

**JOHN F. KENNEDY-INSTITUT FÜR NORDAMERIKASTUDIEN
FREIE UNIVERSITÄT BERLIN**

MATERIALIEN - 24 -

Pazifismus in den USA

Band 1

Herausgegeben von Ekkehart Krippendorff

Zusammenstellung und Redaktion: Christian Bartolf

Unter Mitarbeit von

Katja Bäcker

Christian Bartolf

Gerald Burchards

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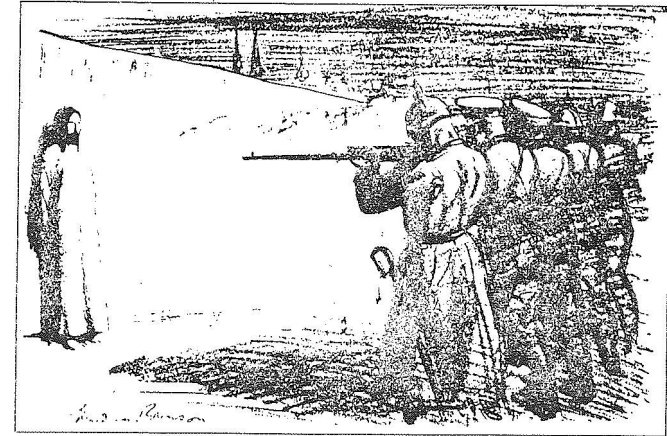
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„Der Deserteur“ (USA 1916)

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	Seite
Vorwort des Herausgebers	8
Einleitung - "Pazifismus als Lebensform" <i>Christian Bartolf</i>	13
I. <u>Die Gesellschaft der Freunde im kolonialen Pennsylvania - eine historische Friedenskirche</u> <i>Astrid Lübke</i>	23
Dokumente:	
1. William Penn: Letter to the Pennsylvania Indians (1681)	39
2. Samuel Smith: Necessary Truth or Seasonable Consideration for the Inhabitants of the City of Philadelphia and Province of Pennsylvania (1747)	42
3. John Woolman: The Journal of John Woolman (1757/58) - A Plea for the Poor, or - A Word of Remembrance and Caution to the Rich (1763/64)	50
II. <u>Die "Non-Resisters" und Abolitionisten</u> <i>Christian Bartolf</i>	83
Dokumente:	
4. William Lloyd Garrison: Declaration of Sentiments, adopted by the Peace Convention, Boston, 18.-20.9.1838	92
5. Charles King Whipple: Evils of the Revolutionary War (1839)	97
6. Adin Ballou: Christian Non-Resistance in All Its Important Bearings (Auszüge) (1846)	107
III. <u>Henry David Thoreaus Beitrag zum "revolutionären Pazifismus" - Ziviler Ungehorsam als Widerstand gegen die Regierung, und der Weg, der nach 'Walden' führt ...</u> <i>Christian Bartolf</i>	145
Dokumente:	
7. Henry David Thoreau: (On the Duty of) Civil Disobedience - Resistance to Civil Government (1849)	147

	Seite
8. Henry David Thoreau: Life Without Principle - The Higher Law (1854)	171
IV. <u>Die "Würde des passiven Widerstandes"</u> <u>(Elihu Burritt) und der Beitrag des philoso-</u> <u>phischen Anarchismus</u>	200
<i>Christian Bartolf</i>	
Dokumente:	
9. Elihu Burritt: "Passive Resistance" (1854)	204
10. Benjamin Tucker: Relation of the State to the Individual (1890)	218
11. Emma Goldman: Anarchism: What It Really Stands For (1910)	226
V. <u>"Remember the Ladies" - Die Suffragetten</u> <u>("Women's Suffrage") und der Beitrag der</u> <u>"Women's International League for Peace and</u> <u>Freedom</u>	250
<i>Vibeke Fink</i>	
Dokumente:	
12. Emma Goldman: Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty (1908)	240
13. Jane Addams: Passing of the War Virtues (1907)	252
14. Jane Addams: Personal Reactions During War (1922)	268
VI. <u>Der Kampf der "Socialist Party" (Eugene</u> <u>V. Debs) gegen den Kriegseintritt der USA</u>	292
<i>Jeffrey Butler</i>	
Dokumente:	
15. St. Louis Manifesto of the Socialist Party (1917)	289
16. Eugene V. Debs: The Canton/Ohio Speech with Address to the Jury and State- ment to the Court (1918)	298
VII. <u>Das "American Friends Service Committee" und</u> <u>die Suche der Quäker nach einer Alternative</u> <u>zur Gewalt</u>	326
<i>Jamie Walker</i>	
Dokumente:	
17. William James: The Moral Equivalent to War (1910)	336
18. American Friends Service Committee: Speak Truth to Power (1955)	348

