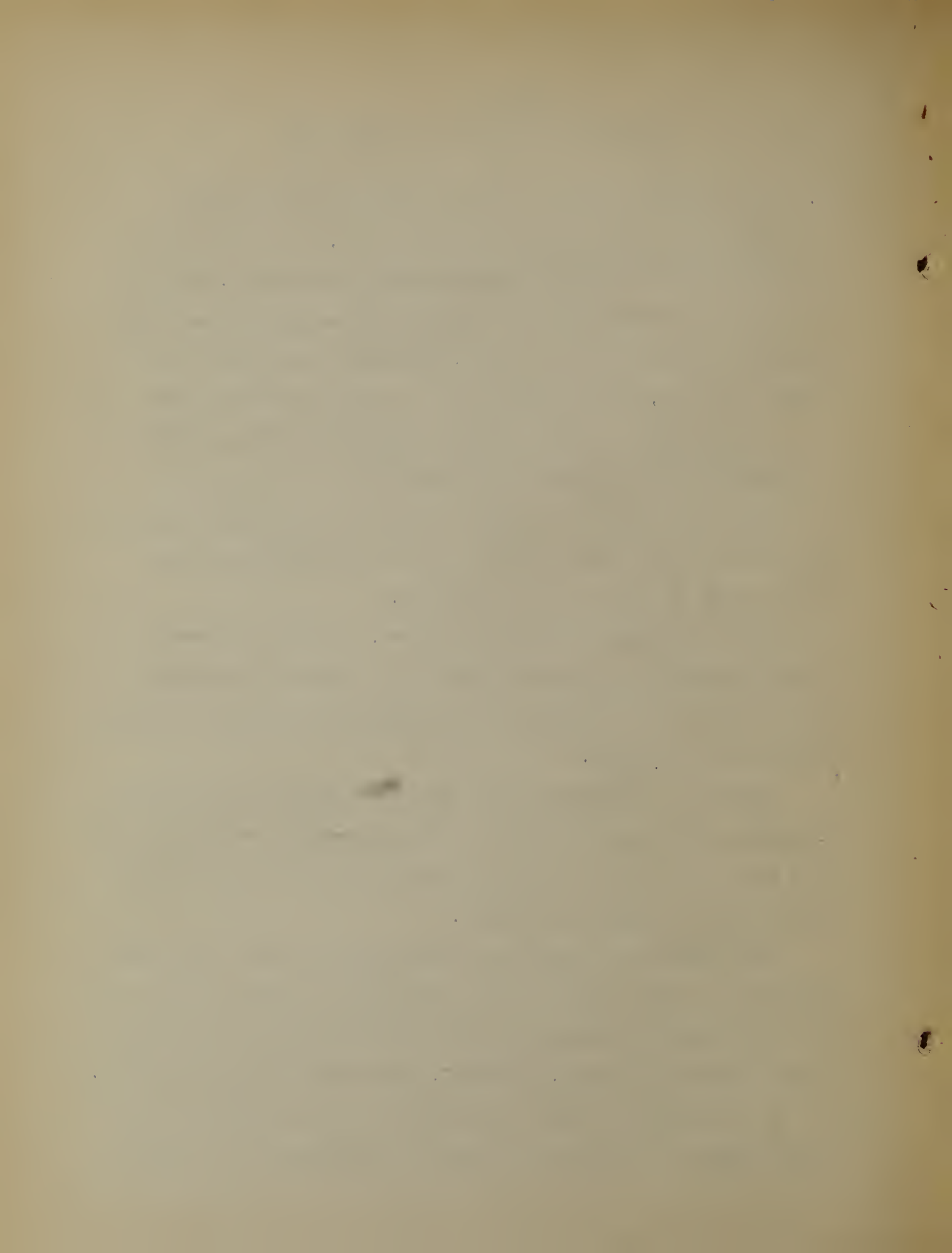
These are questions that ought to be answered by anarchism before it can appeal to human imagination, and abide in the heart of man where it may or may not receive vigor and support.

Anarchism suggests an impossible program, a program that makes inadequate provision for the restraint of the anti-social individuals and for the co-operative supply of simple daily necessities now furnished by the city or the state.

Anarchism or individualism says leave the individual alone, destroy the state, abolish any law whatsoever, abolish property, set the individual on a free basis and you will see that humanity will take a true course and will find its mission and destiny.

Even though we do not agree with many things in present-day society nevertheless we feel that the state is the result of long experience, and that it can suggest to communities ways of shaping their life according to the particular political, economical, intellectual and moral situation.

In certain stages of man's life since his appearance on this planet man has needed to be forced to do things, to be approached with means of

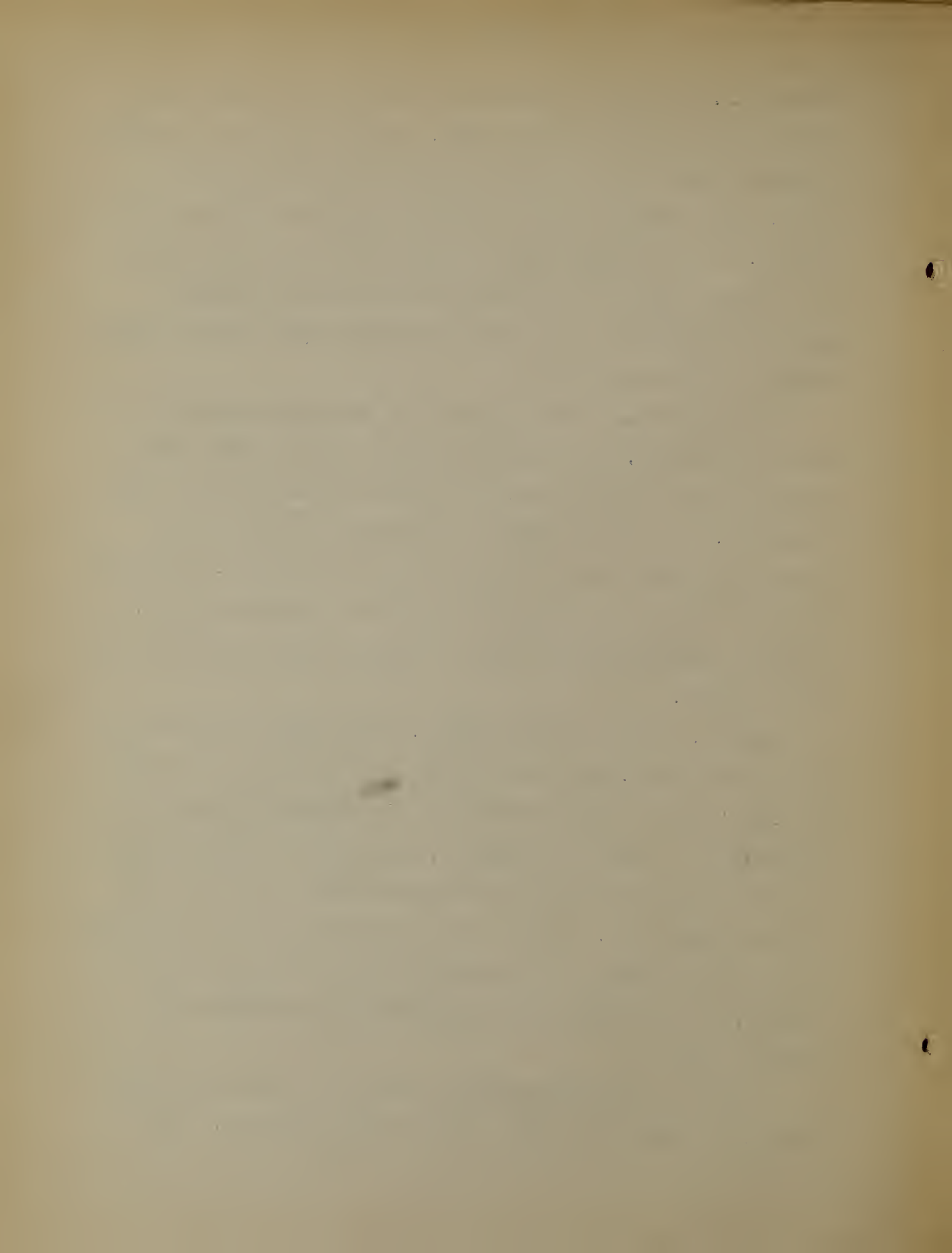


persuasion, and he needs to feel that if he does not do a certain thing he will suffer for that particular thing. Suppose we train the individual to behave without the use of force and state so that we no longer need police. After that time what will happen if a person gets angry and kills some one? Or if a husband leaves his wife and children? Or if a strong man oppresses a weak one? What shall be the standard of treatment? Shall the community use force? Shall it punish or banish? Shall it leave things to go from bad to worse?

If anarchism claims that no majority has the right to impose its will on the minority, how can anarchism correct or punish those rebels? Anarchism may say "You are wrong, you trouble the community and you shall be punished." Those who are called to suffer have the right to say, "We are individualists and what you call wrong, we call right. What right have you to call what we do wrong? It is good for us and that is all." Anarchism stands for the full freedom of the individual, therefore, he can do as he wishes.

Nowadays, we call a person, criminal. Why? Because he violates the laws of the majority. What would anarchism say to the gangs of Chicago? Has Morgan's gang a right to violate the 18th amendment by buying and selling liquor? According to anarchism, those gangs are minority groups who do not approve of the will of the majority and so they have a right to buy and sell liquor. If in an organized government there are violations of the law and if criminals do not care that there are police, and steal and kill, what would happen to a society without any government and authority at all?

It seems to us that the anarchist's theories of life could not help society, but rather would lead to regression and destruction. In our



judgment anarchism leads back to the animal life from which we have struggled to free ourselves rather than to that life in which the ethical, intellectual and spiritual factors must transform men from animals to human and well-balanced beings. Certain communist anarchists overlook the fact that while man is born as an animal yet he has a moral capacity that sooner or later, if it is well developed, will help him to master the universe. It is only man who seeks after God with his feet on the firm ground of this planet, and his hands stretched toward heaven in search of the One with whom he desires to live a life of communion and fellowship.

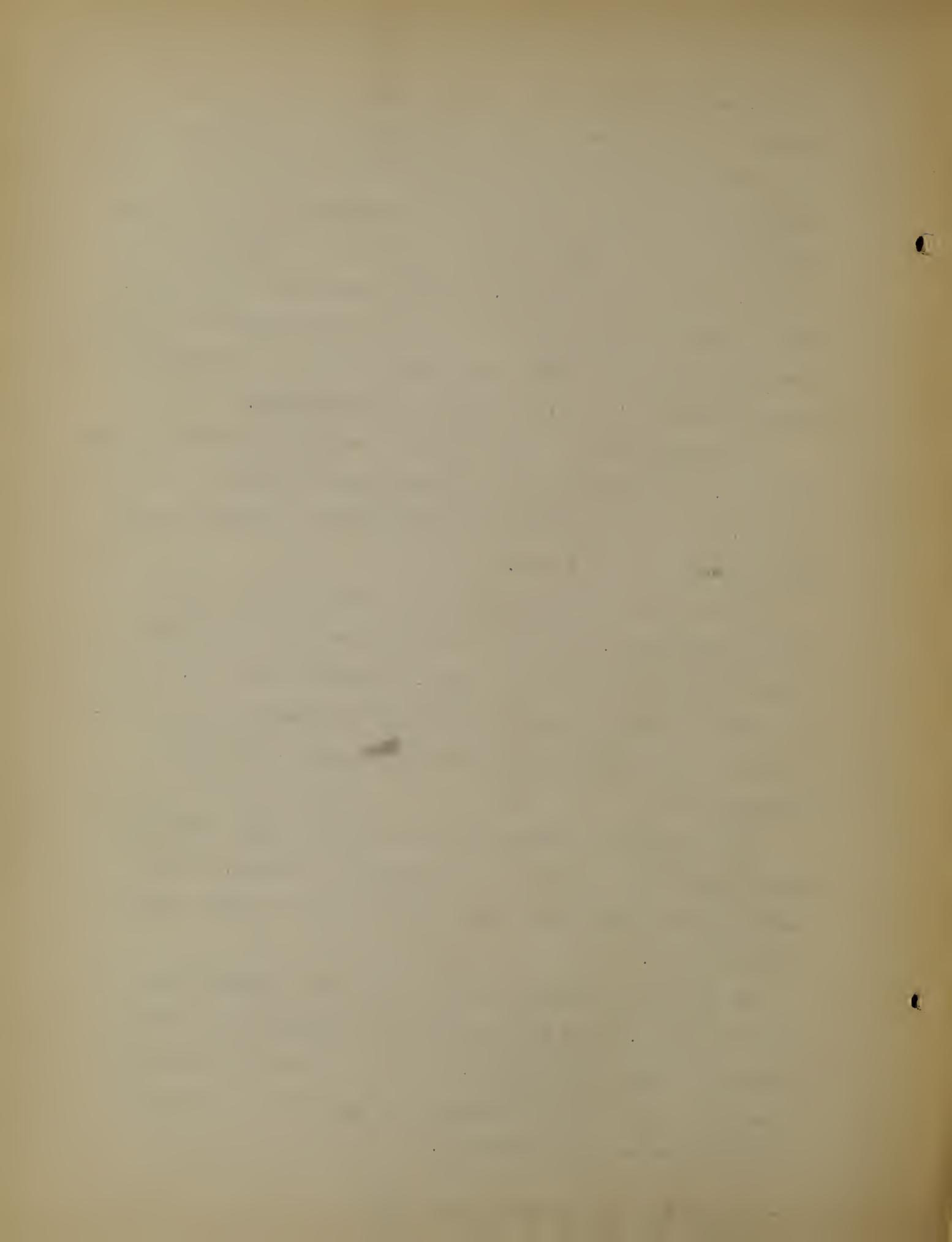
While we give credit to anarchism for its emphasis on the worth of the individual, we disagree with the philosophy when we see that the aim is material, the goal only economic and generally egoistic and the methods and means employed unscientific.

If we let Max Stirner talk for a while we can see the aim of his extreme individualism. He says<sup>1</sup>, "It is clear God cares only for what is his, busies himself only with himself, thinks only of himself, and has only himself before his eyes; woe to all that is not well-pleasing to him! He serves no higher person, and satisfies only himself. His cause is purely egoistic."

As for the world or mankind he says<sup>1</sup>, "How is it with mankind whose cause we are to make our own? Is its cause that of another, and does mankind serve a higher cause? No, mankind looks only at itself, mankind is its own cause."

He comes to his climax by saying<sup>2</sup>, "Let me then likewise concern myself for myself, who am equally with God the nothing of all others, who am my all, who am the only one. \* \* \* I am nothing in the sense of emptiness, but I am the creative nothing, the nothing out of which I myself as creator create everything."

1 - Stirner, Max The Ego and His Own page 4  
2 - " " " " " " " " page 5



And then he comes out with an exclamation of triumph<sup>1</sup>, "Away then with every concern that is not altogether my concern! You think at least the good cause must be my concern? \* \* \* \* The divine is God's concern; the human, not the true, good, just, free, etc., but solely what is mine, and it is not a general one, but is unique, as I am unique. Nothing is more to me than myself!"

1. Physical Life

The question that every student of sociology asks himself is "Is the individual the most important factor of human society or is society the goal of humanity?" If the individual is the supreme goal of society, then the individual must emerge from society and become the only aspiration of human achievement. If society is the goal of man's existence then the individual must merge himself into society.

Emma Goldman says<sup>2</sup>, "Anarchism aims to strip labor of its deadening, dulling aspect, of its gloom and compulsion. It aims to make work an instrument of joy, of strength, of color, of real harmony, so that the poorest sort of man should find in work both recreation and hope." Many boys and girls who cannot work would miss the privilege of expert treatment of physical needs without state coercion.

The dignity of human nature, the desire of the best of man to aspire to things beyond human grasp, makes man cry for the recognition of his individuality and to react any time it is forbidden to develop properly into his own personal character.

Today, with modern methods, with experts who plan and study how to develop properly the body of the child, we still lack an adequate

1 - Stirner, Max The Ego and His Own page 5

2 - Goldman, Emma Anarchism Notes of Prof. Vaughan 1924



method of play, recreation, and amusement. What would happen to a society free to do its own will? Today we, with scientific methods, force the child to attend all those hours of play and recreation. Who would take care of him in a anarchist society? If there could be somebody to take care, would the child, thinking of being free, go to the gymnasium instead of the theater?

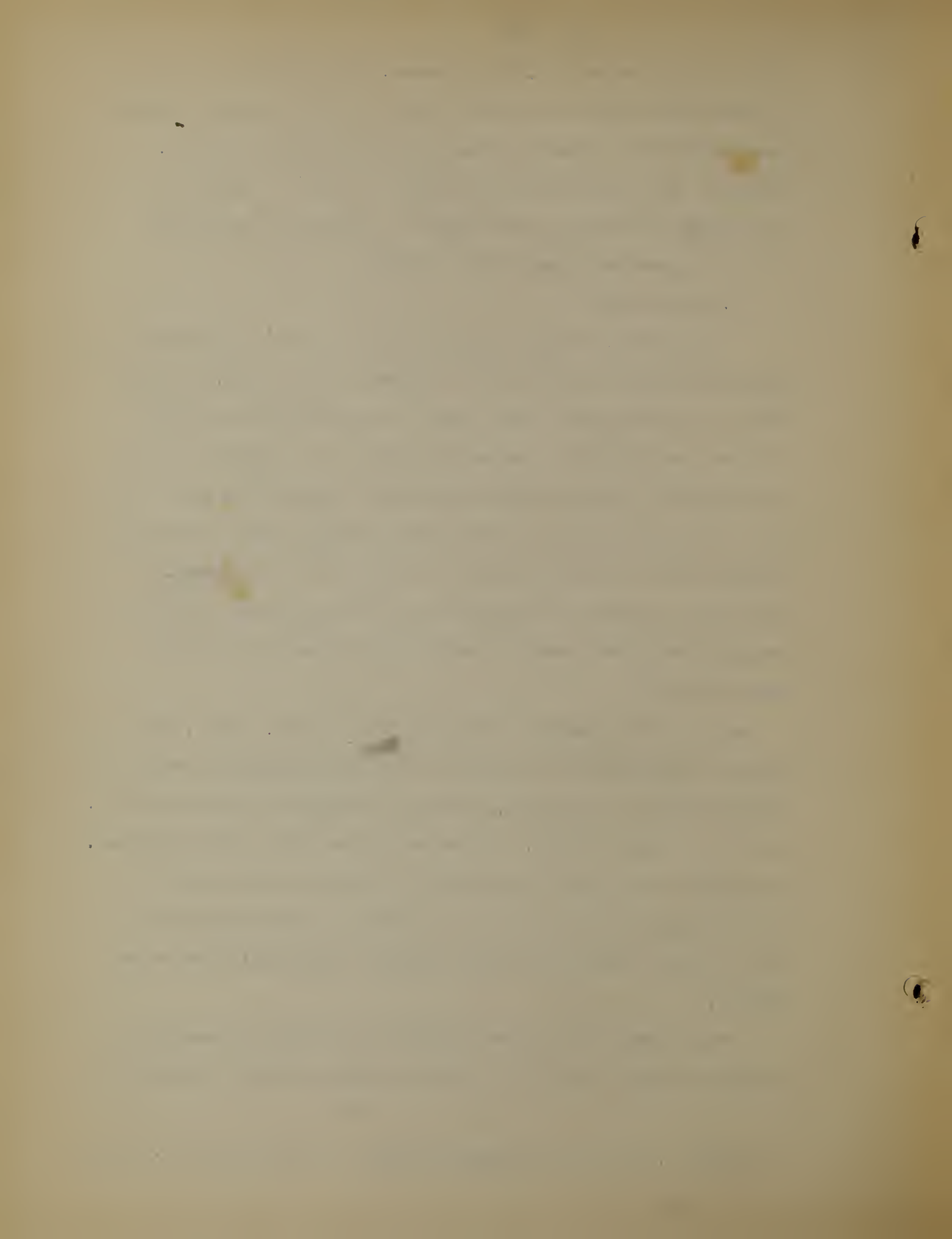
## 2. Economic Life

Does force, violence, and the overthrow of the state bring better economical conditions? Will voluntary co-operation, and full freedom of the individual save society from starvation and robbery? If under a constituted society we have criminals in commerce, as well as in industry, what would be the case then? Suppose that there would be a free community, and it would have an abundant harvest but another community had a very poor one, due to territorial or atmospheric conditions, what would be the regulations? How much should the one community charge the other for wheat or other necessities? Would there be abuse?

William Ellery Channing in his book "The Free Soul" says<sup>1</sup>, "The economic arrangements of anarchism must consist of voluntary productive and distributive associations, gradually developing into free communism. As the best means, however, also recognized the right of the individual, or number of individuals to arrange at all times for other forms of work in harmony with their tastes and desires, such free display of human energy is only possible under complete individualism and social freedom."

Robert Hunter in his book "Violence and the Labor Movement" in chapter XI "The Old Anarchism" gives an adequate answer to what Channing

1 - Channing, William Ellery The Free Soul from notes from Prof. Vaughan

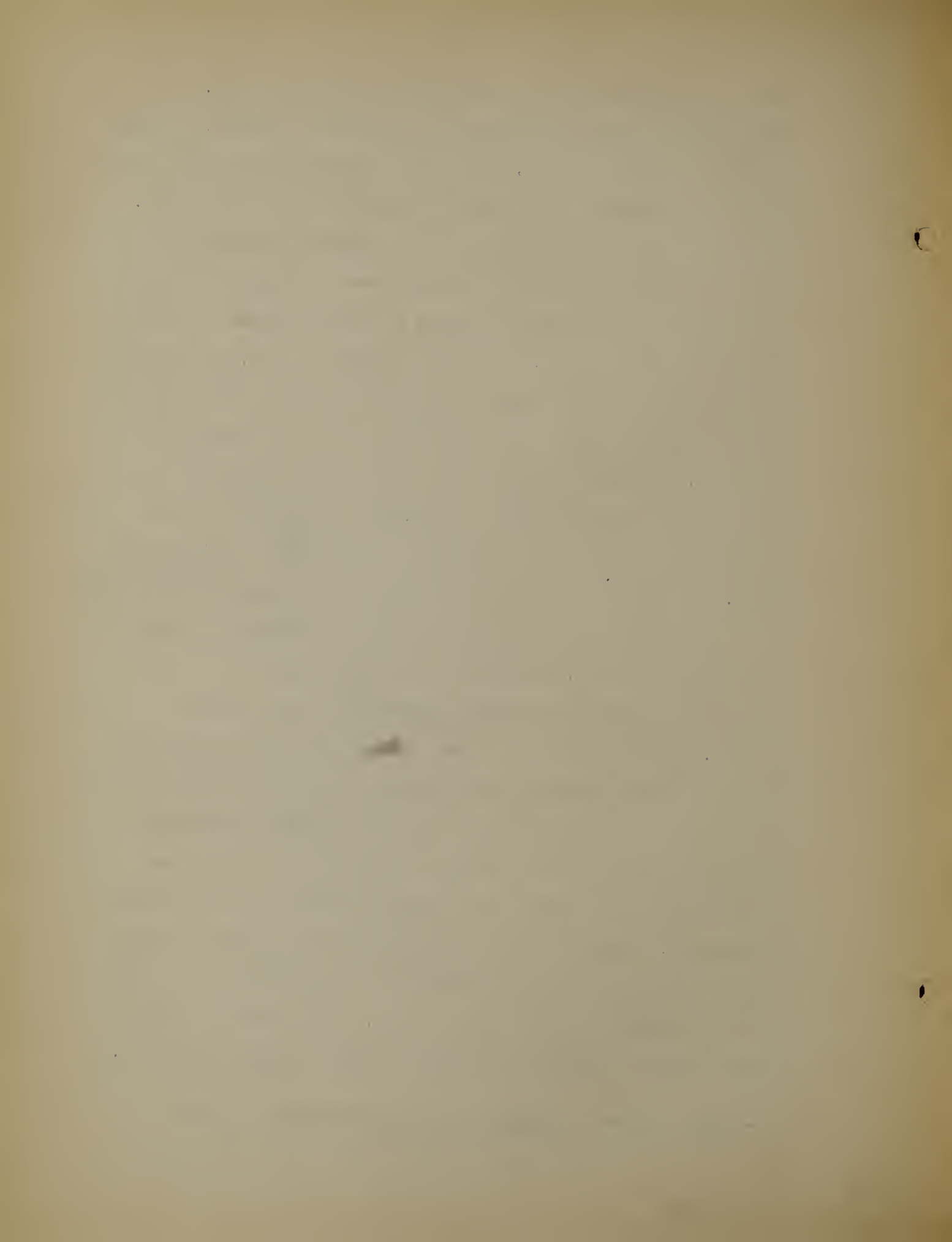


thinks is the way to help the economical situation of today. He says<sup>1</sup> "Under the anarchism proposed by Proudhon and Bakunin, the maintenance of property rights, public order, and personal security would be left to voluntary effort, that is to say, to private enterprise. As all things would be decided by mutual agreement, the only law would be a law of contracts, and that law would need to be enforced either by associations formed for the purpose or by professionals privately employed for that purpose. So far as one can see, then, the methods of the feudal lords would be revived, by which they hired their own personal armies or went shares in the spoils with their bandits and assassins. By organizing their own military forces and maintaining them in comfort, they were able to rob, burn, and murder, in order to protect the wealth and power they had, or to gain more wealth and power. For them there was no law but that of a superior fighting force.