	Seite
VIII. <u>Kriegsdienstverweigerer im Ersten und</u> <u>Zweiten Weltkrieg</u>	384
<i>Christian Bartolf</i>	
Dokumente:	
19. Roger Baldwin and others: Statements of Conscientious Objection (1917-1918)	388
20. Richard Gregg: Pacifist Program in Time of War, Threatened War or Pacifism (1939)	392
IX. <u>Abraham Johannes Muste - sein Leben als Programm</u> <u>und der Versöhnungsbund ("Fellowship of Recon-</u> <u>ciliation")</u>	429
<i>Dieter Hofmann</i>	
Dokumente:	
21. A. J. Muste: The World Task of Pacifism (1941)	415
22. A. J. Muste: Of Holy Disobedience (1952)	444
X. <u>Die Bewegung der "Catholic Worker" und der</u> <u>spirituelle Pazifismus Thomas Mertons</u>	463
<i>Christian Bartolf</i>	
Dokumente:	
23. Thomas Merton: Original Child Bomb (1962)	456
24. Dorothy Day: We Cannot Keep Silent (1957)	474
25. Thomas Merton: A Letter to Pablo Antonio Cuadra Concerning Giants (1963)	490
XI. <u>Die Bürgerrechtsbewegung und Martin Luther</u> <u>King jr. - "Gandhi in Amerika"</u>	508
<i>Katja Bäcker</i>	
Dokumente:	
26. Martin Luther King jr.: Nonviolence and Social Change (1967)	500
27. Martin Luther King jr.: Beyond Vietnam (1967)	528
28. Martin Luther King jr.: The World House (1967)	541
XII. <u>"Macht und Sinnlichkeit" - der Beitrag der</u> <u>feministischen Bewegung zu einem Netzwerk</u> <u>gewaltfreier Aktionsgruppen</u>	572
<i>Vibeke Fink</i>	

	Seite
Dokumente:	
29. Barbara Deming: On Revolution and Equilibrium (1968)	554
30. Barbara Deming: On Anger - New Men New Women (1971)	580
31. Donna Warnock: Feminism (1981)	595
XIII. <u>Die "War Resisters League" - Geschichte und Gegenwart</u>	606
<i>Raoul Luschnat</i>	
Dokumente:	
32. W.R.I. ("War Resisters International") Die Erklärung von Bilthoven/Holland (1921) - Our Roots of Action (1984)	602
33. Ed Hedemann: Nonviolence (1981)	622
XIV. <u>Die Brüder Berrigan - Vertreter einer revolutionären Gewaltfreiheit ("Towards Revolutionary Non-violence")</u>	633
<i>Gerald Burchards</i> <i>Markus Jahn</i>	
Dokumente:	
34. Daniel Berrigan: Conscience, the Law and Civil Disobedience (1969)	627
35. Daniel Berrigan: Too Heavy a Price (Letter to Ernesto Cardinal) (1978)	659
36. Daniel Berrigan: St. Rose's Home: Where Death Abounded - Life (1979)	668
XV. <u>Der Freispruch der "Plowshare Eight" - Eine Dokumentation</u>	672
<i>Christian Bartolf</i>	
37. Daniel Berrigan: Swords Into Plowshares - Oktober/November 1980	673
38. Daniel Berrigan: The Trial: Defense Statement - September 1981	678
39. IFOR Report: News ("Judges Speaking Out Against the Bomb") - Juli 1984	682
40. Judge Spaeth: Begründung des Freispruchs in der zweiten Instanz - 17.2.1984 Daniel Berrigan: Brief an Richter Spaeth (Auszug) - 14.4.1984	683
<u>Statt eines Nachwortes: Thomas Merton:</u> <u>Ishi - A Meditation (1967)</u>	698

Seite

Quellenverzeichnis der Dokumente

706

Auswahlbibliographie der einschlägigen Bestände der Bibliothek des Kennedy-Instituts

709

Vorwort des Herausgebers

Die Herausgabe dieser Texte - und ihre erhoffte Rezeption über den engeren Kreis von Amerikanisten hinaus - bedarf eigentlich keiner Begründung: die Friedensbewegungen in vielen Teilen der Welt, aufgeschreckt durch den anhaltenden, ja dramatisch gesteigerten Rüstungswettkampf der '80er Jahre, haben Pazifismus sogar zum "Tagesthema" gemacht. Insofern scheint die hier vorgelegte Dokumentation beinahe zu aufdringlich aktualitätsmotiviert zu sein. Und bis zu einem gewissen Grade ist sie das auch. Die positive studentische Reaktion auf ein Seminar-Angebot zum Thema amerikanischer Pazifismus im Wintersemester 1984/85 wäre zweifellos noch wenige Jahre zuvor kaum zu erwarten gewesen. Das Bedürfnis nach begrifflicher, wissenschaftlicher Klärung der Komplexe Krieg und Frieden, Rüstung und atomare Vernichtungsdrohung hat in diesen Jahren gewissermaßen "über Nacht" nicht zuletzt eine ganz junge Generation erfaßt. Viele haben ihre Angst und Sorge auf die Straßen getragen, mindestens ebensoviele sind deren Sympathisanten geworden. Aber gefragt ist nicht nur sozialwissenschaftlich-politologische Klärung, sondern auch fürderhin realistische Einschätzungen der Erfolgsaussichten, der Durchsetzungschancen von Friedensbewegungen, des Pazifismus in Gestalt sozialer Bewegungen.

Für die westdeutsche Friedensbewegung wird man - für unseren Zusammenhang jedenfalls - von zwei zentralen Annahmen ausgehen können, die in den Köpfen der überwiegenden Mehrheit unkritisch vorhanden waren und es noch immer sind: daß eine solche breite Bewegung gegen Kriegsgefahr und Rüstung historisch ohne Vorbild, also erstmalig sei, da ja mit der Möglichkeit eines 'nuklearen Holocaust' auch eine ganz neue Qualität in die internationale Politik und militärische Strategie gekommen sei; und zweitens, daß die USA in besonderem Maße für die Zunahme der Kriegsgefahr verantwortlich und "die Amerikaner" aufgrund ihres historischen Selbstverständnisses und einer vom Freiheitspathos geprägten Selbstgerechtigkeit gewissermaßen 'Hauptschuldige' und darum 'Hauptgegner' von Abrüstung und Antimilitarismus seien. Nun kann weder die 'neue Qualität' atomarer Vernichtungswaffen

noch die qualitativ (und quantitativ) vergleichslose Militärmacht der USA kaum ernsthaft bezweifelt werden und folglich bedarf es für eine intensive Beschäftigung von Anhängern, Sympathisanten wie Kritikern der Friedensbewegung, also von Leuten, für die Theorie und Praxis von Pazifismus entweder akademisches Sujet oder Sache persönlichen Engagements ist, keiner ausführlicheren Begründung. Für Mitarbeiter und Studenten an einem speziell der Nordamerika-Forschung gewidmeten Institut - eben dem "John F. Kennedy-Institut für Nordamerikastudien der Freien Universität Berlin" - ist darum das Zusammentreffen von Erkenntnisinteresse und allgemein-politischer, ja ethisch-politischer Relevanz eines so großen Themas ein Glücksfall, aber auch natürlich eine verpflichtende Aufgabe.

Um das Ergebnis der - dann auf zwei Semester ausgedehnten - gemeinsamen Bemühungen von Studenten und Dozent um Klärung und vertiefte Orientierung vorwegzunehmen bzw. auf zwei sehr knappe Netzer zu bringen: es läßt sich, erstens, die weitverbreitete These - zumindest für die USA, unseren Erkenntnisgegenstand - nicht halten, daß die heutige Friedensbewegung ohne Vorläufer bzw. ohne eine große und ernstzunehmende Tradition sei und also etwas qualitativ Neues darstelle; und damit unmittelbar verknüpft ist die Korrektur der zweiten weitverbreiteten Annahme von der besonderen, "exzeptionalistischen", missionarischen Kriegswilligkeit "der Amerikaner": es zieht sich durch die gesamte Geschichte der USA, ja sogar schon angelegt und eindrucksvoll formuliert so gut wie praktiziert in deren kolonialer Vorgeschichte, eine nahezu ungebrochene, wenn auch politisch bisher immer minoritär gebliebene Tradition des Widerstandes gegen Gewaltpolitik, Machtpolitik, Krieg als Mittel der Politik und gegen expansionistische Korrekturen der inneren Verhältnisse anderer Völker und Staaten. Im - noch ausstehenden - Vergleich zwischen pazifistischen, d.h. der Gewalttätigkeit als 'legitimem Mittel' von Politik absagenden und sich ihr verweigernden Bewegungen, Aktivgruppen und herausragenden Einzelpersönlichkeiten in Nordamerika einerseits und Europa andererseits (von anderen Kontinenten müssen wir hier leider ganz und gar schweigen), in einem solchen 'Pazifismus-

Vergleich', wenn er denn überhaupt sinnvoll wäre, dürften die USA eher den Lorbeer davontragen. Auch wenn sie selbst offensichtlich nicht vergleichend angelegt und intendiert ist, dürfte unsere Dokumentation ein Stück Beweiskraft für diese These darstellen: ihr schierer Umfang, dabei doch noch eine knappe und ganz und gar unvollständige Materialsammlung, ist, so hoffe ich, schon eindrucksvoll genug.

Die Stärke des amerikanischen Pazifismus ist nur denen entgangen und wird denen auch weiterhin entgehen, die sich, als (europäische) Außenbeobachter nur an (amerikanischer) Macht und am (amerikanischen) Wohlstand orientieren und allein davon fasziniert sind. Aber die moralische Energie, die moralischen Impulse, die sich in den USA immer wieder Bahn gebrochen haben, verdienen mehr als bisher gekannt und bekannt zu werden - nicht zuletzt bei den professionellen Amerikanisten selber.