\* \* \* \* Indeed, the feudal duke was all that Nechayeff claimed for the modern robber. He was a glorified anarchist. \* \* \* \*

It will be remembered that Bakunin developed a kind of robber worship. The bandit leaders, Stanka Razin and Pougatchoff appeared to him as national heroes, popular avengers and irreconcilable enemies of the state. He conceived of the brigands scattered throughout Russia and confined in the prisons of the Empire as 'a unique and indivisible world, strongly bound together--the world of the Russian revolution'." Hunter in his chapter on the Newest Anarchism quotes a questionnaire sent by the Syndicalists in the year 1901 as a result of their congressional gathering at Lyons. They aimed to see what could be done in case a social revolution would suddenly take place.

1 - Hunter, Robert Violence and the Labor Movement page 277



Hunter says<sup>1</sup>, "The report dealing with the results of this inquiry contains such a variety of views that it is not easy to summarize it."

If we admit for a while the syndicalist views, that the peasants would take control of the land, the miners control of the mines, the railway workers control of the railroads, etc. would it not follow that the world would fall (1) into marked class divisions, (2) that the various groups would be tempted to live and have their beings in their own group--without any change. That is the peasant would always be a peasant, the miner always a miner, etc. History tells us that society changes and men are moved from one trade to another by desire, by aspiration, by love of doing a new thing. This system of life would kill any enthusiasm in man, would create the blind alley, and force society to live a life of confusion.

Who would say that one trade would give as much return as another trade? In case of more profit in one group than in the other, what should be the way out? Some dominant central group with coercive power would surely be necessary.

With Dr. Vaughan we say<sup>2</sup> "While we agree that 'Vox Populi' is not necessarily 'Vox Dei', we feel that greater good comes to more people through the State, in spite of objectionable features, than would come without the State. While we admit neither the divine right of kings nor the divine right of majorities, we do believe that common sense and the interest of the social group demand co-operative effort with coercive elements. Laws are necessary to insure the highest degree of liberty to all, and a law without a penalty is not a law, but merely advise. One's own liberty ceases where the liberty of another begins.

1 - Hunter, Robert Violence and the Labor Movement page 237

2 - Anarchism Dr. Vaughan's Notes for 1924



We do not believe the anarchist's contention that we are safe in leaving this to individuals alone. The individual is not sovereign-- he is a social product, a "socius" and he has social obligations. Society is not made up of scattered and isolated units, as the body is not made up of scattered and isolated cells. It would not be wise to accept altogether the anarchist basis of morality. We owe it to our generation to give them the benefits of accumulated race experience, always with the maximum of spiritual influence and the minimum of physical coercion."

It is argued that the state is a weapon of the strong to protect the few who are strong against mass movement of the multitudes who are individually weak. History is not without facts to support this claim, but even if true, it does not follow that the masses would be better off without the state. It rather means that the masses had better control the state for the common good.

### 3. Moral Life.

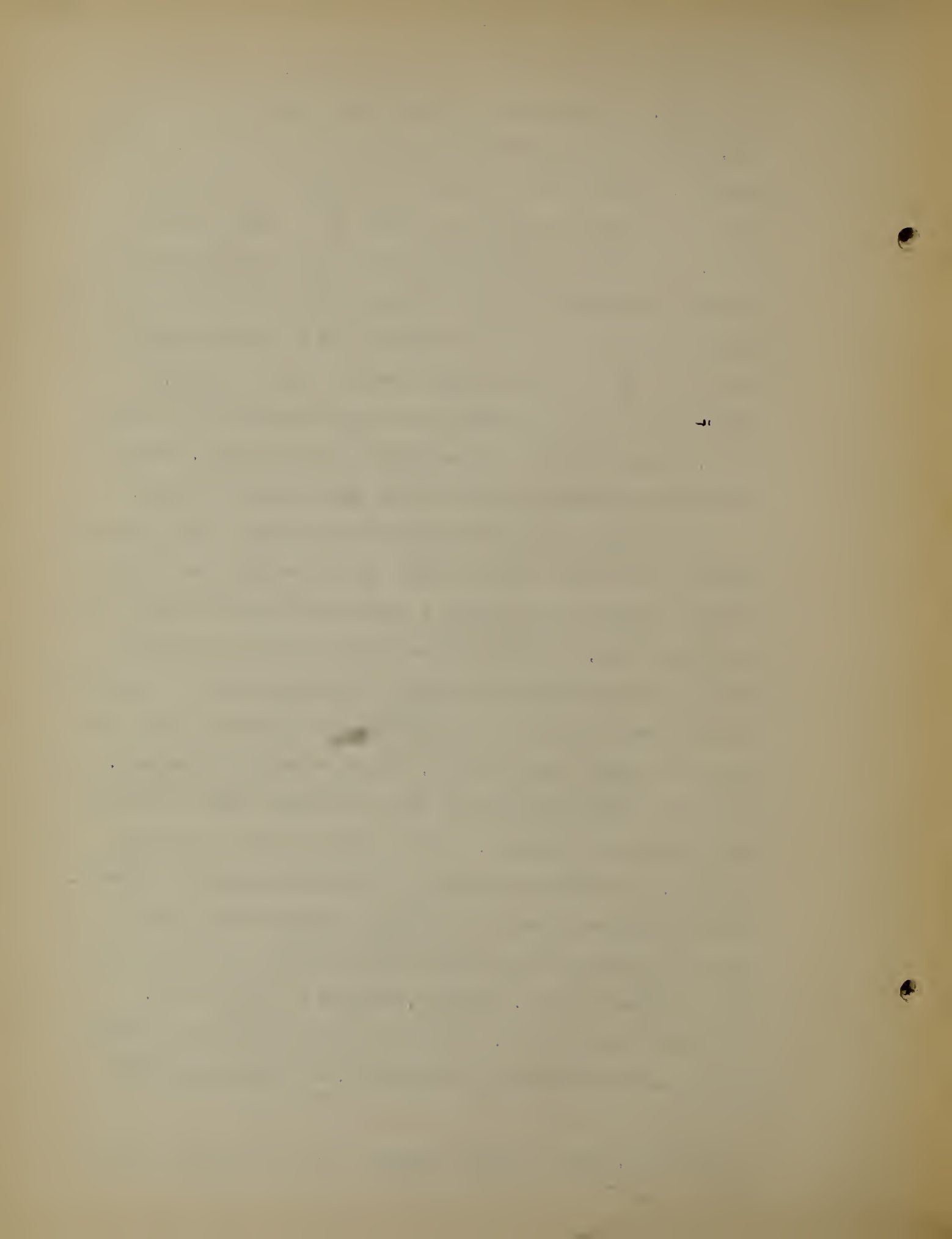
Anarchism does not give any place to coercion to attain moral ends. Kropotkin thinks that man naturally is a moral being, and his moral acts must spring from his life spontaneously as the water runs from springs.

He says<sup>1</sup>, "Whatever the variety of theories of morality, all can be brought under three chief categories; the morality of religion; the utilitarian morality; and the theory of moral habits resulting from the very needs of life in society. Each religious morality satisfies its prescriptions by making them originate from revelation; and it tries to impress its teachings on the mind by a promise of reward, or punishment, either in this or in a future life. The



utilitarian morality maintains the idea of reward, but it finds it in man himself. It invites men to analyze their pleasures, to classify them, and to give preference to those which are most durable. We must recognize, however, that, although it has exercised some influence, this system has been judged too artificial by the great mass of human beings, and finally--whatever its varieties--there is the third system of morality which sees in moral actions--in those actions which are most powerful in rendering men best fitted for life in society--a mere necessity of the individual to enjoy the joys of his brethren, to suffer when some of his brethren are suffering; a habit and a second nature, slowly elaborated and perfected by life in society. That is the morality of mankind and that is also the morality of anarchy."

He illustrates anarchists' morality by picturing a child which is drowning in the river; while he thinks that the religious man saves the child because he thinks about a selfish reward in this world or in the world to come; while the utilitarian gets into the water to save the child because he says he must seek the greatest amount of happiness, and the anarchist will do it as responding to an instinct in his inner nature which calls to him to do so, because he cannot do otherwise. In saving the child he has not in mind the external reward of God or the admiration of the people, but the natural joy and instinctive necessity. He calls the religious and utilitarian moralist a reckoner, while he calls the anarchist the real man because he did it, not thinking of himself and the reward after the act was done, but doing it as a natural instinct. He says<sup>1</sup>, "And here is the third man. He does not calculate much. But he has grown in the habit of always feeling the joys of those who surround him, and feeling happy when



others are happy; of suffering, deeply suffering when others suffer. To act accordingly is his second nature. He hears the cry of the mother, he sees the child struggling for life, and he jumps into the river and saves the child, thanks to the energy of his feelings. And when the mother thanks him he answers: 'Why! I could not do otherwise than I did.' That is the real morality. \* \* \* \* Such a morality needs no law for its maintainance. It is a natural growth favored by the general sympathy which ever advances towards a wider and higher morality in all fellow-men."

4. Spiritual Life

Bakunin starts his book God and the State by saying<sup>1</sup>: "Who are right, the idealists or the materialists?" He calls the ideal using Proudhon's words 'a flower, whose root lies in the material conditions of existence.'

Max Stirner says<sup>2</sup> "I shall be the enemy of every higher power, while religion teaches us to make it our friend and be humble toward it."

He is against society that, while it has discarded the idea of a supreme being, has put man as God of humanity. He does not want a God that shall boss man in any realm of life. He states<sup>3</sup>, "The power is man's, the world is man's, I am man's \* \* \* \* my power is my property. My power gives me property. My power and I myself, and through it am I my property."

Talking about human and divine rights and duties he says<sup>4</sup> "I derive all rights and all warrant from me; I am entitled to everything that I have in my power. I am entitled to overthrow Zeus, Jehovah, God, etc. if I can." For him every religion is a superstition, God,

1 - Bakunin, Michael God and the State page 11  
 2 - Stirner, Max The Ego and His Own page 172  
 3 - " " " " " 193  
 4 - " " " " " 197



the spirit, etc. are empty words used to explain what is in man only. Man is a super being, he is a spirit, humanity, the world, etc.

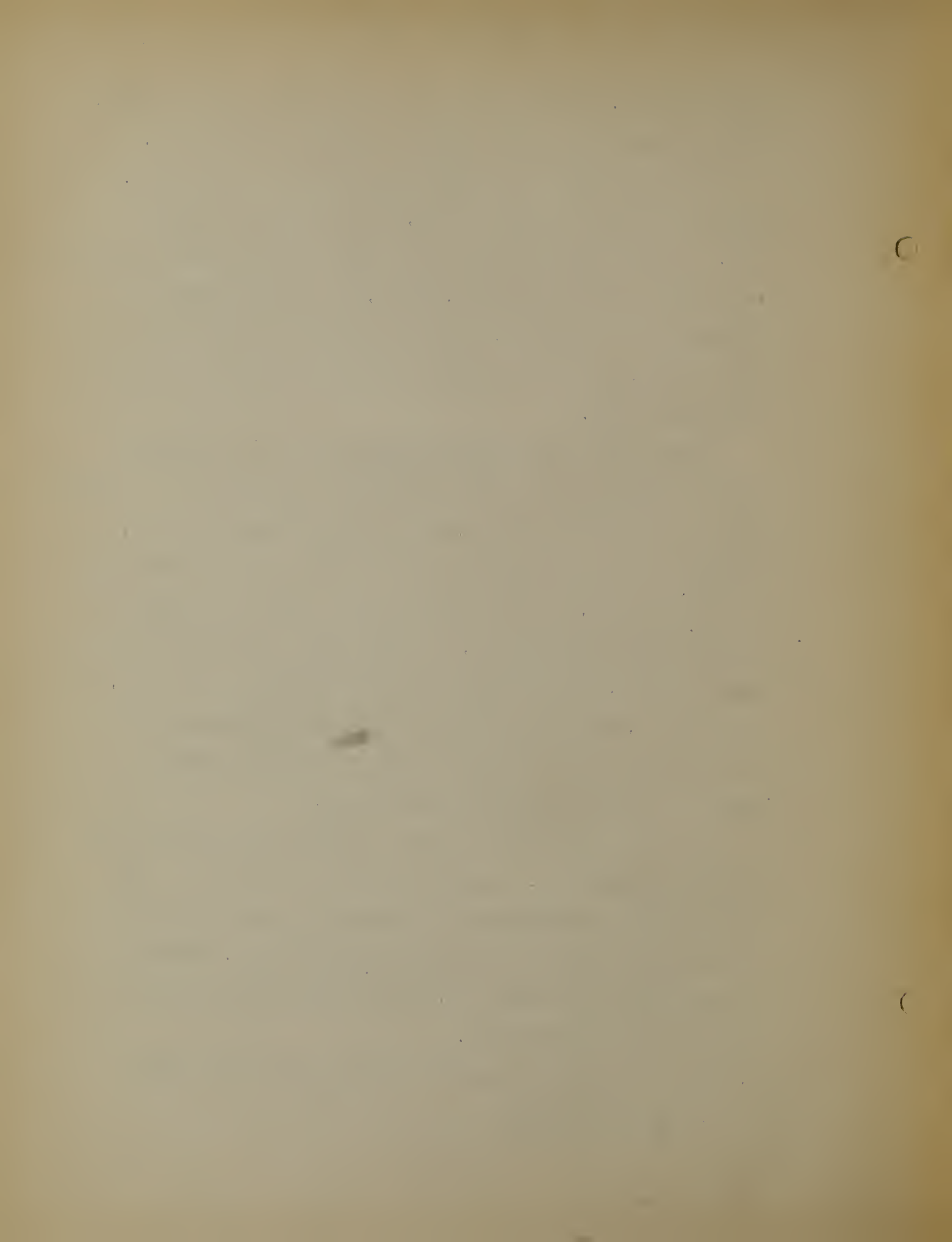
Religion is based on superstition and on abuse and authority. There is one real thing, that is man, above man all is empty and void. He calls egoistics those that believe in God, in Christ, Buddha, Etc. For him, the use of the word God, Spirit, etc. among the various religions is a war of words. He calls those who worship God and Christ "fools, fools in a madhouse"; lunatics worthy of being closed in an insane hospital.

Bakunin in his book God and the State page 27 in talking about those who want to harmonize God and humanity, says "They say in a single breath; 'God and the liberty of man' God and the dignity, justice, equality, fraternity, prosperity of men' regardless of the fatal logic by virtue of which, if God exists, all these things are condemned to non-existence. For, if God is, he is necessarily the eternal, supreme, absolute master, and, if such a master exists, man is a slave; now, if he is a slave, neither justice, nor equality, nor fraternity, nor prosperity are possible for him" Voltaire said "If God really existed, it would be necessary to abolish him."

This philosophical view of life of materialistic anarchism is in it aspiration atheistic. Its interpretation of history is a crude materialistic one which leaves the individual in a sea of hopeless despair without any way of escaping his miserable fate. Tolstoy is an exception to the general rule, with his deep religious nature and his keen spiritual insight.

B. Can Anarchism give the individual proper social environment?

1. Ethical Environment



If we ask the anarchist to draw the line where the man-animal ends and the ethical man begins, he would not be able to do so. What is life if we do not give any emphasis to all those meanings that are not found in the world of matter and yet are the only ones which give power, dignity, name and nobility to man?

When we discard coercive justice, legalized love, law, martial loyalty, family continuity and so forth what remains to man? If we abolish the belief in God, and destroy the state, who shall tell us that an act is right? What will be the measure?

If we investigate the historical movement of mankind and its religious development we come to the conclusion that the idea of a moral God, the necessity for a God, was not the result of superstition, but as a natural outcome of the nature of man who cannot live happily without the communion with a higher being. It seems to me, as Rousseau states it, if there were no God man would have to create one, because in man there is something that leads him to search for a higher being. We may say that it is natural for man to crave a higher being as the goal of his perfection in life.

What is civilization, if not that organized experience through the centuries which has enabled society to make a marked difference between right and wrong, between good and bad, between ethical and unethical, mine and thine?

If we, for a moment, forget how much those moral leaders of mankind have suffered and toiled to organize what has seemed to them to be good, helpful and best, for the welfare of society, will not that be an irreparable mistake?



What provision does anarchism make for man in his daily life of struggle? Shall love be material, selfish, or spiritual, ethical and unselfish? Shall life be material only, or moral and spiritual?

Anarchism answers by saying: You are a moral being, you have natural goodness inborn in you, you have a moral code and ethical hidden life which you do not know.

We say those inferences are mere words. The world of history, the world of facts of experience tell us that man has suffered and still suffers when the moral code is gross, when the material life takes the place of the spiritual one. I have had many contacts with anarchists, and my impression has been, that the common man among the anarchists lives a life of unrest, from his eyes anyone can see that something in him is abnormal, he hates, he is unhappy.

To talk of natural goodness is one thing, and to produce natural goodness is another thing. I have not yet seen lawyers, doctors or musicians coming out naturally as a wild flower grows from the earth. It has cost them pain, suffering and hardship before they have been able to see an abundant harvest in their lives.

It seems to me that anarchism wants to have an abundant harvest where it has not sown, and to live a life of happiness, joy and peace without paying the required price.

Many anarchists do not see any difference between the world of phenomena and the world of "noumena" or the intelligible world. They say as body and spirit are one thing, as bad and good is a distinction of the theologian, so the world of phenomena and the world of noumena is a matter of philosophical words. There is only one thing real, one thing concrete, man and the world of matter.



Thus speaks the anarchist, and when he has reached such a conclusion it seems to him that he is the hero, the discoverer of a new truth which shall give to him and society joy, happiness and rest. Has anarchism put the emphasis where it really belongs? This is the question which has troubled all the leaders of human thought. What ought life to be and what ought it not to be for man? The sociologist aims to see the best way to make man the real citizen of this world. That is, it is the business of man to study society and find the means which shall transform life, so as to create a happy and true environment for man.

Anarchism says that the state says that war is ethical, that punishment is right, and therefore says we will fight the state and we want to over-throw it for being the advocate of means of destruction to society. Religion, they say, is not right, because it does not do this, and does not do that, the Lord said this, and the Lord said that. The sociologists as a whole want to find the truth, they want to find scientific methods which can help man the best, but as to one or the other code of morals they do not care. They think that as man born without any physical, intellectual or economic training can be made able to use his body and train his mind, so can man grow and refine himself by his ethical code.

From Confucius to Plato, from Aristotle to Seneca and Dante, from Spinoza and Rousseau to Auguste Comte, Kant, J.S. Mill and Spencer, there has been a constant struggle by those leaders to help society the most.

Both anarchist schools are in contradiction with each other. While philosophical anarchism repudiates human ethics, communistic anarchism repudiates divine ethics.



Tolstoy, living in a chaos of ethical codes, repudiates all human ethics, and makes the divine the only true and sound ones to help man and to stand the test of experience. Talking about law he says<sup>1</sup>, "The human or the written laws are not just; they are capricious and artificial; Jesus Christ nullified them and confirmed only the eternal laws." He discards all human standards of life because he says they were imposed on the people by kings, emperors, by legislatures and princes. Tolstoy also disagreed with the economical theory of the use of money. He says<sup>2</sup>, "Science says that there is nothing unjust and prejudicial about money, that money is the natural condition of social life, necessary: (1) for convenience of exchange; (2) for the establishment of measures of value; (3) for saving; and (4) for payments." He thinks that money leads to slavery, law to tyranny and abuse and property to idleness, class struggle and poverty.

Communist anarchism on the other hand repudiates God and the state. Bakunin says<sup>3</sup>, "The liberty of man consists solely in this; that he obeys natural laws because he has himself recognized them as such, and not because they have been externally imposed upon him by any extrinsic will whatever, divine or human, collective or individual."

Peter Kropotkin says<sup>4</sup>, "We know, on the contrary, that while all governments have given to the capitalists and monopolists full liberty to enrich themselves with the underpaid labor of the workingman reduced to misery. They have never, anywhere, given the workingmen the liberty of opposing that exploitation."

1 - Stanoyevich, Dr. M.S. Tolstoy's Theory of Social Reform p. 18

2 - " " " " " " " " p. 23

3 - Bakunin, Michael God and the State p. 30

4 - Kropotkin, Peter Modern Science and Anarchism p. 32

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## 2. Esthetical Environment

Dr. Starch says that many scholars have come to the conclusion that music as well as poetry may be hereditary or primal talent in every child. He thinks that <sup>1</sup>, "Ninety-nine percent of humanity lose all poetical faculties during the years of early childhood because of the artificial conditions of modern child-life, so that the large majority of children lose their native musical ability through lack of training the ear and mind during the most susceptible period."

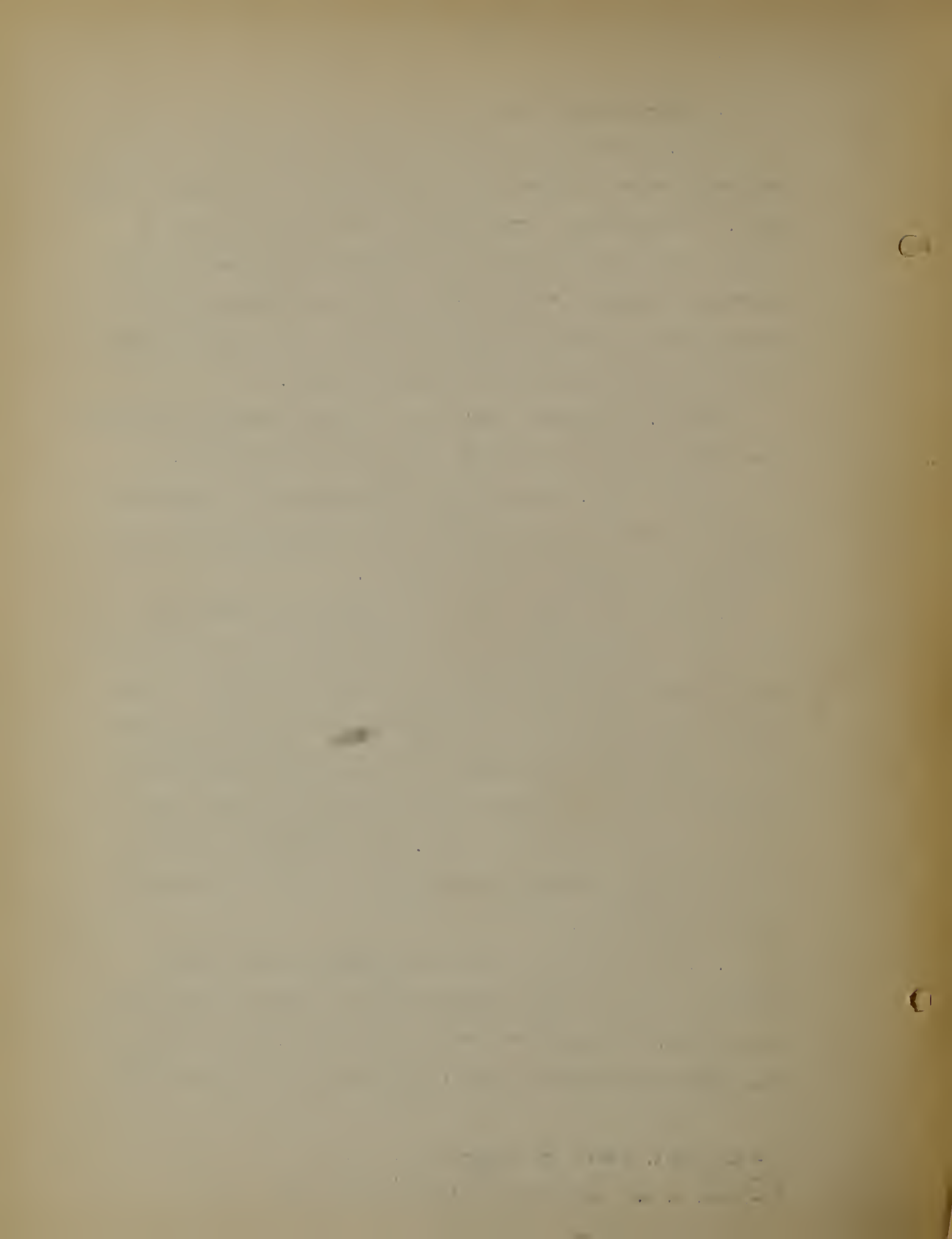
Again Dr. Starch says <sup>2</sup>, "Abilities in special subjects are inherited apparently to no greater extent in one subject than in another."

According to Dr. Starch the lack of providing proper environment destroys the talent that is inborn in every child, and so we see only a few which do things that others cannot do.

E. W. Cook, in writing about art in England in a bitter tone presents us the attitude of anarchism which depreciates art. He calls those anarchists "The needy knife-grinder school." He says, <sup>3</sup> "Painting is wittily described as in its anecdote, a vice, and is likened to the potato blight or phylloxera and is called the failure of the nineteenth century. Exactness of costume and truth of local color are characterized as derivative vices. These anarchical doctrines have been largely accepted by the thoughtless, or they might be left to confute themselves."