Die westdeutsche Friedensbewegung - insofern ist das zuvor gefällt pauschale Urteil zu qualifizieren - hat dieses auch inzwischen erkannt und ist davon nicht unwesentlich inspiriert worden. Wenn 300.000 Menschen im Oktober 1981 zum Abschluß der ersten großen Friedensdemonstration im Bonner Hofgarten mit dem amerikanischen Sänger Harry Belafonte auf Englisch im großen Chor singen "We shall overcome", und wenn der kürzliche Präsidentschaftskandidat Jesse Jackson als Redner bei Friedenskundgebungen in der Bundesrepublik Zehntausende zu mobilisieren vermag, dann trifft der Vorwurf vom "Antiamerikanismus" der deutschen Pazifisten nicht zu. Daß aber Jackson und Belafonte in einer Tradition stehen, die über Martin Luther King hinweg bis sehr weit in die amerikanische Geschichte zurückverweist, das hoffen wir hier zeigen zu können.

Die Stärke der amerikanischen pazifistischen Bewegungen und Kampagnen liegt, im Unterschied zu ihren deutschen (aber wohl auch zu anderen europäischen) Parallelen, in dem, was vielleicht etwas zu abschätzig als "Pragmatismus" bezeichnet wird: nicht ein abgeleitetes und kohärent ausgearbeitetes Gedankengebäude orientiert das Handeln, sondern eher der ethische Impuls, die

Empörung gegen Gewalt, Unterdrückung, Borniertheit - und Krieg - motivieren und mobilisieren die großen Einzelnen wie die weniger bekannten aber nicht minder bescheiden-großen Vielen: ohne viele Hypothesen und abgrenzende Begrifflichkeiten. Tatsächlich taten wir uns in zahlreichen langen Sitzungen zu Anfang des Seminars sehr schwer mit dem Versuch genauerer Bestimmungen dessen, was denn unter Pazifismus zu verstehen sei, ohne welche Kriterien es uns schwer, ja unmöglich schien, das vorliegende bzw. zu erschließende historische Material zu ordnen. Schließlich gaben wir den Versuch der Ab- und Ausgrenzung auf zugunsten von Kriterien, die der zu untersuchenden Sache angemessen waren, nämlich der Verweigerung von und Absage an (kriegerische) Gewalt unter den jeweils konkreten historischen Bedingungen.⁴⁾ Als pazifistisch erkannten wir solche Gruppen, Bewegungen der Einzelpersonlichkeiten, die in der konkreten Entscheidungssituation für oder gegen die Teilnahme an Krieg und/oder Wehrpflicht ihres Landes, den USA, sich gegen Gewalt entschieden - oft um einen hohen Preis, nämlich den der eigenen Freiheit, dem Gefängnis. Zwar gibt es in der amerikanischen Tradition, wie wir sie vorfanden, durchaus Ansätze zu einer Theorie des Pazifismus (wie etwa bei William James), aber in der Regel liegt das "Theoretische", d.h. das Allgemein-Gesetzliche nicht in einer formulierten und begründeten, sozialwissenschaftlich nachvollziehbaren Doktrin, sondern im Vorbildlichen, in der Formulierung von ethischen Grundsätzen als Richtschnur praktisch-politischen Handelns.

Das herausgefunden zu haben, war das letztlich fruchtbare Ergebnis eines nicht immer gradlinigen gemeinsamen Lernprozesses "von Lehrenden und Lernenden", wie es im klassischen Humboldt'schen Universitätsideal wohl formuliert worden ist. Insofern ist diese Dokumentation zunächst und vor allem denen zu danken und auch zu widmen, die sie erarbeitet haben, und der Herausgeber hat an ihr eher einen geburtshelferischen Anteil. Jeder Mitarbeiter war für die Auswahl seiner Texte selbst verantwortlich und unterwarf seine Einleitung der kollegialen Kritik aller Seminarteilnehmer. In der endgültigen Form jedoch, wie die Pub-

⁴⁾ Vgl. Ekkehart Krippendorff: Pazifismus, in: Jürgen Tatz (Hrsg.): Ist der Frieden noch zu retten? Frankfurt/M. 1986; S. 254-260.

likation nun vorliegt, ist sie vor allem auch das Werk von Christian Bartolf und seinem besonders intensiven Engagement. Alle Mitarbeiter werden ihm das gerne bestätigen.

Ekkehart Krippendorff

WS 1986/87

"Pazifismus als Lebensform" - Einleitung von Christian Bartolf

Das Jahr 1986 wurde, auf eine Initiative Costa Ricas hin, von den Vereinten Nationen zum "Internationalen Jahr des Friedens" erklärt. Die 159 Mitgliedsstaaten insbesondere sind demnach aufgerufen, Initiativen zur Förderung und zur Verwirklichung der Friedensidee weltweit zu unterstützen und zu ermutigen.

In den USA wurde, beginnend mit dem 20. Januar 1986, der dritte Montag im Januar eines jeden Jahres zum Gedenken an den schwarzen Bürgerrechtskämpfer Martin Luther King jr. zum Nationalen Feiertag erhoben. Ende 1983 hatten das amerikanische Repräsentantenhaus und der US-Senat mit Mehrheit einem entsprechenden Gesetz zugestimmt, welches Martin Luther King jr. auch zum zweiten Ehrenbürger der USA ernannte.

Diese beiden Anlässe mögen - neben der aktuellen tagespolitischen Diskussion um atomare Abrüstung und eine sinnvolle ökologische Orientierung der industriellen Produktionsweise - gleichsam eine Hintergrundfolie aufspannen, vor der die in dieser Beitragssammlung zusammengestellten und einleitend kommentierten Dokumente sich von bereits bekannten Argumentationsmustern abheben - zu einer Vision von Pazifismus als Lebensform.

Ob die Dokumentation dieser der herrschenden politischen Ideengeschichte zuwiderlaufenden oder doch zumindest von ihr zur Randerscheinung deklassierten, "anderen" ideengeschichtlichen Tradition als moralische Kritik überzeugt, muß dem Urteil des aufmerksamen Lesers vorbehalten bleiben - die Texte selbst sprechen weitgehend für sich und ihre Sache. Die Sammlung erhebt zwar keinen Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit: die Zäsur der Dokumentation zwischen

- a) den Quäkern des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zum "American Friends Service Committee" einerseits und
- b) den Kriegsdienstverweigerern der ersten beiden Weltkriege bis hin zu den Abrüstungsinitiativen der Pflugschar-Gruppen andererseits,

verweist jedoch weder auf eine Materiallücke noch auf einen ideengeschichtlichen Bruch.

In beiden Abschnitten der Dokumentation werden amerikanische Denktraditionen präsentiert, die sowohl pragmatische Gewichtung (wie beim bekannten Moralphilosophen William James, allerdings auch bei Adin Ballou, dem christlichen Sozialisten, in seinem Briefwechsel mit Leo Tolstoi zu bemerken ist) als auch idealistische Orientierung (wie beim Transzendentalisten Thoreau, allerdings auch beim Individuell-Anarchisten Benjamin Tucker wahrzunehmen ist) erkennen lassen. Diese für europäisches, eher systematisches Denken oft nur schwer nachvollziehbare Heterogenität wird noch verstärkt durch die besondere Schwierigkeit, gemeinsame Merkmale des Pazifismus - auch als Auswahlkriterien unserer Dokumentation - zugrunde zu legen.

Staughton Lynd, der Verfasser und Herausgeber einer der wenigen Anthologien zum Pazifismus in den USA, führte vor zwanzig Jahren drei Kriterien "aktiver Gewaltfreiheit" an:

- (1) die Weigerung, zu vergelten ("Pazifismus", "Nicht-Widerstehen"),
- (2) freiwilliger Gesetzesbruch aus Gewissensgründen ("Ziviler Ungehorsam"),
- (3) überzeugtes Handeln durch demonstrative Aktion ("Direkte Aktion")

und verband diese drei Merkmale mit dem positiven Grundzug einer "Liebesvision als Triebkraft für fundamentalen sozialen Wandel".¹⁾

Robert Cooney und Helen Michalowski als jüngste Chronisten einer Geschichte der aktiven Gewaltfreiheit in den USA, geben mindestens fünf Typen von Personen an, denen als gemeinsames Charakteristikum ein prinzipieller Pazifismus eigen sei:

- (1) Menschen, die bestimmte gewaltvolle Konflikte ablehnen, aber nicht jede Gewalt (z.B. die Ablehnung eines Angriffskrieges, bei Akzeptanz von Kriegen aus Verteidigungsabsicht);
- (2) Menschen, die persönlich keine Gewalt anwenden wollen (obwohl sie Regierungsgewalt nicht einschränken oder gar unterbinden wollen) und die ihre Dienste anbieten, um Leiden zu lindern und zu vermindern (wie Mennoniten);

- (3) Menschen, die persönlich keine Gewalt anwenden und auch nicht mit ihr kooperieren und die versuchen, durch gutwillige Handlungen und Versöhnungsarbeit untragbare Situationen zu verändern (wie der Quäkergouverneur John Archdale);
- (4) Menschen, die persönlich keine Gewalt anwenden wollen und die aktiv gegen Ungerechtigkeit angehen mittels Schriften, direkter Aktion etc. (wie William Lloyd Garrison von der New England Non-Resistance Society und der Herausgeber des Abolitionistenblattes "The Liberator");
- (5) Menschen, die ihr persönliches Verhalten von Gewalt und Ausbeutung befreien wollen, den Aufbau von Strukturen einer gerechten Gesellschaft nachdrücklich betonen, und die Mittel organisierten und gewaltfreien Widerstandes und direkter Aktion gebrauchen, um Teile der alten Struktur zu beseitigen, die als Hindernisse im Weg stehen dem Neuen (wie A.J. Muste, dem Gewerkschaftsaktivisten und Kriegsgegner des 20. Jahrhunderts).²⁾

Aus dem Studium eminenten Persönlichkeiten wie der Martin Luther Kings, Abraham Johannes Mustes oder der Brüder Berrigan, läßt sich im Sinne Cooney/Michalowskis ein sechster "Typus" des 'aktiven Pazifisten' bezeichnen, dessen aufmerksames Handeln zu gedanklicher Klarheit (wie etwa im Sinne der "clarification of thought" der Catholic Worker) wie praktischer Lösung vermeintlich unauflösbarer Widersprüche im sozio-ökonomischen und politischen Bereich führen könnte, wenn es als solches zu individueller wie kollektiver Einsicht führte, also begegnen würde dem offenen Verständnis für Alternativen.