E. W. Cook thinks that anarchism by undermining the ethical meanings of bad, good, ugly, admitting that all human acts are neither good nor bad, but natural acts which spring from the inner nature of man, also undermines the ethical taste in man which has been the best and

1 - Briffault, Robert The Mothers Vol. I p. 57  
2 - " " " " Vol. I p. 5  
3 - Cook, E. W. Anarchism in Art pages 22, 23, 28



the worthiest factor to enrich human life through the centuries bringing beauty and harmony in the civilized world. He says, "So to retain our sanity, we must reject as anarchical anything which subverts all our notions of right and wrong, or of beauty and ugliness."

Mr. Whistler thinks that there is no art. E. W. Cook says that Whistler thinks that "The Tale of Beauty is complete, written on a fan by Hakusai at the foot of Tusi-yama." If this were true, he adds, "it would hang a millstone about the neck of every artist, condemn him to a monotonous mill-house round, stagnation, degeneration, or esthetic death."

E. W. Cook says that D. S. MacColl, another anarchist, in ridiculing art<sup>1</sup> "headed an article, with strange lack of good taste, 'The Rape of Painting', in which, with curiously muddled metaphor, he figures our artists as unsuccessfully wooing the Goddess of Painting, and Mr. Sargent (another anarchist) storming in and carrying her off by main force."

1 - Cook, E. W. Anarchism in Art p. 28

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C H A P T E R   I I I

A N A R C H I S M   I N   R E L A T I O N  
T O   T H E   F A M I L Y

- A. Its Social Unity
- B. Its Moral Character
- C. Its Spiritual Sanctity

## CHAPTER III

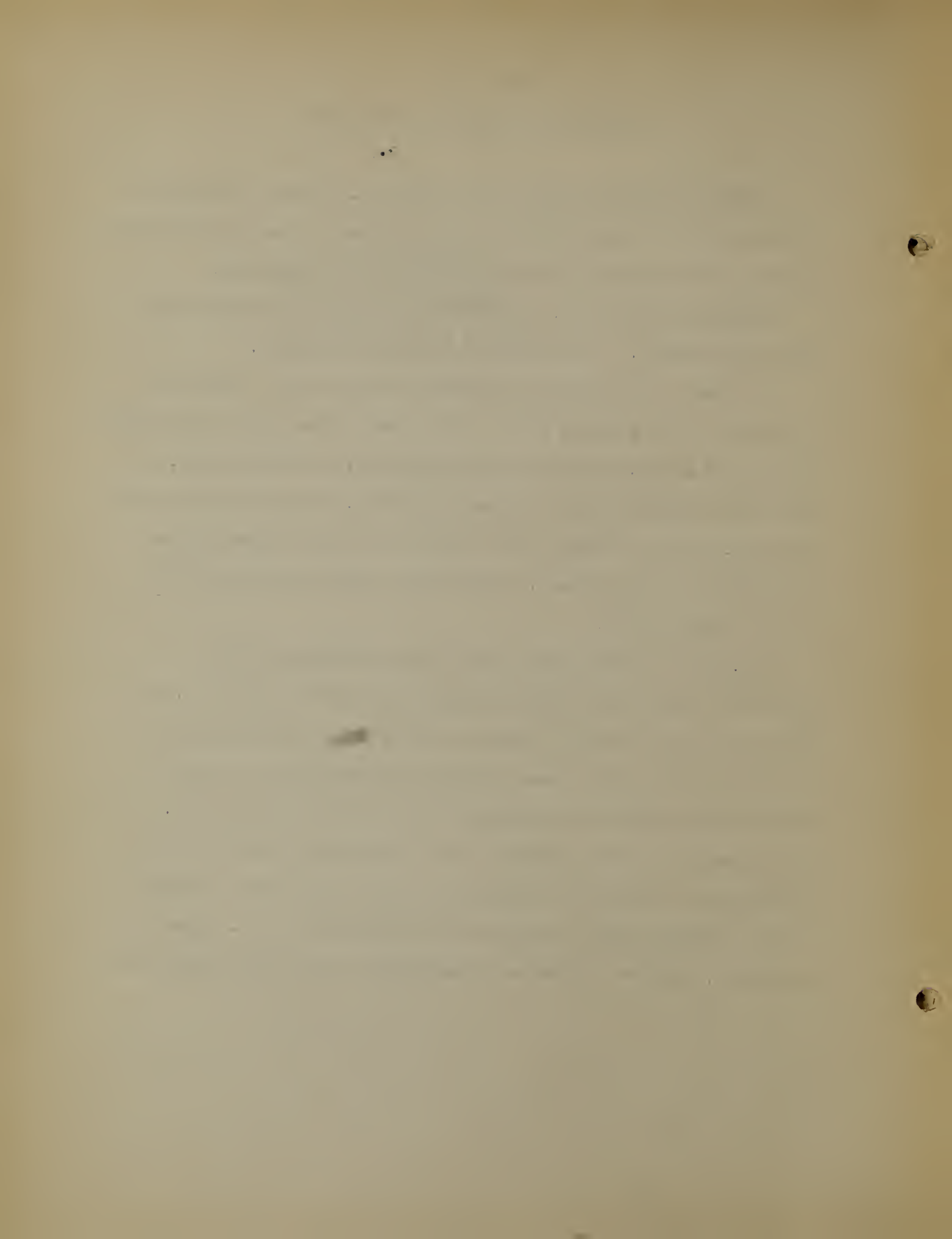
### ANARCHISM IN RELATION TO THE FAMILY

The family, from its prehistoric formation, has been the center of human activity, the place of comfort, the refuge of those who are tired or persecuted and who felt safe within the wall of its sanctuary.

Man needs family ties, in order that life may be directed toward the right channels. This includes control and government.

It looks to me as though individualism does not take into consideration that the family is not just a group of two or more individuals, as sheep in a fold, but it is an economic asset, a cultural group, and an ethical force, in which co-operation, pride, interest, ambition and the like, unite its members into a whole for its full protection and development, in the economic, intellectual, moral and spiritual and social realms of life.

Fr. Ernest R. Mower says, "The historical antecedents of the modern family and of the disorganization which is part of it, are both recent and definite. Twentieth century family disorganization is a part of the great movement toward individualization which has characterized western civilization in the last four hundred years. This movement has been strongest in the cities where there is great opportunity to escape the restraints of established custom, but even the most remote rural districts have not escaped its force. Industry, education, religion, and social organization as well as the family have



been affected by this general movement to free the individual from his previous unquestioning submission to traditional group control."<sup>1</sup>

Now let us see how his program may fit the life of the family or meet the demand of home life.

The home ought to be the place to which its members go for support, for inspiration, for creative work. It must be a place to rest. It may mean mental and physical relaxation, a change of life from the ordinary daily life. For some, while it may mean a change to recover from illness, to lay up strength, for others it may mean a place of meditation and mental activity. So the family must have a head, who may make the home attractive, a place in which its members may find comfort, rest, joy and happiness. Without any control, in the family, we may have anarchy .... Control distributes the work of the family, assigning to each member its task, and inspiring each member to a better life.

The home according to Lillian M. Gilbreth "must respond to the question, what, who, where."<sup>2</sup>

The danger in the individualistic system about the family is, that marriage instead of being a sacred thing, a holy union of two individuals for the building of a new generation, becomes a mere contract, a business matter, a formal life, rather than a true living dynamic force that brings happiness when there is sorrow, that gives comfort, inspiration, hope and rest to a tired husband or to a worn-out wife. Under individualistic system, husband and wife must have the ten suggestions of Thomas and Znaniecki, not as a matter of the

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1 - Ernest R. Mowrer, Family Disorganization, p. 4.

2 - Lillian M. Gilbreth, The Home Maker and Her Job, p.25-27,49.



love, but as a matter of necessity to keep family life mechanical together. That is, the wife

1. Must not be extravagant
2. Must keep the home clean
3. Must not permit her person to become unattractive (Become more worldly)
4. Must not receive attention from other men
5. Must not resent reasonable discipline of children by their father
6. Must not spend too much time with her mother
7. Must not accept advice from the neighbors or stress too greatly even that of her own family concerning the management of her domestic affairs
8. Must not disparage her husband
9. Must smile, be attentive to little things
10. Must be tactful, and feminine

The husband must be

1. Generous according to his means
2. Should not interfere with a woman in the management of purely domestic affairs
3. He should be cheerful, even though sometimes it may tax him to the utmost
4. Should be considerate
5. Should make love to his wife; continuing to be her sweetheart
6. Should not scold
7. Establishing his own home, if possible, remote from his wife's and his own immediate family
8. Should not keep a lodger
9. Should cultivate neatness and personal cleanliness
10. Be kind and just to his own children.<sup>1</sup>



And yet, are we sure that after we observe the ten suggestions family life will be a success?

We are convinced that life consists in the conquest of our inner world and the world around us. In order to reach the goal, the family must conquer the instincts and desires that are harmful to its members and the community. The family should avoid that which makes life poor and egoistic, tyrannic and materialistic, and let the spiritual and moral sunshine of the inner life give place to the full expression of spiritual and ethical love, joy and peace.

The family must strive for that love, for that joy and that peace that is not mere human expression of life, but which is the fusion of the divine and the human, working together for the conquest of those values which enrich life to such an extent that happiness springs as a mighty stream.

If equality, liberty, and freedom lead to a lack of communion which will result in the destruction of the family tie, harming society as well as the individual, we must find a synthesis between individualism and the family life.

The modern society must think that above any political, social, economic, and industrial aspiration, there is something secret in man and woman that calls for co-operation and a life of self-sacrifice for the better development of the off-spring. No man shall or can live for himself. He must live for others as others have lived for him.

To say, with individualism, that marriage or union must continue only as long as man is able to satisfy the material demand of the woman and vice versa, is destructive. Love must unite and change the individuals, it must be a growing love, involving the physical, the moral, and the



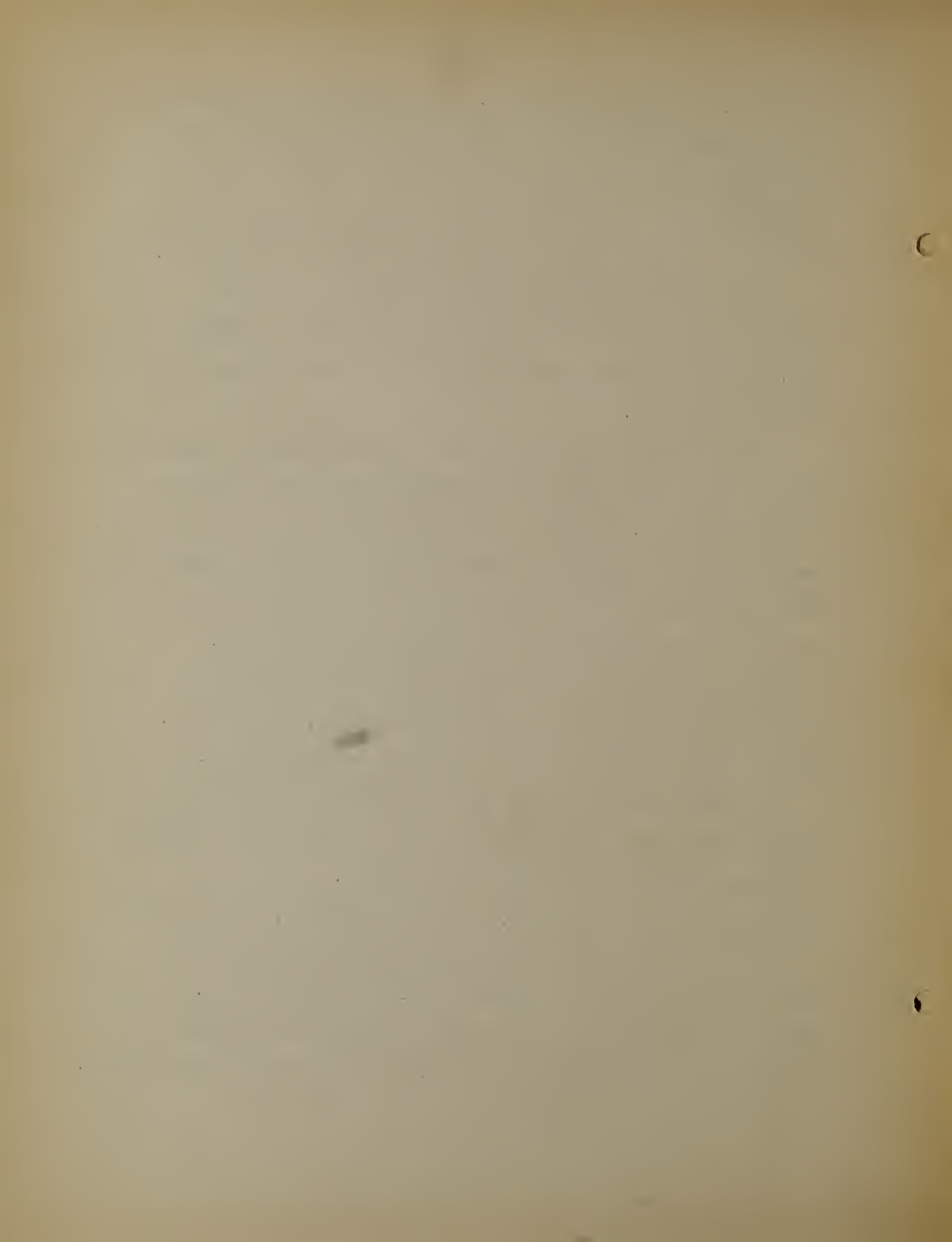
spiritual inspiration of human life. We must recognize the equality of men and women, the freedom of the individual against all that forbids him to give full expression to his inner nature, to his moral and spiritual elevation; but after a man has reached his personal freedom he must also recognize that his freedom is relative and not absolute.

The anarchist comes forth saying leave men and women free, let them enjoy life, let them dissolve and redissolve the marital bond, man must live free, in freedom is found happiness, harmony and mutual understanding.

To those advocates of total freedom of the individual, we say that happiness is not the product of full freedom and enjoyment in pleasures of this world alone. The real joy, the true freedom is found in sacrifice. When you have taken away from a mother her children, when you have deprived her of the father of her children, life for her means nothing, an empty word, a mere forced pilgrimage of a desolated and unhappy soul.

But let her hear the voice of her children, let her play and enjoy herself with her children, and there is heaven, and happiness. She is ready to fight the world, to give herself for her family.

The family has the right to live in a proper environment; the members of it ought to have plenty for their life, in order that education and opportunity may be opened to its members. That is, the individual ought to have at home, at school, in society, at work, such a place and such a treatment that work of any kind is helpful to his body, to his mind, and not a tiresome yoke, but a real pleasure. The individual must be under the control of the family and society in all those things that make him a true, honest and sincere lover of truth.



As we read in the report of C.O.P.E.C., on The Home<sup>(1)</sup>, "While in the time sense, the family is the social unit, it is not self-sufficient for the fuller purposes of life. It has much to contribute to, and it has much to receive from, the wider life of village, town, nation or the world. The families taken collectively are the community, and from them come continually the new citizens, giving a perennial freshness of vigor and possibility of advance to better things. This, however, is dependent upon the new-comers taking up in full the rich inheritance of acquired experience and knowledge and increasing it by rightful use. There are always dangers of retrogression as well as hopes of progress. The relations of the home and the community are therefore of supreme importance . . . . Class distinctions present one of the great difficulties in the building up of a sound home life. They encourage family selfishness, giving a false class standard to be lived up to, and confusing function with worth. Real religion in the home will fight this by setting up its own true standards. Personalities and persons will be valued - possessions and material things will be subservient to them. To the Christian, the individual counts most . . . . If possessions were really subordinate to persons, many of the worst features of our present class distinctions would disappear."<sup>1</sup> If a sense of brotherhood is essential to Christianity, it becomes one of the most important duties of the parent to preserve in the child that sense of equality which most children instinctively possess, and which is destroyed by our artificial conditions. He adds "The making of beautiful and clean

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C O P E C Report

1 - The Home, pp.53,54.



homes should be considered a service of great value to the community.....  
The problems of housing and the development of towns are far too difficult and complex for separate families to solve for themselves.....  
It is through the community that the family shares in a larger social life."<sup>1</sup>

The materialistic conception of life leaves no place for true companionship, for true happiness, for real hope in the future.

I met a girl fourteen years old who had a very keen mind. She professed to be an atheist, and in a moment of despair, talking with me about life, said: "Life, what is life? All is matter, I am matter, matter; twenty or thirty years from now I will be nothing. This makes me unhappy, this leads to despair."

Again, anarchism has failed to see that life evolves, that man grows and by progress and struggle he is led to a better existence. We feel sure that society and the family will never return to the paths of the past. Paul says it is impossible for me to think, to act, to talk, to live, to do things as when I was a child. When I became a man, I left the childish things behind me, now I live the full life which man is called to live.



Such is the story of society and the family. The family every day brings into its life more abundant ties and with its new and old experience, renders its life full of sunshine, rich in meaning and deep in its aims which <sup>it</sup> needs to reach and fulfill.

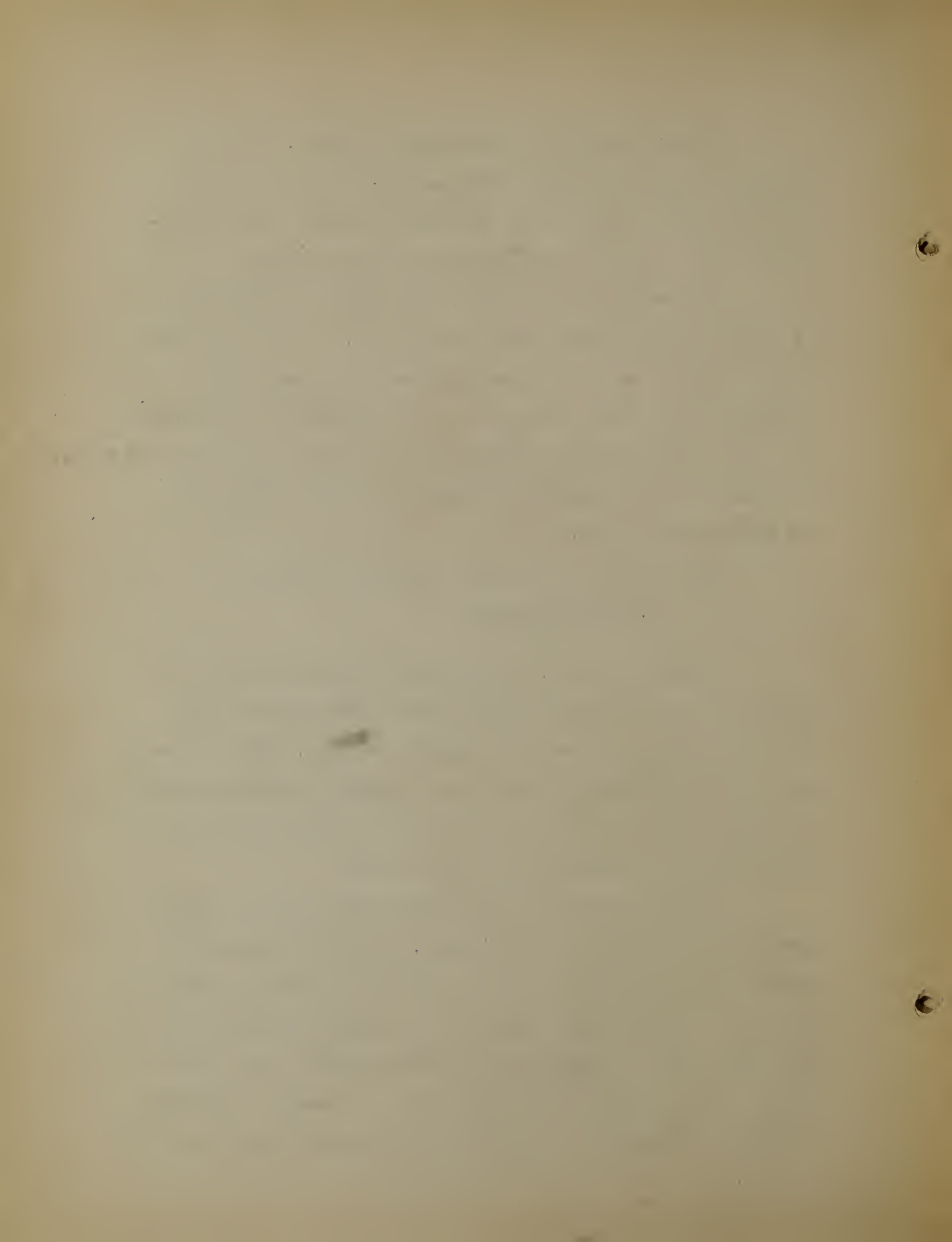
The world in which we live, calls us for a better family, it changes every day into a more beautiful one. If you said to the family, return to the life of your ancestors, adapt yourself to a primitive life, it would answer, "As a man of culture never can return to a life of ignorance and superstition, so I cannot give up all the results of the sacrifice that in the past my fathers have made to bring me to the place where I am now."

Let us see if individualism can help the family, in

#### I. Its Social Unity

As we have stated, anarchism says: destroy the state, abolish all that this present social state offers and the family will find itself on its true road towards perfection. Will that be true? When we have destroyed the state, dissolved the present social tie, when we have left the individual or the family entirely free, shall the family be benefited by such a freedom?

Suppose that wife and husband were left free, not called to observe any moral code or any social tie, what would be the logical result? Will the husband live with his wife all his life? Maybe, and maybe not. Will the mother and the father assume full responsibility for their family? Suppose they should not, who could force them to do it? The state, out of existence? Law? The police? Anarchism stands for the abolition of the means that control order and discipline society.



If today, with severe laws, husbands leave their wives and vice versa,,and if children leave their parents, what would then happen?

Again, if under this present system, many young men and women are affected by the millions with venereal diseases; many others sent to insane hospitals; many others in incurable hospitals; many others in penitentiaries and jails; and many others still violate laws of a minor nature, what would nappen with a society without a state, and without family ties?

If we allowed the Russian Nihilist to take dominion of the family life, what would be the end of the drama? Kropotkin, talking about the Nihilists of his time who as a natural reaction to the political and religious life of Russia, were led to be radicals, and in writing what the Nihilists were saying and thinking about the family and the social and religious ties, says: "Why should I be moral?"<sup>1</sup> He adds, "I will be immoral and why should I not?" Because the Bible wills it? But the Bible is only a collection of Babylonian and Hebrew traditions, traditions collected and put together like the Homeric poems, or as is being done still with Basque poems and Mongolian legends. Must I then go back to the state of mind of the half-civilized peoples of the East? - - - - Must I be moral because Kant tells me of a categoric imperative, or - - - - Am I to be moral to oblige Bentham, who wants me to believe that I shall be happier if I



drown to save a passerby, who has fallen into the river, than if I watched him drown? . . . . Or because my mother taught me morality? . . . . I will try to rid myself of prejudice. Even though immorality be distasteful, I will yet force myself to be immoral."<sup>1</sup>

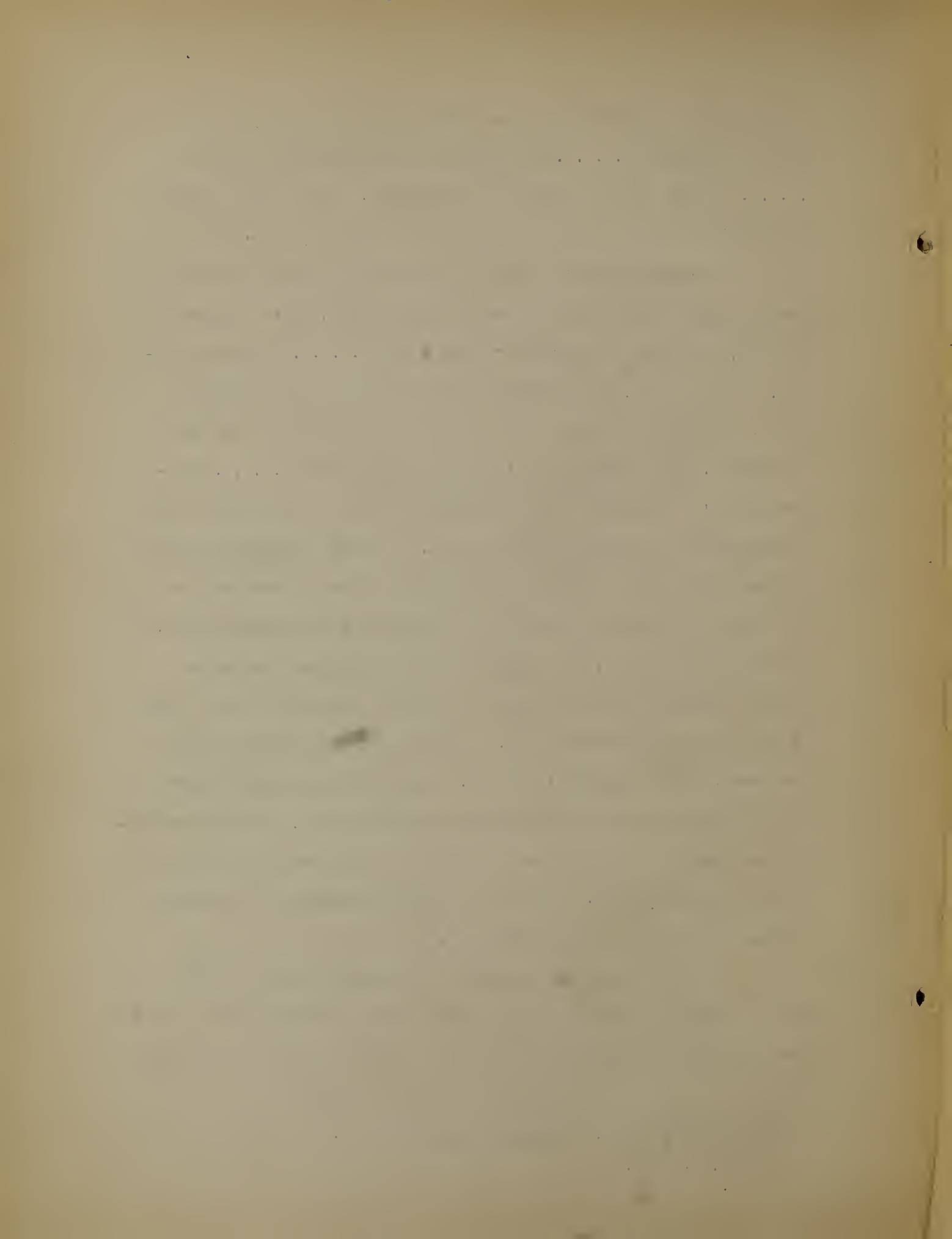
Kropotkin talking about the value of satisfying the pleasure that so imperatively leads men and animals to act, says: "Whatever he does, man seeks a pleasure or shuns a pain . . . . To seek pleasure, to avoid pain, is the general line of action of the organic world. Without this quest of the agreeable, life itself would be impossible. Organisms would disintegrate, life cease . . . . Whatever a man's actions and line of conduct may be, he does what he does in obedience to a craving of his nature. The most repulsive actions, no less than actions which are indifferent or most attractive, are all equally dictated by a need of the individual who performs them. Let him act as he may, the individual acts as he does because he finds a pleasure in it, or avoids, or thinks he avoids a pain. Here we have a well established fact. Here we have the essence of what has been called the egoistic theory. Very well, are we any better off for having reached this general conclusion? Yes, certainly we are. We have conquered a truth, and destroyed a prejudice which lies at the root of all prejudices. All materialistic philosophy in its relation to man is implied in this conclusion".<sup>2</sup>

If the conclusion reached by Peter Kropotkin does not lead to chaos, I venture to say, whose conclusion shall lead to it? The individual obeying a physical need, just to satisfy his craving

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1 - Kropotkin, Peter, Anarchist Morality, p. 3.