Beiträge von Thomas Merton, Mönch und Schriftsteller, und den Brüdern Berrigan mögen also insbesondere auf ihr gelebtes Sozialethos hin gelesen und somit verstanden werden.

Dieser als "aktiver Pazifismus revolutionärer Gewaltfreiheit" zu charakterisierende Begriff im Sinne jenes von Mulford Sibley 1968 so definierten "politischen Pazifismus"³⁾ läßt Züge aufscheinen, deren Darstellung (der Politik und Lebenshaltung Gandhis entsprechend) allein - im Gegensatz zur bloß akademi-

schen Rezeption - dem Gegenstand dieser Dokumentation bereits ideelle Kraft verleiht.

Wenn W.E. Mühlmann in einem enzyklopädischen Artikel 1976 den Pazifismus noch als "die Summe aller Bemühungen und Programme zur Verwirklichung eines dauerhaften oder, wenn möglich, ewigen Friedens der Völker untereinander" definiert, erfolgend "im festen Glauben, dieses Ziel sei von positivem Wert und könne in einer historisch vorhersehbaren Zukunft erreicht werden" und unterstützt durch

- "(1) religiöse und philosophische oder ethische Forderungen nach Abschaffung von Gewalt,
- (2) das Toleranzpostulat, und
- (3) Programme, die auf die Verbesserung internationaler Beziehungen, Rüstungsbegrenzung, die Mäßigung und rationale Erörterung von Konflikten und die Einrichtung neutraler Schiedsgerichte zielen,"⁴⁾

so geschieht dies also noch im traditionellen Verständnis eines humanitären, auf Schlichtung von Streitigkeiten und friedliche Koexistenz hin orientierten Pazifismus, der von den verschiedenen antagonistisch als Systeminteressen organisierten Ideologieträgern in Anspruch genommen wird, um im Kern nationalstaatliche Souveränität zu legitimieren.

Daß Mühlmann gewaltfreie Bewegungen, "deren fundamentale Überzeugung darauf basierte, daß die individuelle Ethik 'negativer Aktionen' (Nicht-Widerstehen, freiwilliges Leiden und Gewaltfreiheit) auch für kollektive Zusammenhänge Geltung verspräche", dabei als "Keimzellen" bezeichnet, sollte nicht zu weiterer Marginalisierung bisher unzureichend rezipierter Ansätze führen, deren Wurzeln nicht allein in den "religiösen Friedensgemeinden" der frühen Kolonialzeit zu finden sein werden, sondern insbesondere in der dem frühen 19. Jahrhundert zuzusprechenden und entwickelten 'Lehre vom Nicht-Widerstehen' säkularer, also nicht konfessionsgebundener, als "utopisch" (ein-)geschätzter Kommunitäten. Im Gegenteil:

Diese Lehre, in all ihren möglichen Konsequenzen für das soziale Leben einer industrialisierten Gesellschaft, sowie das Fest-

halten an einem dynamischen Revolutionsbegriff wie dem Henry David Thoreaus mit all seinen Folgen für die Autorität des staatlichen Gesetzes, dürften im Kern die eigentliche Herausforderung amerikanischen pazifistischen Denkens auch und nicht zuletzt für die europäische Politik, sofern sie im Ernst neue Wege der Friedenssicherung sucht, darstellen.

Soziale Bewegungen wie die der Transzendentalisten und utopischen Sozialisten, philosophischen Anarchisten, frühen und parteilich organisierten Sozialisten, der Suffragetten und Feministinnen, der Abolitionisten (Gegnern der Sklaverei) und Bürgerrechtler, der christlichen Pazifisten und Sozialethiker, der organisierten Kriegsgegner und Kriegsdienstverweigerer, sollen dabei genauso zu Worte kommen wie einzelne Individualpazifisten mit biographischen Kurzportraits.

Daß beider Ursprung meist in der Suche nach einer praktischen Alternative zur Akkumulation industriell produzierter Destruktionspotentiale gesehen werden muß, soll die ideengeschichtliche Perspektive nicht entwerten. Es wirft ein bezeichnendes Licht auf die Aktivitäten amerikanischer Pazifisten, daß sie meist moralisch motiviert waren von der Erfahrung vorangegangener Kriegsführung oder erlebter Kriegsdrohung: so bei den "Non-Resisters" und ersten säkularen Friedensgesellschaften nach den Unabhängigkeits- und Kolonialkriegen gegen Frankreich und England (1812-1815), den Abolitionisten und Transzendentalisten in der Zeit des Krieges gegen Mexiko (1846-1848) bis zum Bürgerkrieg der konkurrierenden Nord- und Südstaaten (1861-1865); was sich über die beiden Weltkriege bis zum Korea- und Vietnam-(Indochina-)Krieg fortführen ließe.