2 - Ibid, pp. 7,8.



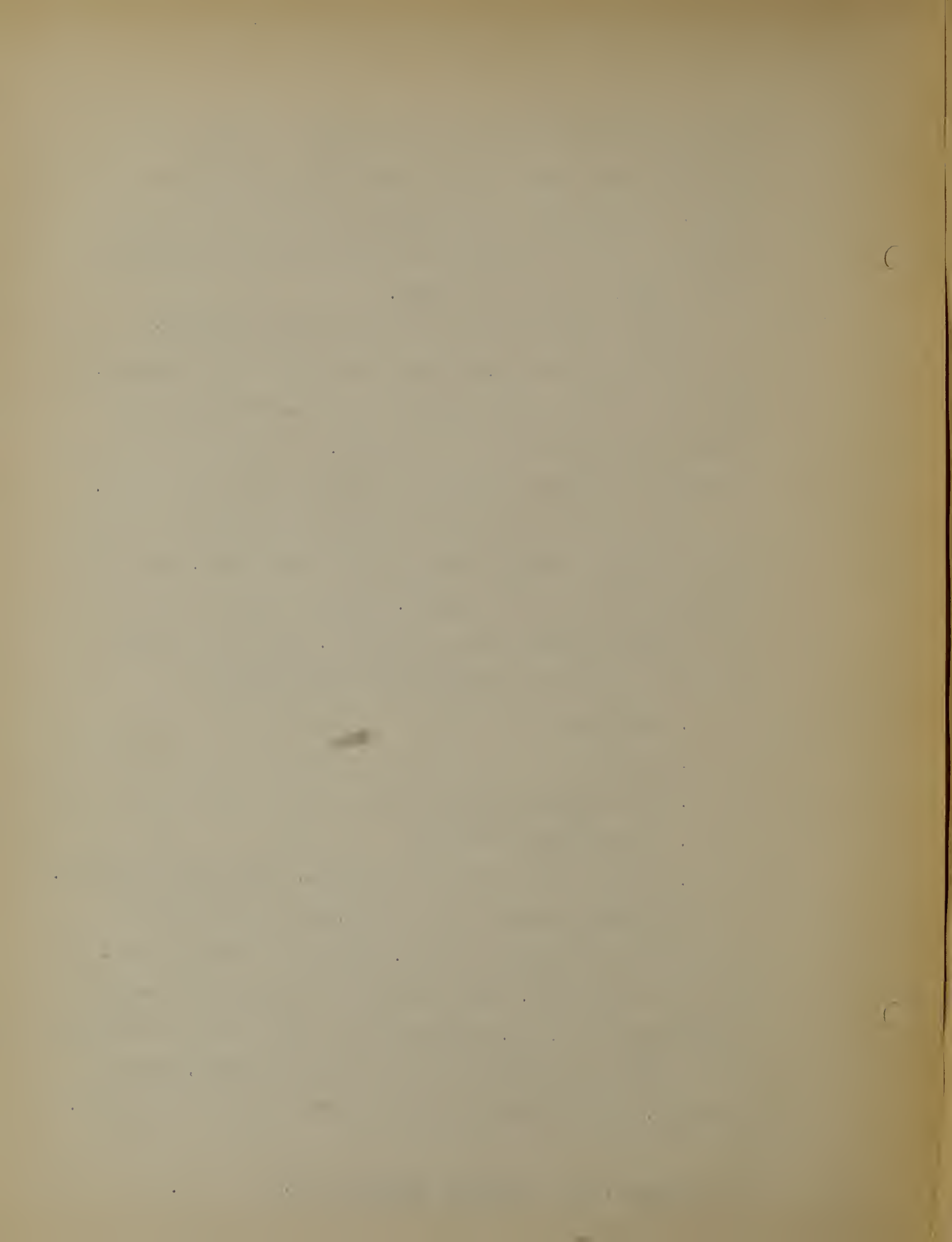
pleasure, may be forced to go and get the wife of another man, and if the other refuses or if the woman refuses, there may be a battle. A man marries a woman because he wants to satisfy his own pleasure, if the next day he has the desire to leave her and follow another woman, he must be left alone.

Talking of bad and good in criticism of Saint Augustine's conception of good and bad, he says: "The animal world in general, from insects to men, knows perfectly what is good and what is bad without consulting the Bible or philosophy."<sup>1</sup> If this is so it is difficult to understand why there is so much evil in human society.

It is true that man strives to live happily, but if his actions are not properly directed, he may be misled and do wrong. The family life will help men to live together. Anarchism does not provide for an adequate measure of family happiness. It offers the means which bring the family more fear than happiness through

1. Revolution
2. Murders
3. The dissolution of the state
4. The abolition of all laws
5. Complete freedom which means to many, license and libertinage.

I was talking with an Italian father, and I asked him why he did not send his children to church. He said, "I urge them to go, but they do not want to go." One of his boys, eight years old, began to talk and said to me, "Mr. Giambarresi, why should I come to church when I do not want to? I want to go to the theater on Sunday, to have a good time. Am I not free to do what I want? I am in a free country."



Freedom as it was viewed by that boy meant license, which in turn is going to cause him to harm society.

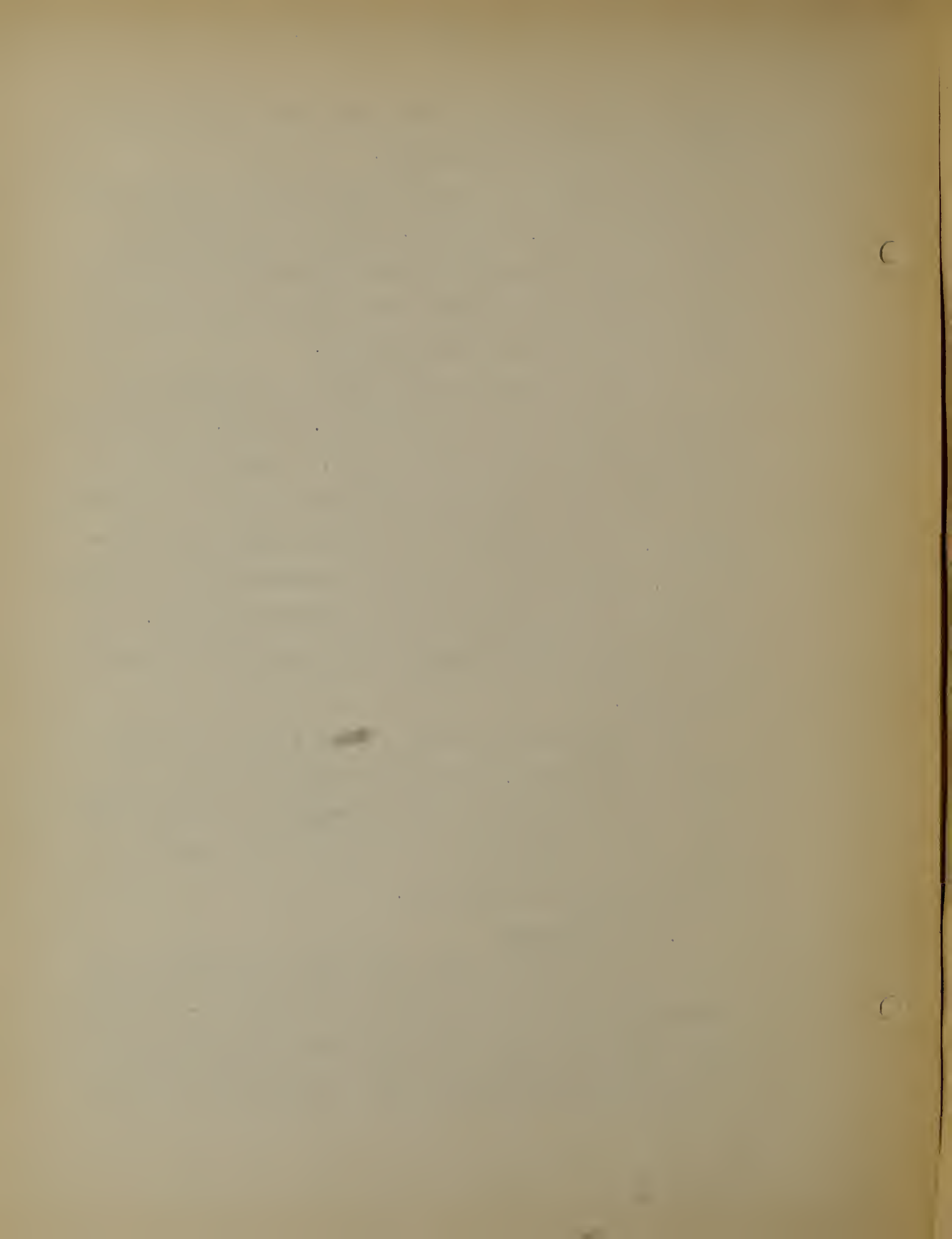
The same father told me that an older son of his does not want to work and he lives on the family. What could anarchism do for those two boys? We have coercive laws which enable us to send the older one to work and the younger one we can force to listen to his father for the good of his future character.

If we had to follow the natural tendency of each member of the family, there would be not unity at all. One day, I was visiting a family in which I found the father angry. I asked for the reason and he told me that every member of the family wanted to eat something different. So the mother had to cook for each member, according to his wish. The father told me that such a life was due to the weakness or tenderness of his wife, who wanted to please her children. The result was that none were pleased in that house and such freedom led to confusion.

Such would happen to an anarchist society free to do whatsoever each member wished. We have rules, and we impose our will on our dependents, children or laborers, many times in order to help them, either for the general good of the family and community or for the individual in the long run.

## 2. Moral Character

a. The family can never grow moral if the parents do not consecrate themselves to the welfare of the family. Dr. W. Goodsell says, "If free love means that individualism and the free development of personality are restricted to adults, while children are reared



in public institutions, admirably designed to discourage individualism, and to produce uniformity, then free love is a profoundly insincere and mistaken doctrine."<sup>1</sup>

b. The family can never be moral if it has not a proper physical, moral, social, economic and spiritual environment. Kropotkin says that there is neither morality nor immorality. Ethics is the result of authority, of law, etc. So, for the nihilist, it is natural to resist the command or suggestions of the mother or the teacher. Why, a nihilist asks, should I obey my mother, the Bible or society? I want to be immoral, even though immorality leads me to destruction.

Again Kropotkin says that men live a life of instinct just as animals do. He is moved to love, to hate, to work, to eat, to kill, to steal, to do anything in his life by the lure of pleasure. Science, philosophy and ethics tell us that as long as man lives by his instincts, he will never be a good man nor a useful one.

Bernard Shaw in his book, "The Impossibility of Anarchism" says, "Under communism, a man could snap his fingers at public opinion without starving for it. Besides, public opinion cannot for a moment be relied upon as a force which operates uniformly as a compulsion upon men to act morally. Its operation is for all practical purposes quite arbitrary, and is as often immoral as moral. It is just as hostile to the reformer as to the criminal."<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Shaw thinks that anarchism does not provide society with an adequate system of social life which will secure the welfare of the family and build the character in man that we need. He says,

1 - Goodsell The Family as a Social and Educational Institution p. 525  
2 - Shaw, Bernard The Impossibility of Anarchism p. 14



"I submit, then, to our Communist Anarchist friends that communism required either external compulsion to boar, or else a social morality which the evils of existing society show that we have failed as yet to attain."<sup>1</sup>

This present society with thousands of years of experience has failed to produce a society in which complete freedom and absolute society and the family.

George Barrett talking about the family and the method of making it an ideal one, says, "Love will only come to a normal and healthy condition when it is set in a world without slums, and poverty, and without all the incentives to crime which exist today. When such a condition is reached it will be folly to bind men and women together, or keep them apart, by laws. Liberty and free agreement must be the bonds of this most essential relationship as surely as it must be of all others."<sup>2</sup>

We say that experienced and human nature has pointed in another direction. We have seen by history that too much freedom turns always into license and abuse. Too much freedom is an incentive to rebellion, to brutality, to abuse, to tragedy, to misunderstanding and only when we bring our freedom under the protection of laws which regulate the life of the individual, will we see that the family may be happy, society move forward, and the machinery of human activity run on its natural course.

Now the anarchists with the exception of Tolstoy, Chandi and a few others who say that in religion and in ethical life, man can find

1 - Ibid page 15

2 - Barret, George, Objections to Anarchism page 26



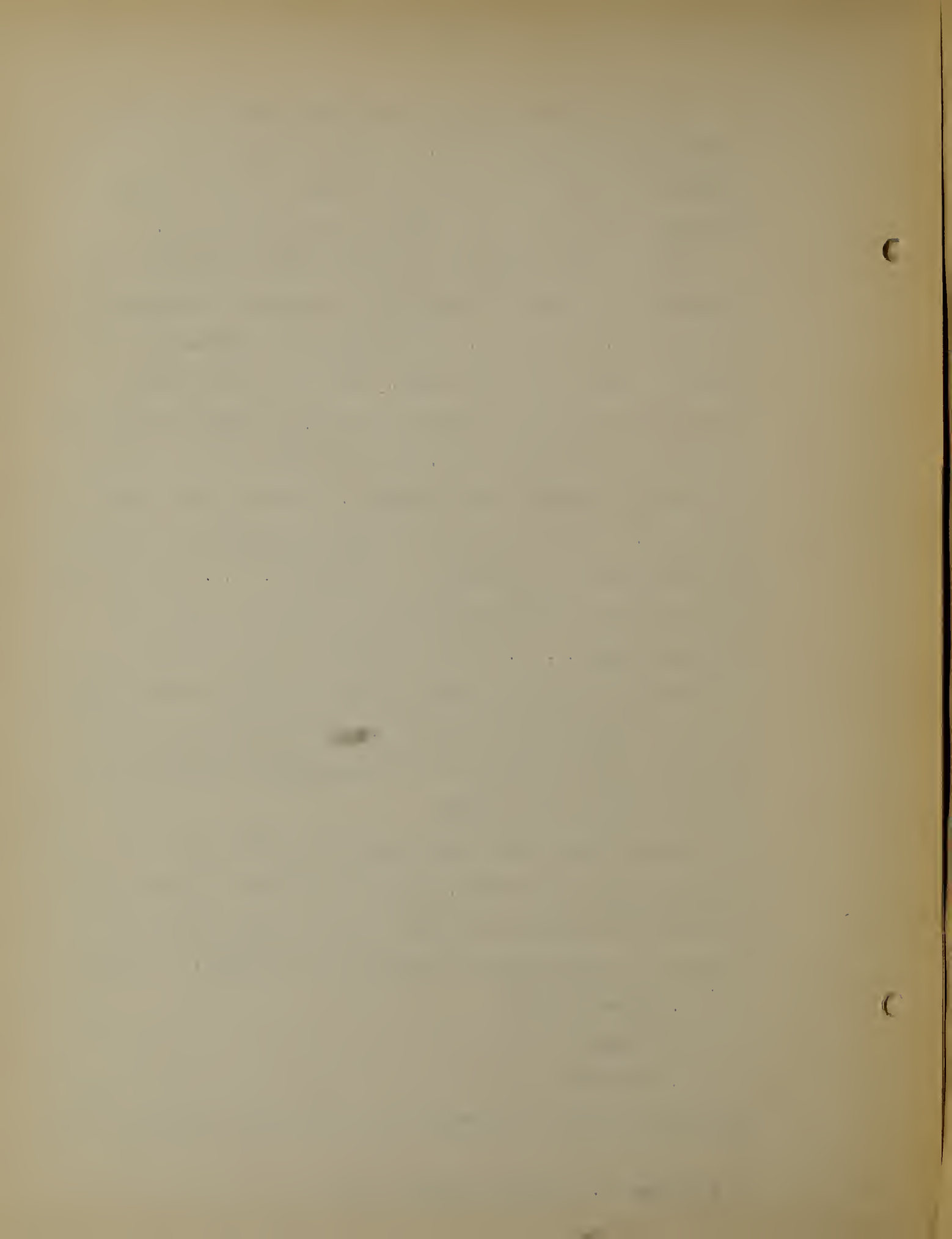
the strength to free himself from the slavery or bondage of abuse, tyranny, injustice and the like, all think that religion is an impediment to progress, destroying the dignity and power of man, and making him a servant of an external and unexistent will.

Bakunin, after ridiculing the creative work of God and the redemptive purpose of Christ and pointing to the fact that God protects the Napoleons, the Williams, the Ferdinands of Austria and the Alexanders of all the Russias, says, "Such are the absurd tales that are told and the monstrous doctrines that are taught, in the full light of the nineteenth century, in all the public schools of Europe, at the express command of the government. They call this civilizing the people! Is it not plain that all these governments are systematic poisoners, interested stupefiers of the masses? . . . I think of the base and criminal means which they employ to keep the nations in perpetual slavery. . . . Of what consequence are the crimes of all the Tropmanns in the world compared with this crime of treason against humanity committed daily in broad day, over the whole surface of the civilized world by those who dare to call themselves the guardians and the fathers of the people?"<sup>1</sup>

Bakunin thinks that rebellion against God and any sort of religion will give prosperity, morality and liberty to humanity. He says, "Three fundamental principles constitute the essential conditions of all human development collective or individual, in history:

1. Human animality
2. Thought
3. Rebellion

To the first properly corresponds social and private economy; to the



second, science; to the third, liberty."<sup>1</sup> Again he says, "The idealists have called the production of their imagination, this phantom, this God who is nothing, 'Supreme Being', and as a necessary consequence have declared that the real being, matter, the world, is nothing."<sup>2</sup>

But while Bakunin denies the fact that the heart of man craves God and religion, because only in religion does man find comfort and help, he admits that the heart of man is inclined to find rest in religion because it suffers from economic inequality and state or law tyranny. He adds, "These mystical tendencies do not signify in man so much an aberration of mind as a deep discontent at heart. They are the instinctive and passionate protest of the human being against the narrowness, the platitudes, the sorrows, the shame of a wretched existence. For this malady, I have already said, there is but one remedy--Social Revolution."<sup>3</sup>

Now when we have taken away the social significance of family life, when we have destroyed in the family, religion and its mystical value, when faith and trust both in God and in the members of the family disappear, what will remain of the family? Who shall prepare the heart of the child to be sensitive to those things that are noble, that give dignity, and value to life? The Teacher? Experience tells us that the formation of the child's education rests only in the tenderness of the heart of that woman and that man who love their own blood, or who under the influence of moral and spiritual inspiration are led to serve children as their own. And yet, consecrated as a missionary can be, never will she do things and suffer for a child as the parents do.

1 - Bakunin, W. God and the State page 12

2 - Ibid, page 13

3 - Ibid, page 23

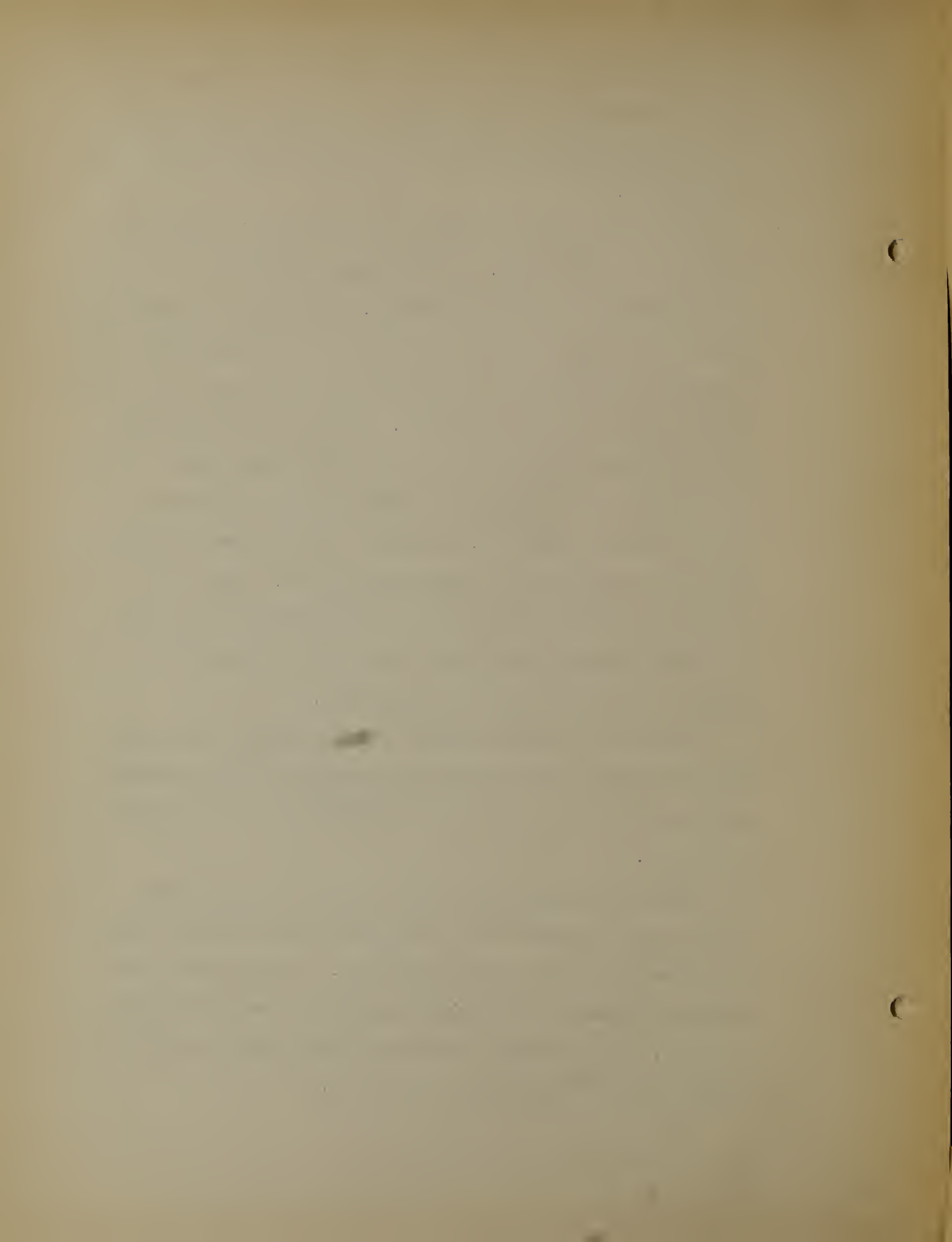


Some anarchists say you shall not "honor thy father and thy mother because they are your parents, but you may love and honor your parents if they are good revolutionists"--educate them if they are not.