Die moralische Reaktion verweist aber immer zugleich auch auf innerstaatliche Widersprüche und uneingelöste Verfassungsver-sprechen bzw. auf uneingelöste Grundrechte (von der Beseitigung der Sklaverei über die Gleichberechtigung der Frau, der Abschaffung der Todesstrafe bis zur Aufhebung der Rassentrennung u.a.). Wenn all diese gesellschaftlichen Probleme somit eine pazifistische "Lehre" erteilt bekommen haben, so wird damit auch das Wesen staatlich legitimerter Rechtsgewalt re-

flektiert und der genuine Bereich zwischenstaatlicher Konflikt-
austragung, worum es Pazifisten zunächst immer geht, auf alle
von der politischen Ökonomie betroffenen und durchdrungenen
Sphären ausgedehnt.

Daß die Universalisierung der Destruktionskräfte ihren nicht
allein symbolischen Ausdruck im Massenvernichtungspotential
der Atombombe seit nunmehr über vierzig Jahren aufrechter-
halten konnte, mag oberflächlich gesehen die Aporie des Atom-
zeitalters ausmachen. Die Realpolitik der Großmächte in diesem
Atomzeitalter ist die einer ungebrochenen und an Menschenleben
verlustreichen Interventionspolitik auch und gerade seit dem
Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges, an der die USA einen besonders
großen und empirisch ausreichend belegten Anteil haben;⁵⁾
ohne auch diesen Hintergrund ist der heutige amerikanische
Pazifismus sicher nicht verständlich.

Moral und Ethik im Atomzeitalter, etwa in einer Diskussion
kontroverser Auffassungen Hans Morgenthau, Reinhold Niebuhrs,
Hermann Kahns und jener Thomas Mertons (wie sie im Sammelband
"The Nonviolent Alternative" einsehbar und zugänglich ist)
bedeutet darum in den USA zumindest immer mehr als nur die
Problematisierung der atomaren Vernichtungsmöglichkeit.

Die Diskussion ethischer Grundfragen und die Entwicklung einer
modernen Theorie des Pazifismus für die Wissenschaft von Poli-
tik und Gesellschaft und Ökologie müßte jedoch kritisch mit-
einbeziehen: die Bedeutung von politischer Kultur in einer
"Archäologie der Moderne" amerikanischer Prägung, die Sozial-
philosophie über "Aufklärung als Massenbetrug" und industria-
lisiertes Bewußtsein, den möglichen Erkenntnisgewinn und des-
sen "Sozialverträglichkeit" in den offiziellen Forschungs- und
Bildungseinrichtungen, sowie eine Darstellung der Triebkräfte
und Akteure "organisierter Friedlosigkeit" im Macht-Spiel des
traditionellen politischen Systems. Darauf muß jedoch zunächst
noch verzichtet werden. Aber bereits die Auseinandersetzung
mit den oft schmerzlichen prophetischen Dokumenten aus historisch
leicht zu relativierenden Zusammenhängen mündet zwangsläufig
in solche weitergehenden Aufgabenformulierungen.

Für eine intensive gedankliche Anstrengung, also Studium im
emphatischen Sinne, sollte die hier vorgelegte Beitrags-
und Dokumentensammlung von Nutzen sein und als ein Leitstern
im "Internationalen Jahr des Friedens 1986" die fundamentale
Einsicht in die Notwendigkeit von Umkehr im Politischen
vermitteln: konkret und vor allem jetzt: reale Abrüstung.

Christian Bartolf
Berlin, Januar 1986

Anmerkungen:

- 1) Lynd, Staughton (ed.): Nonviolence in America: A Documentary History, Indianapolis 1966 (Introduction XVII; Lynd beschreibt auf die o.a. Weise den Begriff der Gewaltfreiheit).
- 2) Cooney, Robert and Helen Michalowski (eds.): The Power of the People. Active Nonviolence in the United States, Culver City/California 1977 (S. 14/15).
- 3) Stichwort "Pacifism" von Mulford Q. Sibley, in: David Stills (ed.): International Encyclopedia on the Social Sciences, Vol. 11, New York 1968; S. 356:
" ... Specifically, political pacifism emphasizes the possibilities of using nonviolent power against both domestic and foreign tyranny and exploitation. Nonretaliatory, nonviolent resistance ... can either change the attitude of a tyrant or an invader or deprive him of his instruments and resources (and therefore of his power)."
Mulford Q. Sibleys Beiträge zur Theorie des Pazifismus:
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- 4) Stichwort "Pacifism and Nonviolent Movements" von W.E. Mühlmann, in: The New Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol 13, London 1976; S. 845-853 - weitere Literatur zum Pazifismus allgemein:
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- als unauffällige Gegenbewegung dazu zu finden in demselben Heft:
Eide, Asbjørn: Gewissen und Gewalt. Das Recht auf Militärdienstverweigerung aus Gewissensgründen in der internationalen Diskussion, ebd., S. 60-64
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I. Die Gesellschaft der Freunde im kolonialen Pennsylvania -
eine historische Friedenskirche