History tells us that religion has not been the outcome of speculation or philosophy. Both have helped religion to keep more on the problem of reality and morality. But religion is the natural growth of those qualities of the inner nature of man which help him to aspire to the things of life which give sanctity and unity to the family as well as to the individual. Primitive people worshipped their ancestors, and by doing so, they established a sense of unity and continuity in the family life that created an atmosphere of divine sanctity around them. When they spoke about their ancestors, they did so with religious respect and devotion. Again such a respect directly and indirectly was transferred into the life of the family, giving to the father, mother, older brothers and sisters authority and respect from the younger ones.

What made the Puritans united and strong in the family life was that rigid attitude of the parents toward religion, training their children to be morally and religiously subject to God and the family.

Again, when religion has lost its control upon the masses, we have seen that generally disorder and abuses and gross language have taken the place of order and respect. As soon as the family begins to consider religion and morality as not necessary to help humanity, its life becomes impure, its unity is broken, and divorce, tragedy and the like take place in society.



The importance of the religious life has been so felt by the more civilized people, that they have sensed the necessity of making its training compulsory, knowing the great benefit that humanity can receive from religion. The Hebrew father was morally obliged to train his child, and the Puritans went so far as to punish the father who did not take religion as a serious part of his child's education.

Goodsell says, "A Massachusetts act of 1642 empowered the selectmen of every town to take account from time to time of all parents and masters, and of the children, especially of their ability to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of their country, and to impose fines upon such as shall refuse to render such account to them when they shall be required. . . . In 1654 it was ordered that magistrates have authority to whip divers children and servants who behave themselves disrespectfully, disobediently and disorderly toward their parents, maters and governors."<sup>1</sup>

It seems to us that the family needs not only the mother but the father also. The anarchist theory does not provide for an adequate responsibility on the part of the father and this may lead to harmful consequences in the lives of the children.

1 - Goodsell, W. The Family as a Social and Educational Institution p. 40



C H A P T E R I V

A N A R C H I S M I N R E L A T I O N  
T O S O C I E T Y

- A. Anarchism and Education
- B. Anarchism and the Church
- C. Anarchism and the local community
- D. Anarchism and the State

## CHAPTER IV

### ANARCHISM IN RELATION TO SOCIETY

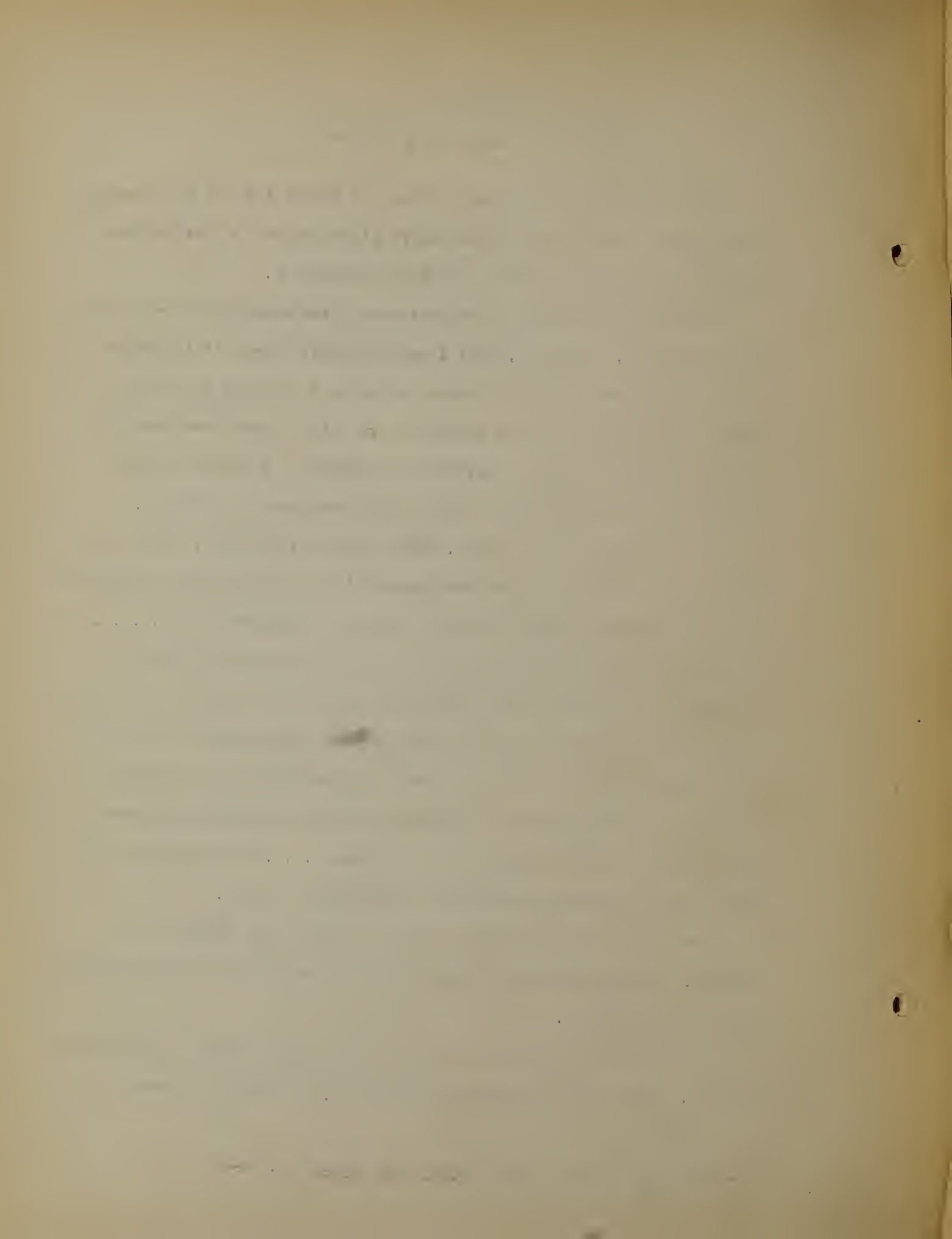
There are many factors which build the social life of a community that Anarchism needs to consider before it can appeal to the ordinary as well as to the intellectual minds of a community.

Does anarchism provide in practice a better substitute for society in intellectual, spiritual, social and political life? It is simple to say destroy the Church, religion and God but what can anarchism put in the place of God, the church and religion? What does anarchism offer with its communistic societies to society? We want to see if what Anarchism says in theory, has a firm foundation in practice.

Peter Kropotkin in his book, "The Conquest for Bread", says, "For a time man imagined and those who expressed his thought for him declared that he could free himself entirely from the state and society. . . . After having striven long in vain to solve the insolvable problem - the problem of constructing a government which will constrain the individuals to obedience without itself ceasing to be the servant of society; men at last attempt to free themselves from every form of government and to satisfy their need for organization by free contracts between individuals and groups pursuing the same aim... . The tendency of the human race is to reduce government interference to zero."<sup>1</sup>

Anarchism or individualism wants to achieve full freedom and liberty, discarding the ethical and moral values which are indispensable in any given society.

Our conviction is that men cannot live happily without an organized society. They cannot adequately provide for the needs of community



life without an organization that centralizes the needs and the methods to solve the various problems of social life.

Anarchism can be said to be like a group of masons who try to build a house of brick with each one putting his own brick where he pleases. It is easily seen that this method is not building at all.

What we need is not anarchistic individualism, but that individualism which does not detach itself from society, but rather helps and is helped by society. It gives of its own and receives from the whole of society what is best, true and noble in man.

Mr. N. P. Gilman says<sup>1</sup>, "The Christian spirit is in full harmony with a rationalized individualism in social life. Individualism includes Voluntary co-operation, the method of modern civilization; and the ideal to which it tends is fraternalism, not paternalism. The inquiry is extremely pertinent: 'Have we yet, even discovered the resources of an individualism which is not synonymous with selfishness, but welcomes and fosters public spirit'. Few wise persons will answer this in the affirmative."

As Washington Gladden says,<sup>2</sup> "The end of Christianity is a perfect man in a perfect society. . . . No man can be redeemed and saved alone; no community can be reformed and devoted save as the individuals of which it is composed are regenerated. This vital and necessary relation of the individual to society lies at the basis of the Christian conception of life. . . . Christianity would create a perfect society and to this end, it must produce perfect men; it would bring forth perfect men, and to this end it must construct a perfect society."

Now let us see what a society is. Dr. J. L. Gillin, C. G. Dittmer, and R. J. Colbert, M.A. think that a society is a group of individuals

1 - Encyclopedia of Social Reform Socialism and the American Spirit pp. 324-327

2 - Gladden, Washington, Tools and the Man p. 1

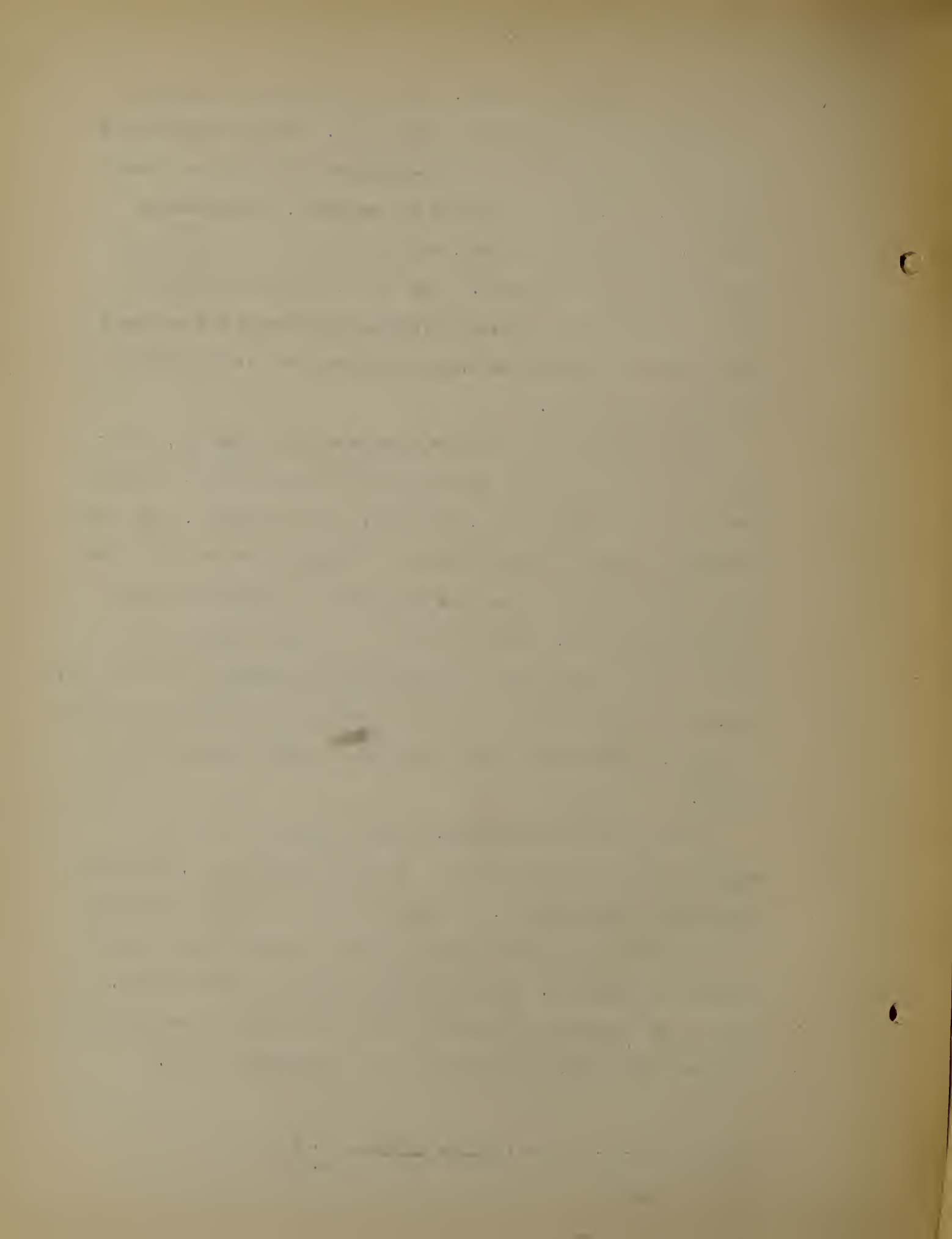


who think and do things together. They say, "Society is the product of association; it is the fruit of group life. Society constitutes the whole fabric of group life and inter-relationships--it is our social inheritance. . . . Self and society are twin-born, we know one as immediately as we know the other, and the notion of a separate and independent ego is an illusion."<sup>1</sup> We cannot, therefore conceive of society as something apart from individuals and groups; but we cannot thereby conclude that each individual and group is a true reflection of the whole of society.

Again, they say, "When we view society in this large way, we see that it is composed of four outstanding and closely inter-woven fundamentals: groups, uniformities, standards, and institutions. The chief difference between the complex society of today and the society of the past is to be found in the changes which time and progress have made in these fundamentals. Furthermore, it is in these fundamentals that the roots of the present-day social problems are embedded. Consequently, if we are to understand fully the nature and scope of the great problems of society, we must study them in relation to these fundamentals of society."<sup>2</sup>

According to these three men, society advances in morals and progress, being moved by interest. The motive may be moral, spiritual, intellectual, or economical. But they think that only when the moral and the economic motives are linked together does society move toward progress and happiness. Anarchism discards the moral side of life, which is the greatest and the most noble motive in man to take a positive attitude toward life, and emphasizes only the economic motive.

1 - Gillin, J. L. et als., Social Problems p. 10  
2 - " " " " p. 10



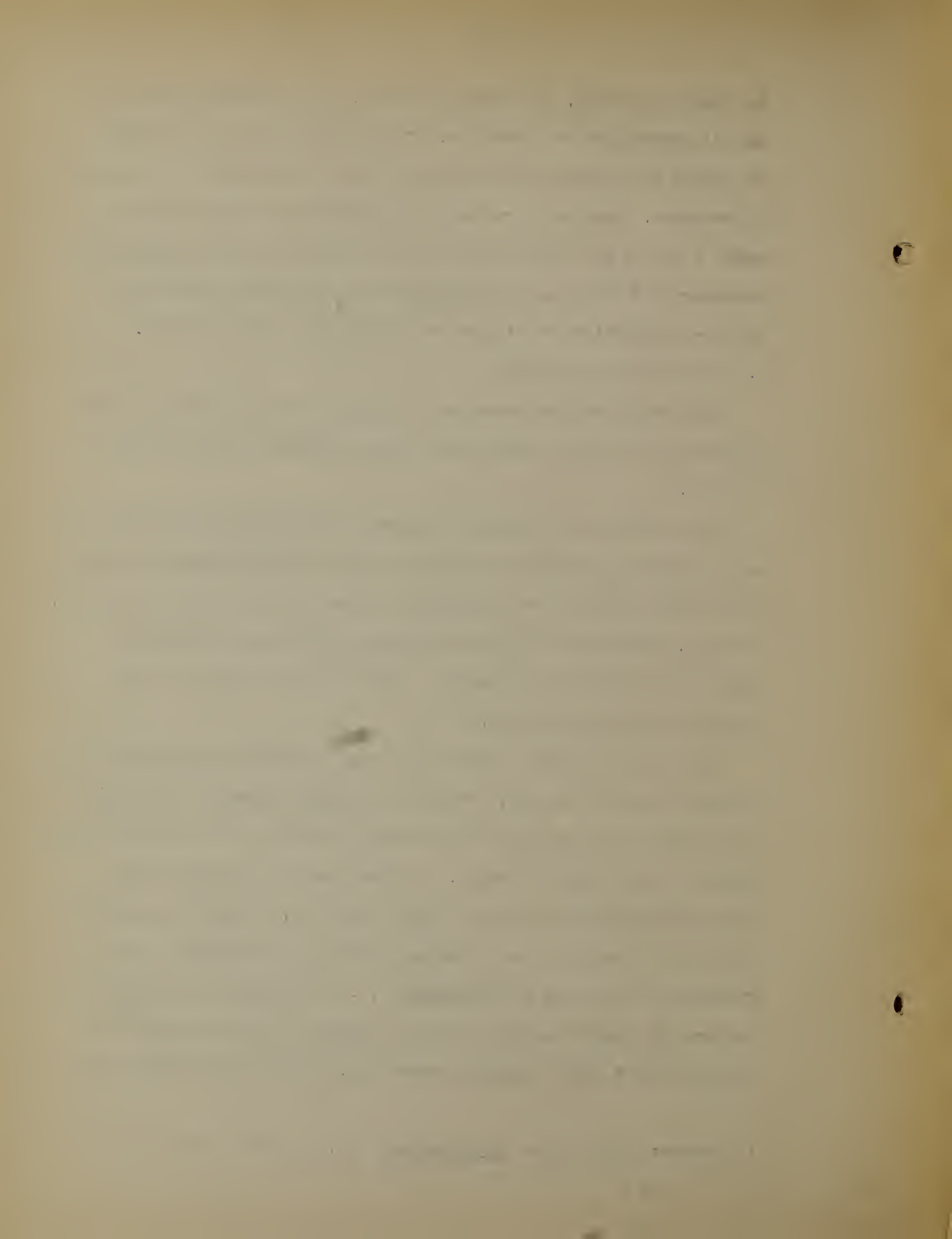
The family, marriage, moral responsibility, law, government and state are all absurdities for anarchism. The anarchists do not see clearly that these factors are rooted in social life as the result of experience of centuries. They may have been over-emphasized, but what anarchism ought to say is not destroy the state, but purify the state, not destroy the church and religion, but simplify moral and ethical life and let the moral and ethical motives be the predominant motives in life.

#### A. Anarchism and Education

Ralph Waldo Emerson thinks that "nothing is at last sacred but the integrity of our mind; abide in the simple and noble regions of thine own life."<sup>1</sup>

When asked what place must be given to education, both philosophical and communistic anarchism say that education is the only means to transform society and help the individual to understand his rights and duties. But Prof. Vaughan says "To promote genuine intelligence compulsory education of children is necessary. This involves the use of the coercive powers of the state."

According to Mr. Burt education is one of the most important things in human society. He says, "There is a striking concensus of opinion to the effect that in the main the human race has in its innate qualities remained practically stationary. In inborn mental constitution the civilized inhabitant of Paris or London today is, if anything, inferior rather than superior to the Athenian of the time of Pericles or the Englishman of the time of Shakespeare. . . . Civilization, therefore, has been an advance in mental content, stored in the environment and reacquired with each succeeding generation, rather than an improvement



in hereditary capacities or an inheritance of the improvements acquired. The superiority of the modern civilized man is not due to the hereditary powers and capacities, but to mental contents and achievements transmitted and accumulated by tradition."<sup>1</sup>

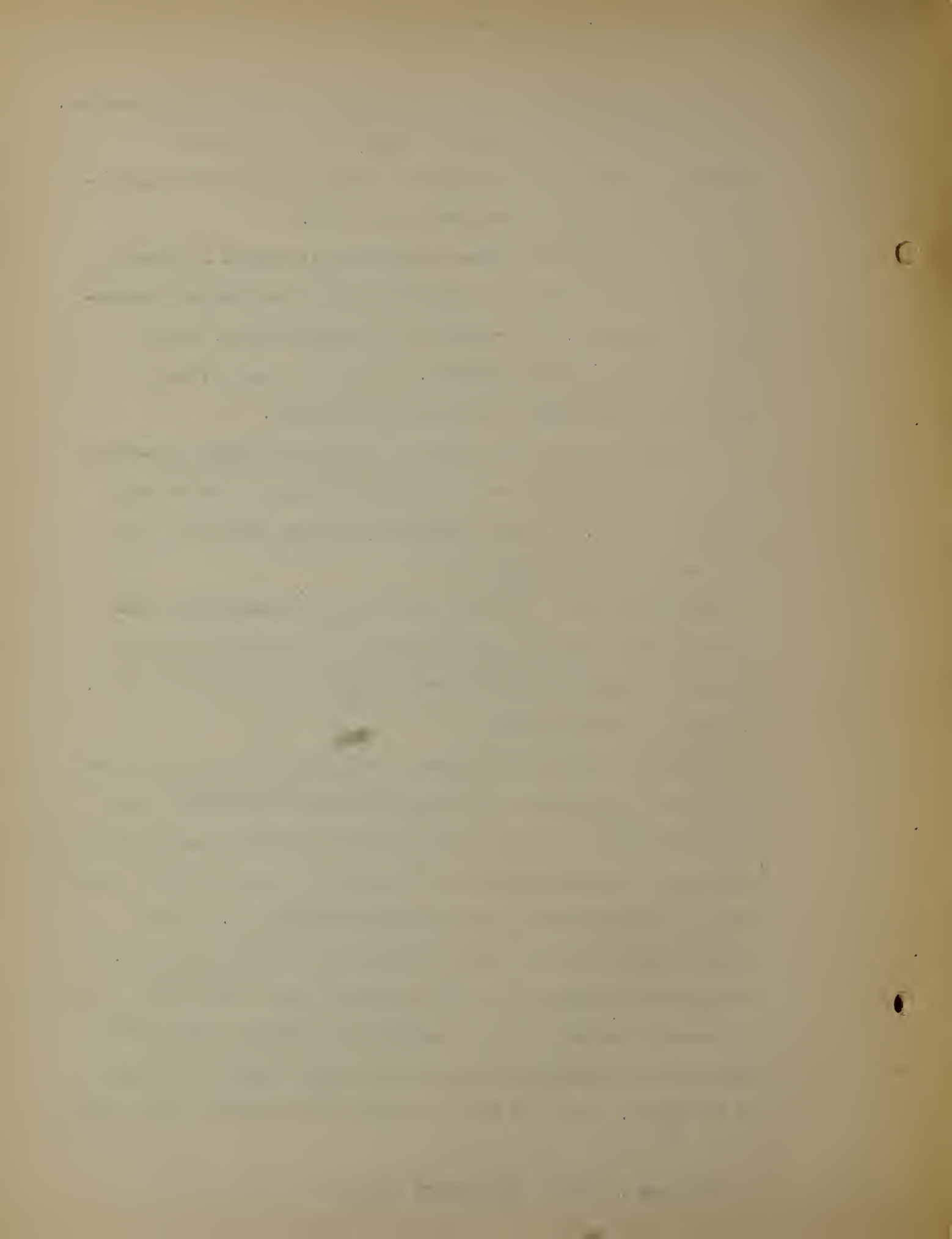
Gillin, Diltmer and Golber think that civilization is generally regarded by the scholars as synonymous with the intellectual development of the nations. It is pictured as a lighted torch, which illumines the road to human progress. It stands in opposition to ignorance, superstition and primitive mindedness.

If civilization is the sum of the best that society has acquired through education we must be careful when anarchism comes and says destroy the state, all the organized institutions and we will give you a better system of education.

Anarchism with its scattered small groups organized into small or big private societies or cooperatives cannot provide us with its private and cooperative schools and an adequate program of education.

#### B. Anarchism and the Church

Anarchism is the greatest enemy of religion and the church. Emma Goldman says, "Anarchism is the only philosophy which brings to man the consciousness of himself; which maintains that God, the State and Society are non-existent, that their promises are null and void, since they can be fulfilled only through man's subordination." This attitude against God is shared by about all the anarchist schools. Tolstoy the most noble of all the anarchists, one of the truest followers of Christ, says of the church as organized religion "The Church has surrendered to the world, and simply follows in the train of its victor. The world does as it pleases, and leaves to the Church



the task of justifying its actions with explanations as to the meaning of life. . . . The final result is that the world lives a worse than pagan existence, and the church not only approves, but maintains that this existence is in exact conformity to the doctrine of Jesus."<sup>1</sup>

Tolstoy sees with pain that the church at large in Europe has become a meaningless name, a thing of the past, a lion of paper. He states, "All these churches--Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant--are like so many sentinels still keeping careful watch before the prison doors, although the prisoners have long been at liberty before their eyes, and even threaten their existence."

This obstinacy of Anarchism against the church is the outcome of a false notion of the church among those anarchists. When they say church they mean the Catholic or the Orthodox church. Now those two churches as Tolstoy well states have been under the domain of the state; while desiring to control the public life of the European nations, the result having been the reverse. The church has been controlled by kings and emperors; it has been a weak instrument in the hands of all those princes or rulers who have commanded it to do, not its own will, but their own. And so war has been sanctioned now as a necessity; now as a means to convert people to Christ, and to propagate the religion of love, of self-giving, preached on the roads of Palestine two thousand years ago.

While Christ with his blood taught his disciples to have a new understanding about life, a new purpose in society, a deep insight into the fulfillment of worldwide brotherhood, where love should be the motive and incentive, and peace the logical consequence, the church has followed the selfish motives of the worldly life.

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Anarchism, having bitterly experienced the tyranny of those two churches, has gone to the utmost extremes to repudiate also Protestantism, which has been a great friend and helper of anarchism in many ways. If there had not been Protestant democratic laws in England and Switzerland which permitted those radicals to live free and in peace and to continue their propaganda there, I doubt that Anarchism could have progressed as rapidly as it has in Europe.

Tolstoy also thinks that the Catholic, the Orthodox, as well as the Protestant churches have lost the power upon the masses. Granting that both the Catholic and Orthodox churches are looked upon with an eye of suspicion, due to the rigidity of their system of laws, the Protestant church has always and still is the champion of all those battles that are fought to bring harmony, freedom, understanding, liberty and prosperity among men.

In these days scholars think that history shall not be interpreted from an economic, materialistic standpoint only, but rather from a spiritual or religious, economic standpoint. The industrial revolution was not started where anarchism was strong, or where the Marxian Socialism was very active. But among the Puritans, among the Huguenots, all Protestant people who, guided by the spiritual forces of life, took a real stand in society, saw their mission and their place in society and changed the world from a world of leisure to a world of activity, of progress and invention.

Today as well as five hundred years ago, Protestantism has the lead in all those departments of life that bring nobility, power, knowledge, understanding and responsibility to man. So to say that the church at large is dead is a misrepresentation of the church, it means



to falsify the truth and to refuse to the Protestant church the right of being the leading factor of moral, intellectual, social and spiritual life in the western world.

Protestantism always has stood for the propagation of the Bible which has started great souls as Augustine, Wycliffe, Gutenberg, Luther, Calvin, Knox, Huss, Wesley, Tolstoy and others to go around to do good, to open the eyes of the blind, to heal the sick, to comfort the outcast, to call to penitence the captives, to give dignity and a place to man and to humanity, and to preach love and sacrifice as the only twofactors that shall bring into the world a life of brotherhood and peace.

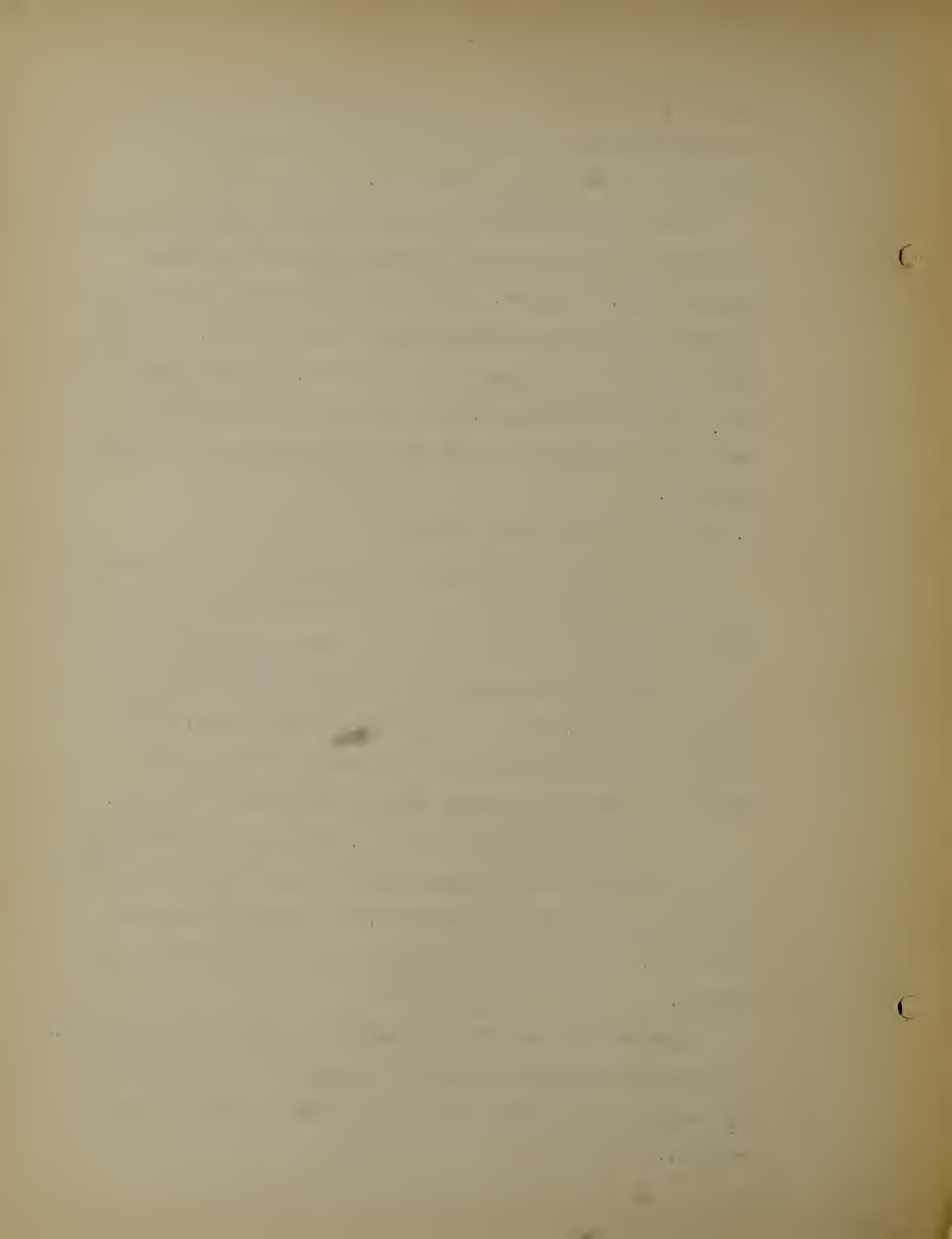
#### C. Anarchism and the Local Community

When we look at the complicated life of a small or large community as it may be, we wonder how Anarchism could control and provide for the needs of community life in a society of scattered small associations.

A community needs running water, schools, lights, clean and good streets, hospitals, houses for correction, insane asylums, courts, community order, welfare agencies, city laws, for hyeiene, for protection against law breakers, for the protection of moral, etc.

We have all these agencies, and yet, the courts are filled with cases, the welfare agencies cannot meet the needs, the hospitals often cannot provide adequately for the sick, the houses of correction, for insane, for diseases, are not enough to take care of those that need it.

Anarchism says that after you destroy the state, laws, government, society and the church you will see that man will find his place in this world and harmonize his life with that of the universe and his neighbor.



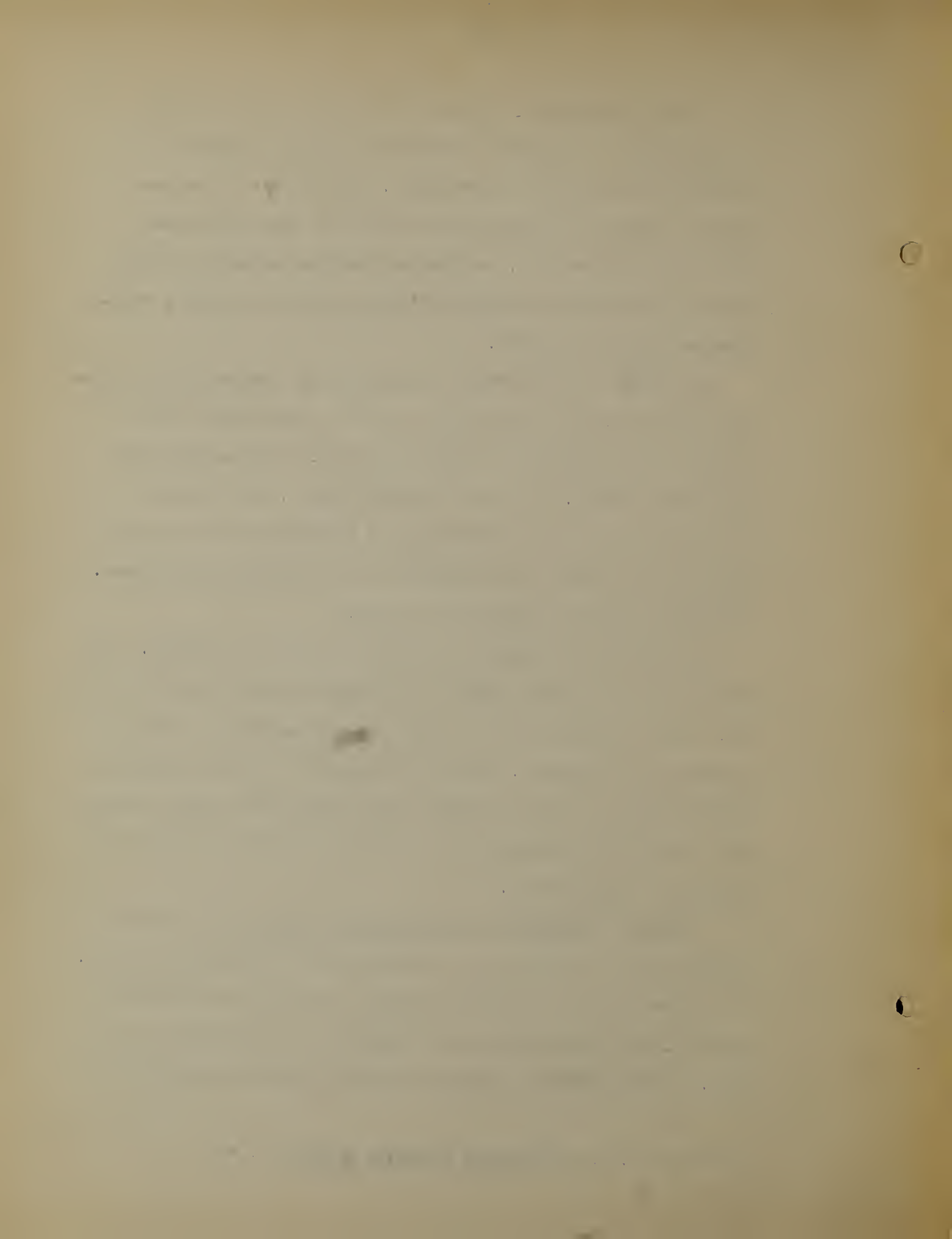
To such an assertion, we may say with the facts of history and experience, that society moves from the simple to the complex, and not from the complex to the simple. The struggle of man and society in general has been always through the centuries to help man to live a better life, to free him from the bondage of natural forces and to protect him against disease, against epidemics, ~~against~~ ~~finances~~, against ignorance.

The growth of the anarchist theories in the extreme type has been due, as Robert W. Kelso says, to the fact that "Man interprets all phenomena of the universe in terms of himself, picturing even his god in his likeness. He is an incurable egotist. His faith is boundless in his ability to find ways of increasing the resources of his universe to meet all possible needs of an increasing population. Therefore he will not think of the morrow."<sup>1</sup>

Anarchism in our judgment needs more and clearer thinking. Men generally move from one extreme to the other without doing clear thinking. Seven years ago, Italy was going towards bolshevism, today it has swung toward Czarism. What is the reason? For fear of falling into the hands of a radical society; the Italians have done no thinking in these last seven years and have given themselves blindly into the hands of the Fascisti.

Durant, in Pilosophy and the Social Problem" says, "Thinking is itself a form of action, and not the easiest nor the least effective. It is true that if you reflect too much, you will never accomplish anything, but if you reflect too little, you will accomplish about as much. Action without fore-thought tends to follow a straight line; but

1 - Kelso, R. W., The Science of Public Welfare p. 408



in life the straight line is often the longest distance between two points, because as Leonardo said, the straight line offers the greatest resistance. . . . The man to be feared above all others is the man who can see."<sup>1</sup>

Men are now moved by their own interest because they lack true education which may lead them to sacrifice their means and their life for the sake of the ideal. It is pleasure, and the lust of the flesh that leads many today to be too radical or too conservative. Intellectual, moral and spiritual education are the only means that can enable men to see their true goal, and experience that joy which makes the poor, the weak, the old, the rich and the strong happy and desirous to live and stand for those things that are true, honorable and of good report.

#### D. Anarchism and the State

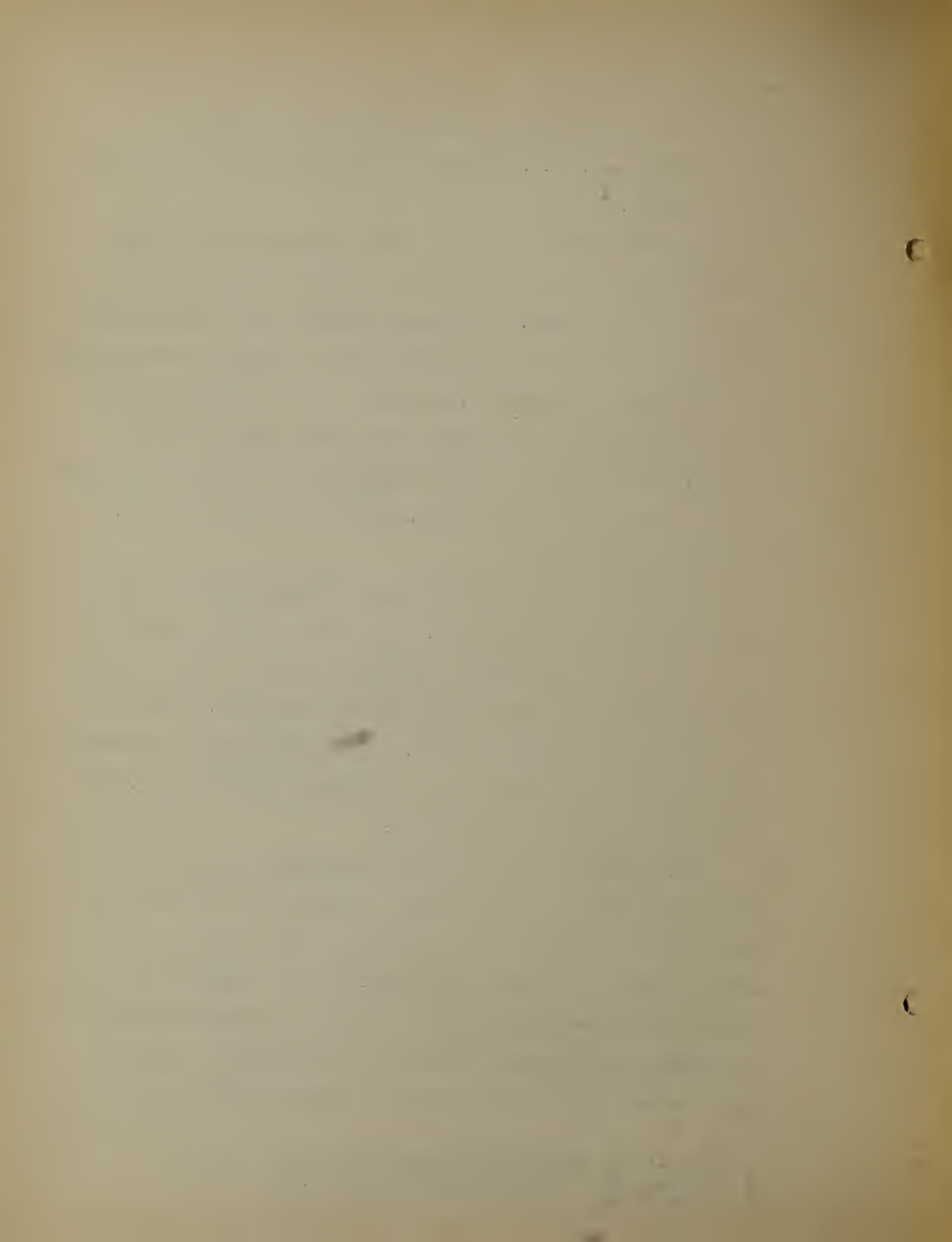
Anarchism claims that the state is the beginning and the end of all abuses and insults to humanity. Why is society wrong? Because of the state. Why do men suffer starvation, injustice, etc.? Because the state protects evil people who rule and act unjustly. The state has caused a lack of freedom and war. Both philosophical and communist anarchism hate the state and see in it the real peril of mankind, the destruction of all that is good in man.

R. W. Emerson says, "All government in essence, is tyranny."<sup>2</sup> Again Emma Goldman says, "It matters not whether it is government by divine right or majority rule, in every instance, its aim is the absolute subordination of the individual."<sup>3</sup> She also thinks that "The keynote of government is injustice, with the arrogance and self-sufficiency of the king who could do no wrong, governments ordain, judge, condemn, and punish the most insignificant offences while

1 - Durant, Will Philosophy of the Social Problem p. 256

2 - Goldman, Emma - Anarchism and the State p. 62

3 - Goldman, Emma - " " " p. 63



maintaining themselves by the greatest of all offenses, the annihilation of individual liberty."<sup>1</sup>

Bakunin thinks that the state deprives the individual of liberty, destroys the social relation of society, suppresses life and its right to express itself, only to please and affirm its own prestige and power. He believes that the state does not protect men but rather sacrifices them on the altar of its wrong-doing.

We see at once the danger of such teachings and where they will lead. If we leave men free to get their food, without governmental control many of them will get it by robbing their neighbors. If with laws and government many men steal from their neighbors, imagine what it would be without any law.

If with laws that regulate life, we have so many desertions, so many divorces, so many prostitutes, what would happen to a society without any moral and social control?

Bakunin believes that it is religion that gives power to the state. The state in turn forbids the individual to exercise his personal rights and thus is enslaved to the state. It protects industrial wrongs, political intrigues, social injustice, etc. It prepares for war, and forces humanity to move, one group against another. Industrial captivity, social injustice, political wrongs, lead the people to slavery and poverty. Poverty leads to prostitution, sickness and disease, which in turn lead to poverty and prostitution. Men surrounded by such vicious circles are like the man who works in a blind alley, who is damned to live such a life without a future hope of escape. The only way of escaping<sup>is</sup> death, which brings with it the blessing and promise of religion. Anarchism sees the way out in a revolution, in a radical



change of the state. Destroy the state is the incessant cry of anarchism.

According to Peter Kropotkin, ignorance and disorder in the minds of men calls for the existence of laws and government instead of destroying the evil that is in men by education. Society makes the laws to prevent the evil by oppression. There is a certain degree of truth in such a statement, but also we must admit, that the law is made not to prevent the evil, but to protect the good. Laws are not capricious but they are rather the result of experience. In experience men learn what is right and what is wrong, and when laws are ethically wrong, they are condemned to disappear sooner or later.

Draper says, "Individualism rests on the true principle that a man shall be his own master. . . . For the state to interfere with the action of the individual weakens character. It is far better for men to carve their own way, to live their own lives, to learn by experience their own lessons, even though they make continual blunders, than for the state to be interfering, even if, so far as the immediate step be concerned, it interferes wisely, because the latter course will weaken the individual will and lessen the individual ability. Few individuals think that any government is wise enough to interfere wisely, but even if it were, individuals would still oppose it because of its undermining influences upon character. A wise government may be even worse than a foolish government. A foolish government would probably call out resistance and activity. A wise paternalism might lull to eternal sleep, the power of self-choice and self-will."<sup>1</sup>

That is, if we had to follow the line of thought of individualism, we would come to the conclusion that any school whatsoever is harmful to the individual because it helps the individual to understand life

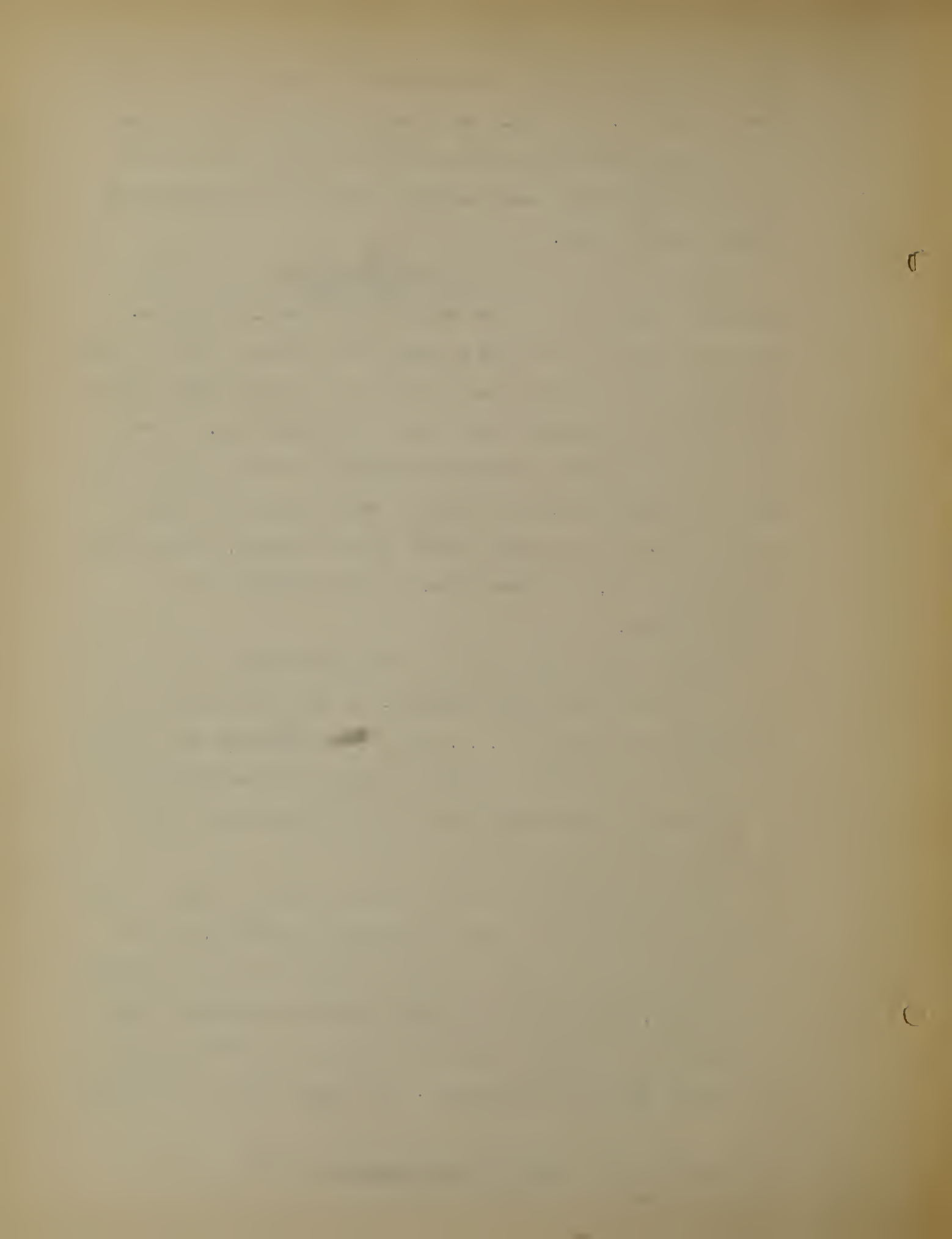


and its relation in a fuller sense, and forbids the individual to develop life or character. In a family the parents are rather a harm to the children because they teach them to do things. They really ought to leave them alone and let them find the real way, even if they fall and stumble again and again.

Kropotkin in his book Revolutionary Pamphlets, in criticizing government, demonstrates a truth that is eternal and innate in men. That is, he talks about the French revolution of March 18, 1871 in which while there were elected to power the most of the revolutionary leaders, they brought French society again toward private ownership. That is, man can be thrown forward by some ideas that are unsound and he follows them for a certain time, as the water is thrown against the summit of a hill, but the logical result is that the water returns, so men return to the normal life, and to that life, in which experience is the greatest teacher.

Kropotkin says, "For us anarchists the dictatorship of an individual or of a party has been finally condemned. We know that revolution and government are incompatible. . . . We know that what makes the strength and the truth of our party is contained in this formula: 'Nothing good or durable can be done except by the free initiative of the people, and every government tends to destroy it.'<sup>1</sup>

Now if as Kropotkin says, the tendency of man is to become a ruler of others as dictator, or to move toward private ownership, even the best revolutionist, is it not a logical consequence, that an individualistic society, without any law and any government, should move toward a paternalism and slavery? Take the fact that no two men are equal in their mental and physical capacities. Also think that lands are always



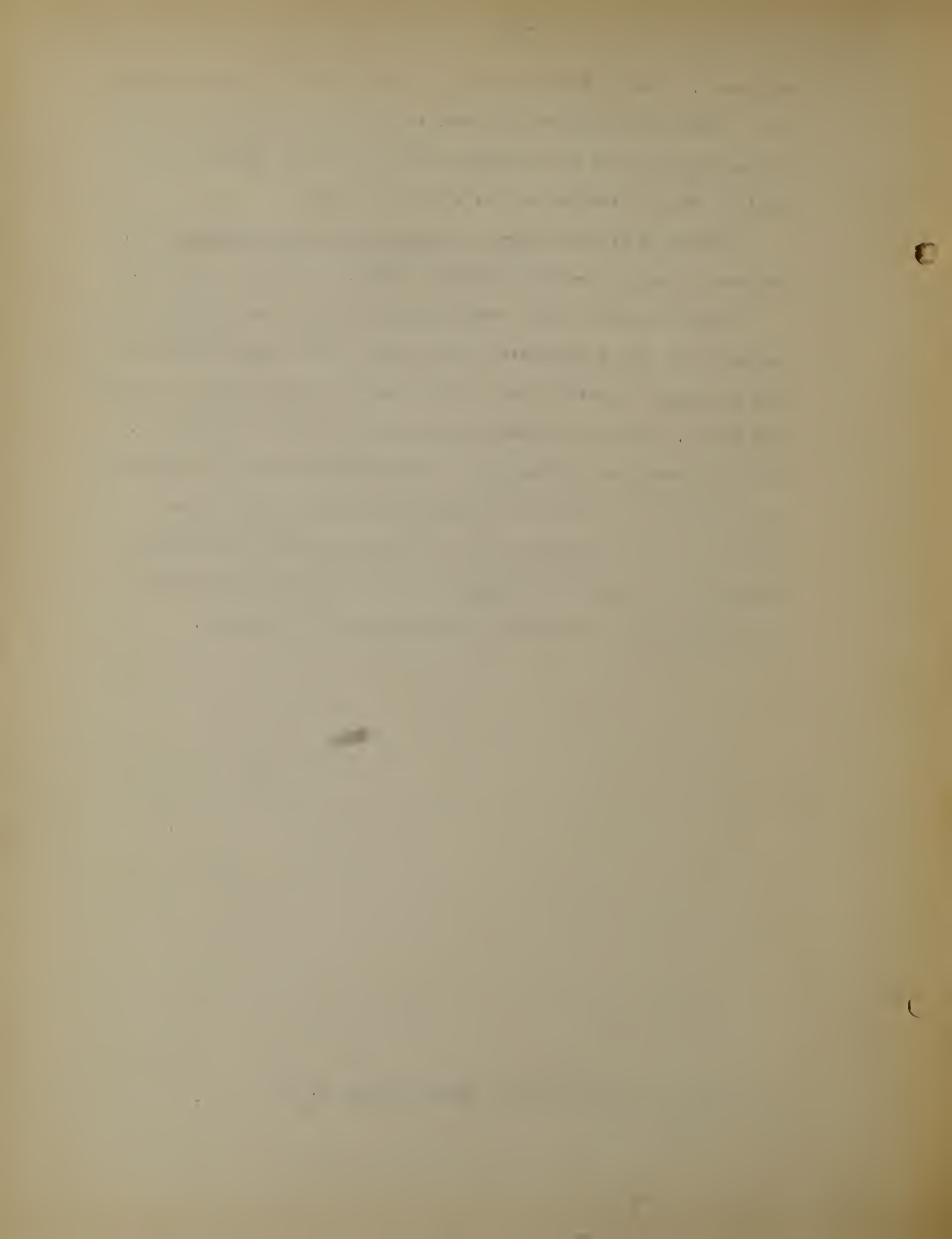
different. Imagine that one person is more successful than his neighbor, either in cultivating the land, or in business, will not it result in the long run that his neighbors should serve him? Who shall keep that man from collecting capital since he is free?

Goodwin in his book, Enquiry Concerning Political Justice says, "Anarchy is unquestionably a dreadful remedy. . . . but a sure one."<sup>1</sup>

Prince Kropotkin says, "The supreme essential law, resided in the evolutionary one of mankind's progress from a less happy existence to one as happy as possible, from which sprang the commandments of justice and energy. During the aforesaid progress of mankind, enacted law, (not law itself), would disappear."<sup>2</sup> Enacted law according to Kropotkin, is a hindrance to mankind; and unwritten customs, customary law (the common law of England) would suffice to maintain a good understanding. The state would disappear, and its place would be taken by a social human life based on free co-operative societies.

1 - Vizetelly, Ernest Alfred The Anarchists p. 11

2 - Ibid, p. 13-14

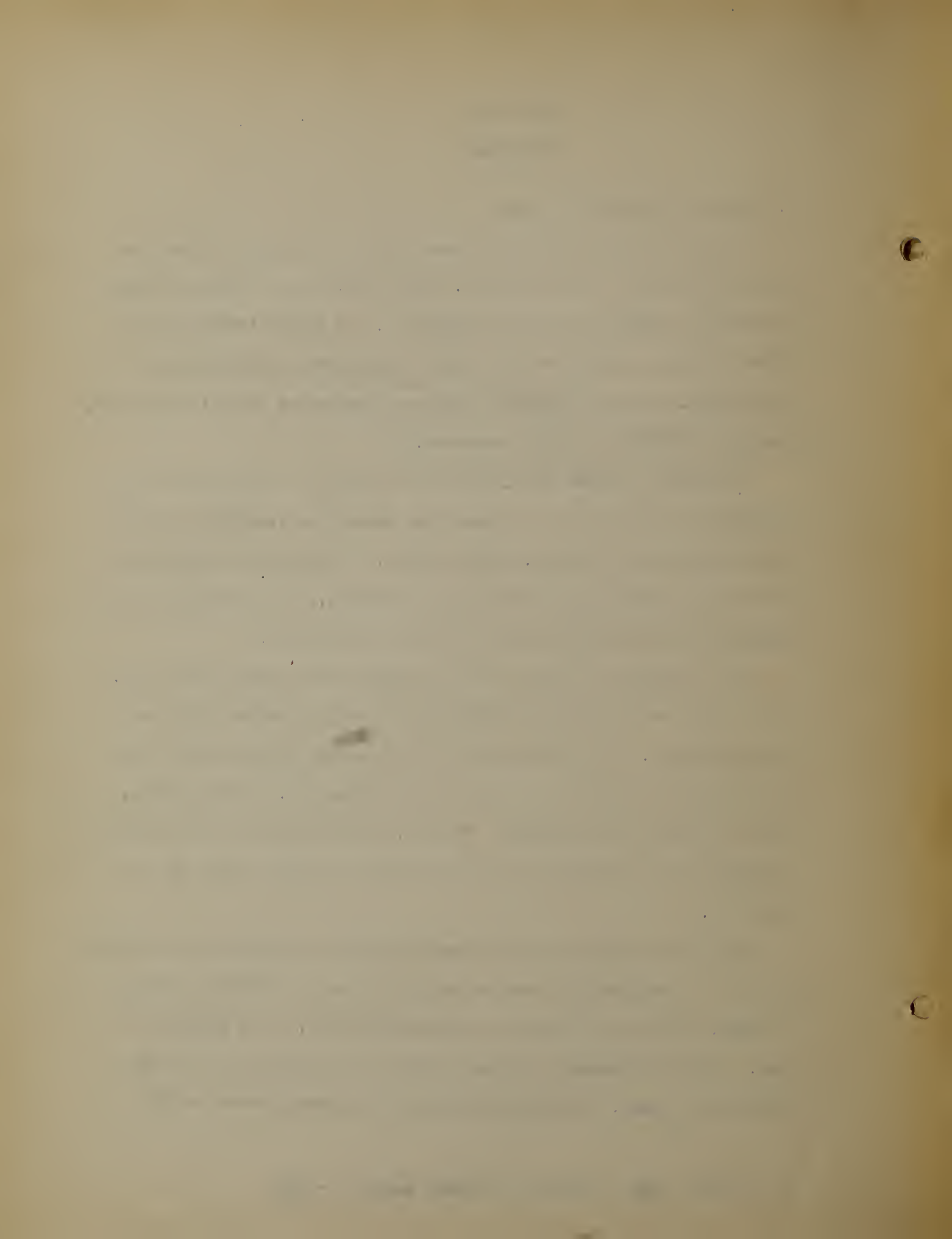


C H A P T E R V

C O N C L U S I O N

- A. Whither does anarchism lead?
- B. Professed enemies of Anarchism who promote its growth
- C. The contribution of democracy to its control.





and things appear different to us. We see our faults, we repent, and life takes again its ordinary pulsation.

Now, under free love that could not be done. A man would leave his wife for a more beautiful one, and society would sink into despair and confusion.

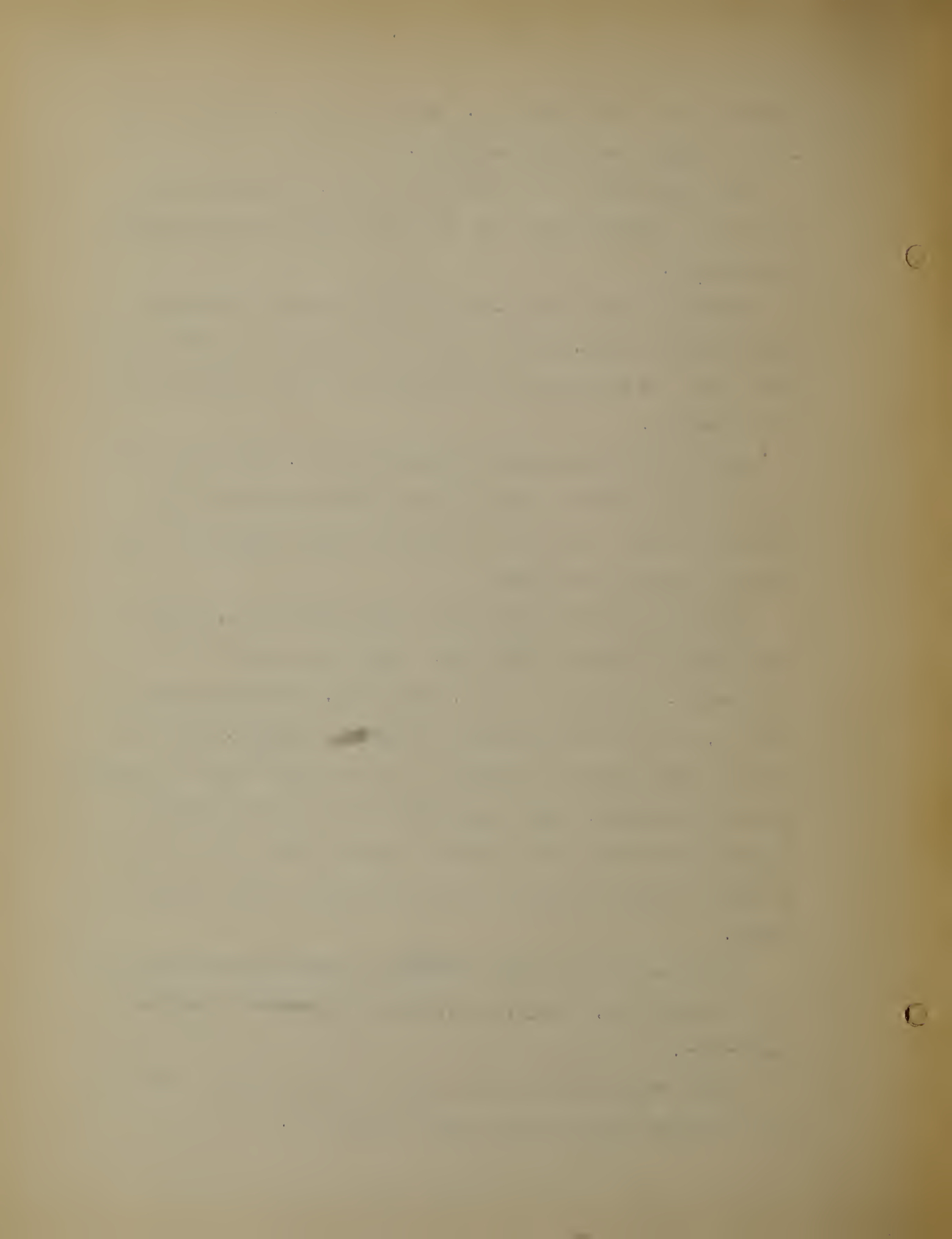
Kropotkin says that the Nihilists before and after the Russian Revolution were saying, why do we have to obey and listen to what our parents say? We believe what we experience to be true and helpful and not destructive.

Any one can see where such a doctrine may lead. The child says, "I do not want to obey my mother who says I shall eat with a fork. Neither do I want to go to school because my mother tells me to. Why should I listen to the teacher?"

Anarchism wants to destroy laws, state, society, etc., because the individual ought to be left free. Suppose that we destroy our civilization. Suppose that we say, "The school, the state, property, morality, religion are the products of abuses, or tyranny." What would happen? Would we not find ourselves in the same place where our ancestors started civilization. The only difference would be that society or humanity started with a few individuals and was able to live on and to progress, but now we would have to provide for about two billions of people.

Men in the present society live <sup>well</sup> because science and invention help them to produce ten, twenty-five, fifty percent, ~~more than~~ a man alone may produce.

Russia shows us the harm that revolution did there, for during it more people died there than during the great war.



Moreover, would this state of social life deprive humanity of wars? Finances and lack of protection has led the people through the centuries to wars and to destroy other people. Under this condition would millions of people die without striving?

Finally, we are in the right to ask who would guarantee that out of such turmoil, brought about by anarchism, would come a better society? Bakunin, Kropotkin, and others may believe it, but what right have they to believe that it would not build a society worse than the one we have today.

Seeing that the child, the woman and the man might suffer more under an anarchist society, we are inclined to think that there is a better way to transform society and lead it towards its true mission and destiny.

#### B. Professed Enemies of Anarchism who Promote its Growth

We have seen that Anarchism may lead nowhere, and that men might come out of such a struggle weaker rather than stronger. If anarchism is not a sure way out why then do many people profess to live and die as anarchists? The answer is this; many men have been led to become badicals by tyranny, abuses and lack of bread.

A man who sees himself under the present system, unable to provide the necessary means of support, for his family and himself, is apt to become radical. If we do not adjust our capitalistic system, anarchism cannot stop its ascension.

A man goes out, leaves his family hungry, and goes here and there, and he is not able to find work. He feels strong enough to produce and he is forced to suffer, to see his family starve. He wants to dress weel, to send his children to school and all is forbidden him, either by long hours of work, poor pay or being unable to find work.



A man that has a good mentality sees the wrongs in society, cannot help seeing the rich, the well-to-do, wasting their money and their time in idleness, while his family is doomed to starvation.

Tolstoy will tell us what was the issue there and why radicalism and revolution became for the Russian masses the redeemer of their society. According to Tolstoy such men as the Czar, the Kaiser, the emperors of Austria, and dictators were the helpers of anarchism.

Tolstoy in picturing the life of his country before the year 1885, in a conversation with Danilevsky, says, "More than thirty years ago, when some of the present writers, including myself, were beginning to write, the readers in this empire of a hundred million people amounted only to some tens of thousands. Now, after the spread of town and village schools, there are probably some millions, and these millions able to read, stand before us, like hungry jackdaws, with open mouths, and say to us, 'Gentlemen writers of our native land, throw into these mouths literary food worthy of yourselves and of us; write for us, who hunger after living words, and free us from those panny-dreadfuls and the nibbish of the market.' The simple, honest Russian people deserve that we should respond to their call. I have thought much about this, and to the best of my ability have decided to make an effort in that direction."<sup>1</sup>

In his essay on industry, he attacks the Russian society based on the work of many and in the enjoyment of the fruits of labor by those that are idle and do no work. The division of castes, the ill division of wealth, the oppression of the poor all troubled Tolstoy greatly. He knew that men by nature were selfish and strived to get places in society at the expense of others. This maladjustment of social, political, dom-

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estic, intellectual, and religious life, made him unhappy. Born with a great heart, with a mind which could grasp for all things that bring dignity, help, harmony and order in life, he could not bear to see the few oppressing the many. This Christian philosophy of life, always forced him to move toward those who suffer, rather than towards those parasites of humanity.

Again, in his book What Then Must We Do published in 1866, we can see why Tolstoy was inclined to move toward the poor. Being one of the aristocrats, and seeing how those bureaucratic and idling people were wasting their time, and their money, he says, "Observing our life--the life of the rich--I say that all that we consider a blessing consists of, or at least is inseparably bound up with, things that divide us as much as possible from the poor. Indeed, the chief aim of all our efforts, beginning with food, clothing, lodging, and cleanliness, and including our education, is distinguishing and separating ourselves from them by impassable walls." <sup>1</sup>

What troubled Tolstoy always, was the condition in which his neighbors in Russia lived. The poor, the common men, worked long hours, at unpleasant work, were ill-paid, were ill-treated, and were living in miserable houses and eating poor food. Then he begins to ask himself where his money and wealth comes from, he finds himself on a false road. He wants to be just, but the lure of wealth keeps him from doing it. He wants to be good, to do good, to be human with the poor, but his social obligations forbid him from making the natural step that shall take him to the right channels of life.

His altruistic view of life, his clear consciousness of his individual ability to help others is one of the greatest merits of

1 - Aylmer, Maude The Life of Tolstoy pp. 240-242

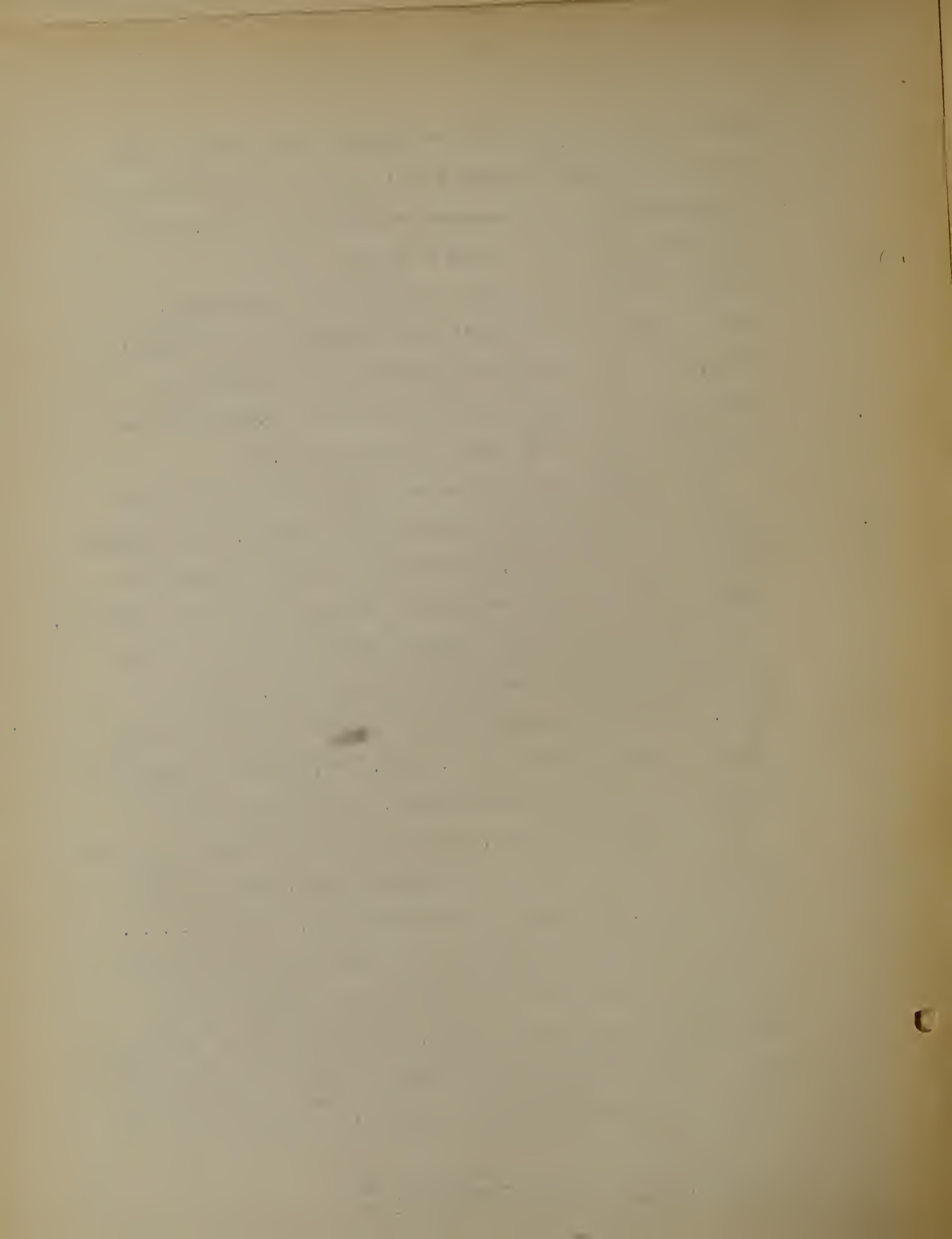
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Tolstoy's life. As soon as he had reached a conclusion, and found himself wrong, then his heart and mind were led to the same question to which Paul was led after seeing the vision of his Lord. He says, "What indeed, do I want? I want to do good. I want to arrange that people should live in a way fit for human beings. I want this: and I see that by violence, extortion, and all kinds of tricks, in which I participate, necessities are taken from the workers while the non-workers (of whom I am one) consume in superfluities the fruits of the labor of those who toil."<sup>1</sup>

Tolstoy thinks that money was the cause of evil and for money's sake people forget their duties toward their neighbors. The economical factor according to Tolstoy, is the Alpha and Omega of the evils of society. He says, "I have done nothing, do nothing, and shall do nothing, but cut coupons from my interest-bearing bonds, and I firmly believe that money represents work--surely this is wonderful! Talk about madmen! What degree of madness could be worse than this? A coupon-cutter--the representative of work! Work! Yes, but whose? Evidently not the work of him who owns the coupons, but of him who works!"<sup>2</sup>

At this point in his life, the teachings of Jesus became a supreme rule of his life. He says, "I understand that man, besides living for his welfare, must serve the welfare of others, as bees do. . . . I understood that this law has been, and is being infringed by the fact that people, like robber-bees, using force, free themselves from labor and exploit the labor of others, directing it not for the common welfare, but to satisfy their evil-growing personal desires, and (again like robber-bees) thereby destroy themselves. I understood that man's

1 - Aylmer, Maude The Life of Tolstoy p. 245  
2 - " " " " " p. 247



unhappiness comes from the slavery of our times is caused by violence; by the army-system, the monopolization of land, and the exaction of money. And having understood the meaning of these three instruments of the new slavery, I could not but wish to free myself from using them."<sup>1</sup>

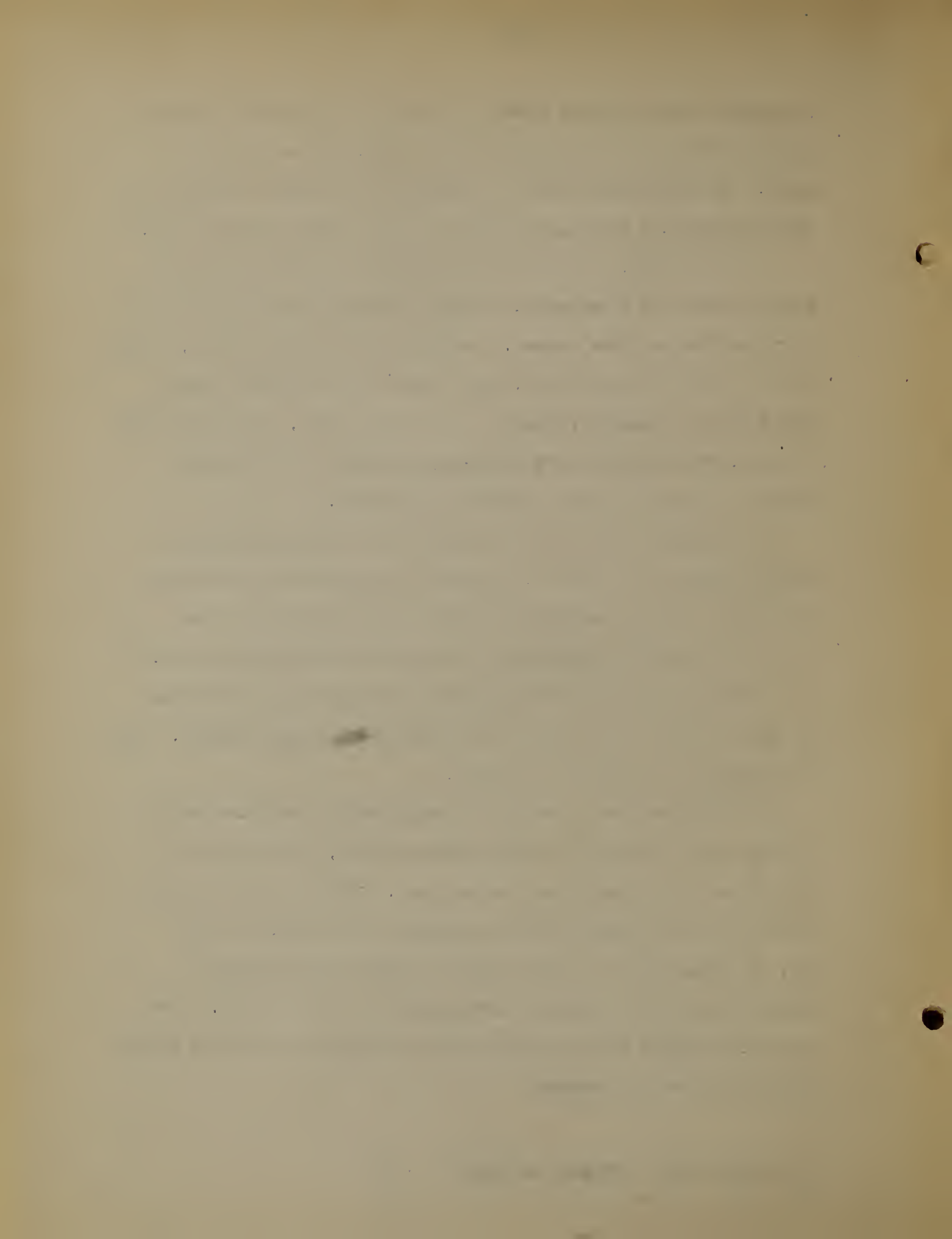
Tolstoy's soul, so noble and so sensitive to justice and truth, could not keep him doing wrong, or keep silence at the outrage to which every day the poor were exposed. Talking about the rich he says, "These people, with quiet consciences, amuse themselves at the ball; amuse themselves from eleven at night to six in the morning, through the dead of night, while people in the night-lodging houses lie with empty stomachs, or some of them die like the wash-woman."<sup>2</sup>

The amusement consists in women and girls baring their hearts, padding themselves out behind, and showing themselves in the unseemly condition in which an unperverted girl or woman would not for the world wish to exhibit herself to a man; and in that half-nude state."<sup>3</sup>

To the remonstrance of Tolstoy the old people answer, by saying "I force no one; I buy things and hire people--maids and coachmen. There is nothing wrong in buying and hiring."

"I like cleanliness, and give my money only on condition that a laundress washes the shirt I change twice ~~and~~ day, and the work has drained her last strength, and she has died. 'What is wrong in that? People will go on buying and hiring whether I do or not, and will buy, and compel others to make velvet and sweets and cigarettes; and will go on hiring people to wash shirts, even if I do not. Then why deprive myself of velvet and sweets and cigarettes and clean shirts, since things are so arranged?'"

1 - Aylmer, Maude The Life of Tolstoy p. 248  
2 - " " " " "  
3 - " " " " " p. 257



To the answers of the bureaucrats, Tolstoy sees only one issue, that is, the poor must not suffer starvation, must have a nice home, fine clothes, and good conditions of labor and also short hours of work.

He says, "How convincing may be the proofs of the division of labor among the cells of the organisms we investigate, man, so long as he is not deprived of reason, will still say that no one ought to have to weave cotton cloth all his life long and that this is not a division of labor, but an oppression of the poor."<sup>1</sup>

Again, he is against division of labor, because division of labor brings injustice in society. He says, "Division of labor always has existed in human society and probably always will. But the question for us is not that it exists and will exist, but to find a standard by which to see that the division shall be a fair one."<sup>2</sup>

Tolstoy sees that the cause of poverty, inequality of opportunity is due:

1. To lack of honesty on the part of every individual.
2. To a sense of vanity on the part of women. He thinks that women can save the world to become what it ought to be or to imperil it worse than it is.
3. Moreover, as Proudhon, he comes to the conclusion that property is the root of evils, and must be abolished.
4. The real property is man.
5. The existence of castes is an impediment to the proper development of mankind.

1 - Aylmer, Maude The Life of Tolstoy p. 261

2 - Ibid, p. 262

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### C. The Contribution of Democracy to its Control

Now, if as we have seen, the enemy of social progress is anarchism, and anarchism is nourished by bureaucracy, tyranny, class-divisions, dogmatism, etc. what shall we do? How shall we stop anarchism? Which is the way out? Shall we permit anarchism to take a more alarming proportion? Is not there a way to help human society, to acquire those necessities of life which enrich humanity?

If it is true that man does not live by bread alone, it is equally true that man cannot live well without bread. We need a synthesis, we need a place in which anarchism and tyranny, and bureaucracy, can meet together and see their faults, and have a friend who can guide and help them to see and seek the way out which leads to happiness, prosperity and peace. In our judgment, that friend both of anarchism and aristocracy may be democracy.

Democracy leads to progress and to happiness, because it is not guided by the principle of revolution and oppression, but rather by that principle which gives to men freedom and unity, co-operation and stability.

For instance, bureaucracy says, "God ordained me to be what I am, the poor is such because he is dull or he is a sinful man." The anarchist says, "I have an intense pain in the stomach, so I must not eat what I ate last night."

Democracy says, "Let us see who caused the pain, it may be the food I ate or something else." That is, the value of democracy lies in the fact that democracy gives a place to science and philosophy. Science leads to reasoning and thinking, and in this way men find the truth and the means to apply it to society.

The law which regulates democracy is the law of give and take or give for the welfare of humanity. Democracy gives place to



opportunity, to self-assertion and expression, to self-development, to the appreciation of beauty, to the development of those factors that bring prosperity and an intelligent understanding of human welfare.

Democracy does not say there is the problem of unemployment, of poverty. I have nothing to do with it. But it employs the scientific methods, the experts which can mitigate first and destroy after, what is harmful to society.

We have seen it in the field of hygiene, family welfare, diseases, hospitals, etc. In the field of industry, education, etc.

While as Dr. J.H.S. Bosard says, Anarchism prevents disease, aiming to instruct the people to keep them from becoming ill, democracy builds life on "constructive health program plans, to increase a people's vitality and efficiency and to prolong life."<sup>1</sup>

Under democratic regime, we may have an enlarging well proportioned and well balanced growth of society. As Dr. John M. Mecklin says, "If history teaches us anything, it is that without a vigorous and refined institutional life, we can never hope to have an efficient public sentiment . . . . The church, for example, is in the position, as is no other institution, to stress the notes of brotherhood and the spiritual implications of the moral ideal. The university should cherish the intellectual virtues, the high and holy regard for truth that is the distinctive moral contribution of science, office, shop, and mill offer a vast laboratory for discipline in the homely virtues that are basic for business enterprise and industry. Even profession has its unique moral excellence. These various moral characteristics of the institutional self need of course to be fused into some sort of unity by the sense of social

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1 - Bosard, H.H.S., Problem of Social Well-Being, p. 629.



responsibility."<sup>1</sup>

Talking about the individual who refuses to obey the institutional life, Dr. J. M. Mecklin adds, "Serious problems have arisen in connection with the antagonisms between the institutional self and the intimate individual . . . . The triumphant individualism of American life is a manifestation of this individual self insisting upon its own self-sufficiency, its right to determine its own destiny. But Americans are coming to feel, as did Socrates faced with the emancipated youth of Athens, that this insistence upon the complete moral autonomy of the individual self is dangerous. An individualistic ethics has given us, to be sure, a sharpened sense of rights and duties, and deeper insight into the moral problem. But it has proven particularistic, fond of abstractions, relativistic, sceptical, even pessimistic in its attitude toward the moral ideal. It stands in need of the poise, the hopefulness, the consciousness of power gained through more intimate contact with the setting of institutional selves from which it has revolted" . . . ."Our immediate task is to take the enrichment of the moral experience, the deepened insight into moral truth gained by the individualistic self, and put them into use at the level of the institutional selves. The traditional group morality represented by the institutional self must be lifted to the level of the emancipated individual self. In this wise, the individual self will regain that solidarity which it has lost and the institutional self will gain the enlightenment and moral sensitiveness it lacks."<sup>2</sup>

Professor W. E. Hocking talking about the relation of the state and the family, thinks that both are necessary and indispen-

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1 -Mecklin. John M. Introduction to Social Ethics, p. 212.  
2 - Ibid, p. 213.



sable. He says, "The life of the family is narrow, over-personal, and subjective, and creates a need which the public activity in some measure appeases. The public order is hard, over-impersonal, mechanical, superficial, relying overmuch on the sufficiency of analytical intelligence; it drives back to more complete and intimate realities. But the relations between the two orders are deeper than this of supplementation. For neither without the other can successfully do even its own part. Each to some extent presupposes the other - a fact which is not wholly obvious, but which can be made evident by considering what each order requires."<sup>1</sup>

Again he says, "Political and economic institutions we have recognized as the particular playground and home of the will to power, so far transformed that the success of one does not necessarily mean the weakness or defeat of another. These institutions may be described as the public order; and in this form, the will to power may become the passion of ambition. To realize his ambition an individual must market his talents, i.e. put them into a form in which they serve other men, or seem to do so. Hence just in so far as a man can be summed up in his marketable talents, he can find satisfaction in the public order."<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Mecklin speaking about those that revolt against public institutions says, "Even those who revolt against the institution thereby confess their debt to it. All innovation is based upon conformity, all heterodoxy on orthodoxy, all individuality on solidarity. Paradox, to a certain extent, lies at the very heart of life. Augustine, while repudiating the institutions of the 'civitas terrena' as utterly given over to sin and destruction, was unable to construct his

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1 - Hocking, W.E., Human Nature and Its Remaking, p. 309.

2 - *ibid*, p. 304.



'civitas dei' without smuggling in the logical framework of the pagan city-state he had condemned. Luther and the reformers, who used the individualistic and radical doctrine of justification by faith to pray the world loose from the decadent authoritarianism of the mediaeval church, found it necessary to substitute for the authority of the church the authority of the Book. The founders of American democracy vigorously rejected the political absolutism of kings, only to find refuge under the metaphysical absolutism of the eighteenth century doctrine of a body of unalterable and inalienable human rights, the final definition of which was laid down in the Constitution."<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, Mecklin analyzing the philosophy of the self-made man, in his criticism says that the self-made man fails to see that all the good that man is able to use or to accomplish is through society and not through the single individual. He says, "To acknowledge that all the permanent achievements in the field of science, art, religion, or even of industry are never the work of one man, is a confession of weakness and limitation."<sup>2</sup>

He thinks that the true individualism has its expression in the Christ's thought, "He that loseth his life shall find it". He says, "This sublime self-abnegation, this patient elimination of the hard and unlovely out-croppings of individuality, this merging of self into something that transcends self, or rather this re-discovery of self in the institution, the nation or the race - this attitude is one that the self-made man cannot understand."<sup>3</sup>

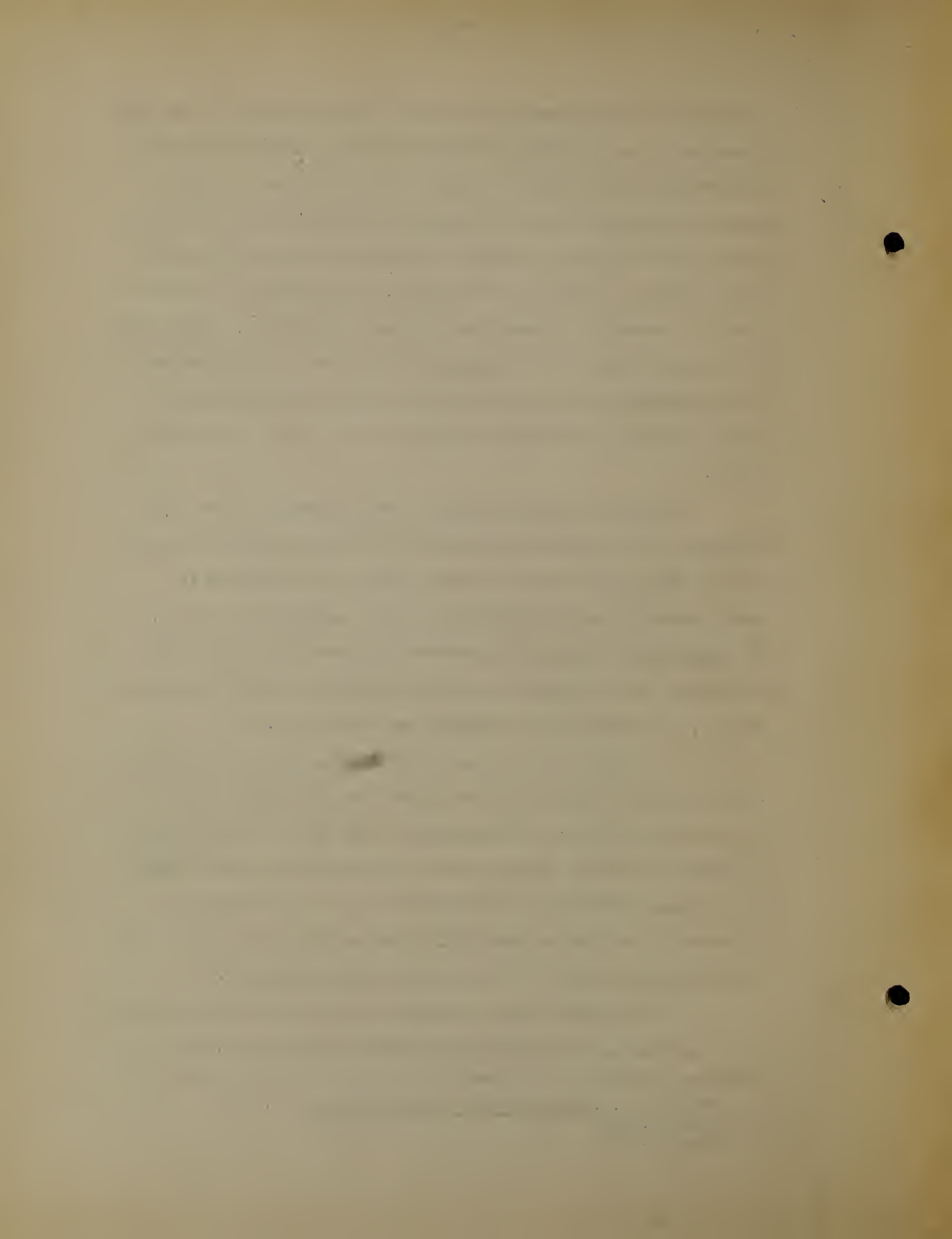
But we need to keep democracy in the limits of its mission if we want democracy to destroy Anarchism and plutocracy. That is,

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1 - Mecklin, J.M. Introduction to Social Ethics, p. 215.

2 - Ibid, p. 216.

3 - Ibid, p. 217.



we must keep in mind that democracy must be guided by education and equality of opportunity for all. Monopoly and personal autocracy must give place to cooperation and competition, but that competition which is directed by Christian and ethical motives. That is, the competition that we want, must not be selfish, must not be monopolistic in its goal, but Christian and just. Every person shall have not only the opportunity to develop his own personality, but the means to attain to a higher level of life. As Dr W.E. Weyl says, "We should struggle along with human frailties with a residual ignorance, perverseness, meanness of outlook, exaggerated egotism; with the raising of the standard of life, we should awaken new appetites and stimulate present ones. Our racial hatreds, our inveterate race animosities, would give way but slowly, so that even in a society advanced in civilization, lynchings and other horrible reversions to barbarism might occasionally occur. We may not hug the illusion of an instantaneous change in the old clinging evils. Drunkenness, prostitution, and a whole series of vices which are not pathological social forms of normal human instincts will but slowly give way."<sup>1</sup>

Again he says, "What a socialized democracy demands is an equalization, not of men, but of opportunities."<sup>2</sup>

We shall cut down those selfish ends in democracy that lead Anarchism to have democracy. The empiriaistic tenor of Democracy, its war-like-spirit, must be reduced to nothing.

Government, laws, the church, the public and private agencies must be dynamical means of comfort, of inspiration, of protection for the poor, for the weak, etc. rather than harmful factors

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1 - Weyl, W.E. The New Democracy, p. 355.

2 - ibid, p. 352.

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which threaten the life of those little ones.

The imperialistic and bureaucratic attitude of industry, education, commerce, etc. much be socialized. That is, the employer and the employee must come together and talk, and see the general situation of that particular field. Lack of adequate information is harmful. Lack of democratic attitude towards those that need information and want to cooperate, is also disastrous. We need to help Anarchism and bureaucracy, but in order to do so, we have to offer to them something better, solid, which gives a sure happiness in the end. We need such democracy as Dr. J.M. Mecklin puts it that in looking in the future, we may see a world of beauty and opportunities.

He says, "The ultimate bond of the democracy of the future cannot be eternal principles of right embodied in a code of laws; it cannot be the selfish ties of business; it cannot be the coercive force of government and police control. The only enduring basis upon which a free people can rest their political loyalties is the conscious and reasoned convictions of the average man. The democracy of the future must be more than a body of laws, more than a social or political program; it must be also a faith, a loyalty. For after all, the creative and forward looking elements in human life are our faiths. . . . it means that we must rely upon ultimate spiritual and moral loyalties rather than upon the immediate and tangible political forms."<sup>1</sup>

He insists that a man in a democratic family must not be guided by laws and regulations, but by a high rationalized life in

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1 - Mecklin, J.M., Introduction to Social Ethics, p. 435.



order that every act is brought to his consciousness and to the will.

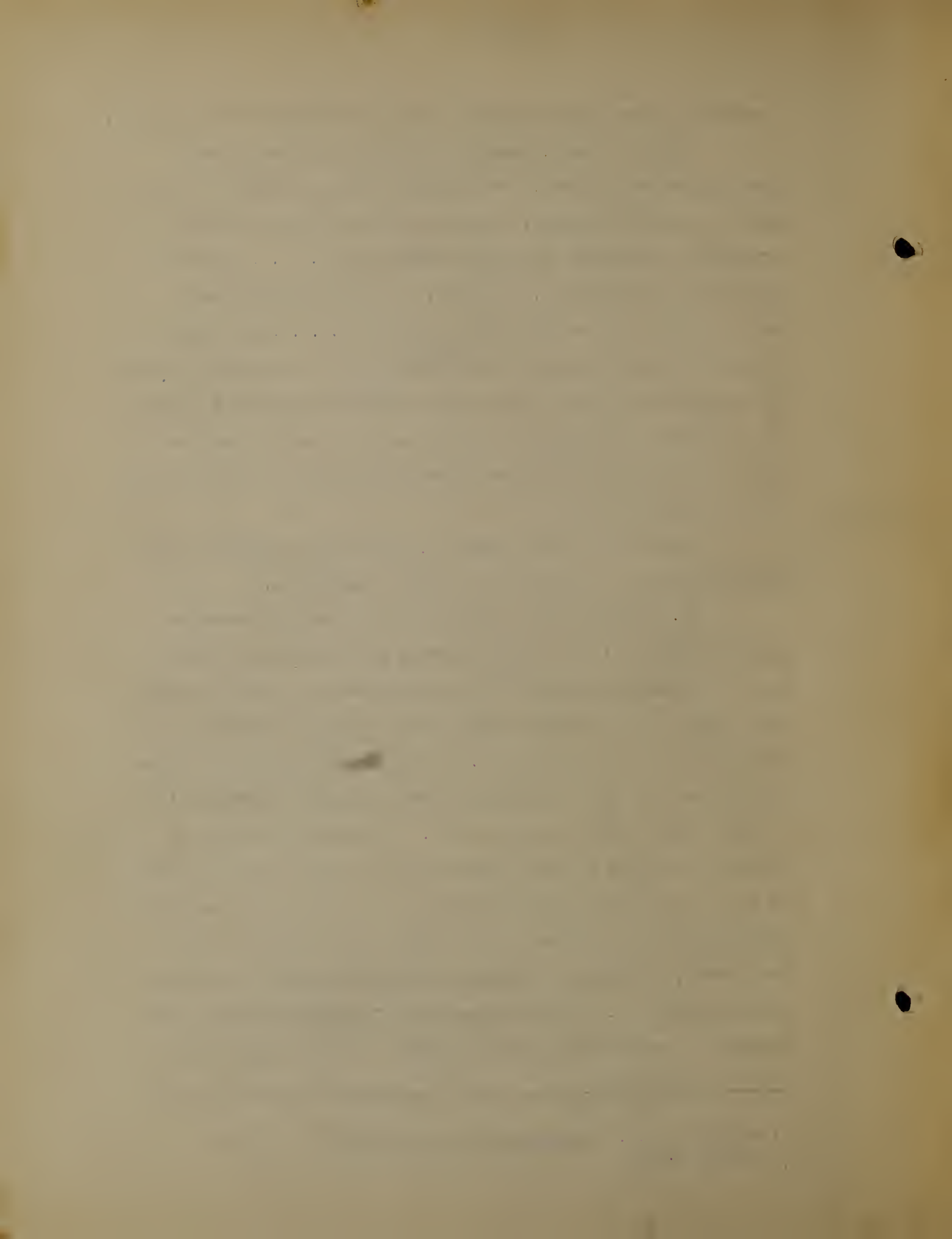
Again, he says, "Modern democracy is becoming less a matter of personal rights, less a matter of party programs, less a matter of legal traditions, and more a state of mind, a feeling of community interests based upon common ideals . . . . The real implications of democracy, therefore, can never be understood until we have tried to make it real in action . . . . It is only through the actual living out of the program, or better still through the enlightening effect of sympathetic cooperation with our fellows in the attempt to make democracy real among men that we can ever hope to find out what democracy means and gain the strength of conviction for making it real."<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, he says, "Risk is, therefore, inseparable from any situation that brings moral discipline and growth."<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Mecklin thinks that the salvation of any democratic society implies political obligations as well as moral and ethical duties. He sees the way out of society and men in ceasing "to look upon democracy as something negative or as a body of rights to be safeguarded rather than utilized. The modern functional and evolutionary point of view has taught us that the state is essentially a dynamic rather than a static entity. It becomes a reality and achieves for itself a place on the page of history by virtue of what it does rather than by virtue of what it is. Just as the reality of individual moral character is the result of the individual's own achievement, so the moral integrity of the state must be achieved, not inherited . . . . With the passing of law-made democracy, will disappear a law-made political conscience. 'When I was a child, I

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1 - Mecklin, J.M. Introduction to Social Ethics, pp.436-437.  
2 - Ibid, p. 438.



spake as a child; I thought as a child, but when I became a man, I put away childish things.'".<sup>1</sup>

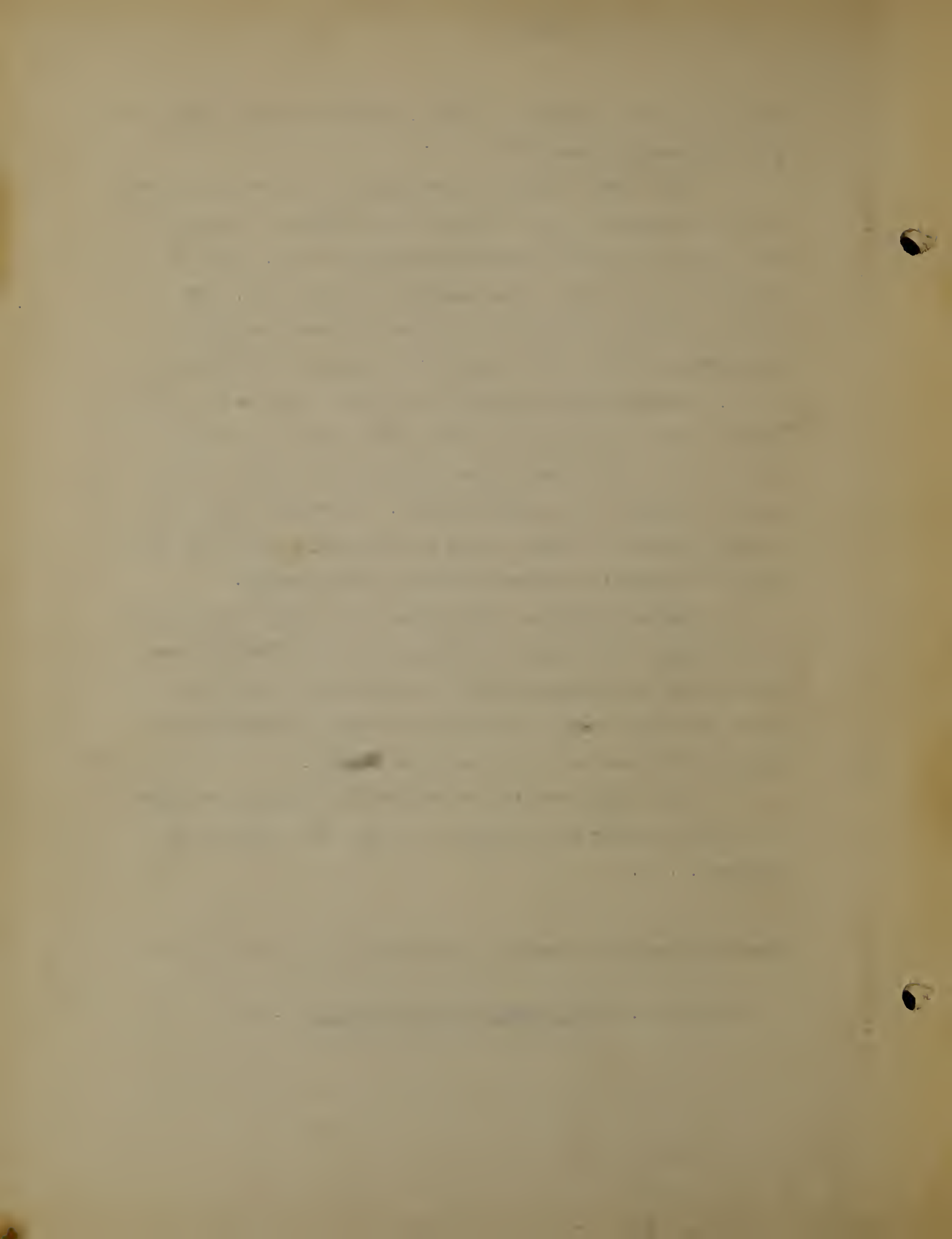
With such a democracy, Anarchism will stop its march, humanity will be brought to think that life is not only the struggle for mere bread and the daily material necessities of life, but it is something deeper, that it needs communion with the ideal, with beauty, with that mysterious living Power that moves everything and gives faith, hope, life, inspiration, elevation and happiness to man. Anarchism has missed coming in communion with such infinite ethical Power, and it has turned man to look at the life of the beast, and has said, "look at your ancestors, you belong to them you are a prodigal, go to your ancestors. You strive because you are away from your ancestor's habit of life, you suffer because you look for a mystical divine power which is only a fiction."

Democracy needs to redirect the life of those that are lost to bring them to face facts and reality, to enter into communion with what is best and enriching in life, and meet Christ, the teacher of truth, the friend of man, the helper of the poor, the enemy of injustice, the advocator of truth and righteousness.

Then, only, Anarchism can understand the value of religion, of the state, and grasp the appeal of Christ; "Come unto me, you laborers . . . ."

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1 - Mecklin, J.M., Introduction to Social Ethics, p. 439.



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