ASTRID LÜBKE

Zur Erläuterung der nachfolgenden Dokumente (1-3) soll der Versuch unternommen werden, die politischen und religiös-pazifistischen Konzeptionen der Gesellschaft der Freunde vor dem Hintergrund der Geschichte der Kolonie Pennsylvania zu untersuchen. Die Gründung Pennsylvanias 1682 war der Versuch einer Religionsgruppe, aus den gesellschaftlichen und politischen Beschränkungen ihrer Zeit auszubrechen und einen neuen, auf Frieden und Gerechtigkeit basierenden Staat zu etablieren. Obwohl letztlich gescheitert, bleibt dieser Versuch bis zum heutigen Datum das einzige Beispiel für eine Symbiose von Staat und Pazifismus.

1. Die Entstehungsgeschichte der Gesellschaft der Freunde
(4) und ihre "Frühe Lehre"

Die Religionsgemeinschaft wurde Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts in England gegründet. In dieser Zeit des religiösen und politischen Umbruchs - die Einheit von Staat und Kirche und der universelle Anspruch der anglikanischen Staatskirche wurde nicht mehr widerspruchslos akzeptiert - suchten viele Gläubige nach einer neuen, von weltlichen Attributen befreiten Religionserfahrung. Einer dieser "Suchenden" war George Fox, der Gründer der Gesellschaft der Freunde. In einer "von beißender Kritik an den Institutionen des Staates, der Kirche und der Gesellschaft und ätzender Polemik verschiedener großer und kleiner kirchlicher Organisationen" (5) gekennzeichneten Atmosphäre entwickelte George Fox seine Lehre vom Wirken des "Inneren Lichtes", das den Geist Gottes in jedem Menschen repräsentiert. Erkennt der Gläubige den Geist Gottes in sich, so wird er schon während seines Lebens auf Erden von seinen Sünden erlöst. Das spirituelle Element, die religiöse Selbsterfahrung, wird in der frühen Lehre zum Ausgangspunkt einer Religion, die nach puritanischer Tradition Autoritätsansprüche, Formen und Rituale als menschliche Zutaten abqualifiziert und den Gläubigen aus den

Fesseln des Kirchenglaubens befreit. Wichtiger Bestandteil des neuen Religionsverständnisses ist die Ablehnung von weltlichen Waffen als Mittel der eigenen Konfliktlösung. Die Erkenntnis, daß sich das Tragen und Benutzen von Waffen nicht mit der neuen Lehre vereinbaren ließ, setzte sich in einem langsamen, sehr emotionellen Prozeß durch, weil sie auf der Basis von Intuition und nicht von Logik erfolgte. 1654 begründete George Fox erstmals das Peace Testimony, als er Oliver Cromwell schrieb: "And my kingdom is not of this world, therefore with the carnall weapon I do not fight, but am from those things dead." (6) Offiziell, und das zeigt die starken Auswirkungen politischer Ereignisse auf die Ausformulierung der Lehre, wurde das Peace Testimony erstmals während des gewaltigen Aufstandes der "Fifth Monarchy Men" 1660 bekannt gegeben:

"We utterly deny all outward wars and strife and fightings with outward weapons, for any end or under any pretence whatsoever, and we do certainly know and so testify to the world, that the spirit of Christ, which leads us into all Truth, will never move us to fight and war against any men with outward weapons, neither for the kingdom of Christ, nor for the kingdoms of this world." (7)

Die verschiedenen Versionen des Peace Testimony implizieren außerdem die Forderung der Freunde, das inner- und zwischenstaatliche Leben auf eine neue, dem Christentum gemäße Grundlage zu stellen. Es war nicht dieser weitgehende Wunsch nach gesellschaftlichen Veränderungen, der zur Verfolgung der Freunde in England führte, sondern ihre in der eigenen Religionslehre begründete Ablehnung verschiedener staatlicher Forderungen. Neben der Verweigerung der Eidesleistung und der Zahlung der Kirchensteuer, führte die von den Freunden praktizierte Gleichbehandlung aller Menschen zu Konflikten mit der Staatsgewalt. Aus der Tatsache, daß der Geist Gottes in jedem Menschen existierte, ergab sich für George Fox die Gleichwertigkeit aller Menschen, was die Freunde versuchten, in ihrem praktischen Verhalten umzusetzen. (Z.B. weigerten sie sich, vor höhergestellten Persönlichkeiten den Hut abzunehmen.) In der "Frühen Lehre" beschäftigte sich George Fox auch intensiv mit dem Staat, dessen Aufgaben und dem Verhältnis zwischen Staat und Bürger. Kennzeichnend für die damaligen Überlegungen ist die enge Verbindung zwischen Staat, Politik

und Religionslehre; der Bestand des Staates und seiner Institutionen (Regierung, Richter, Magistrate und die Gesetzgebung), sowie seine Befähigung Politik zu betreiben, wurde nie in Frage gestellt. Im Gegenteil: In der Fox'schen Konzeption wird dem Staat heilsgeschichtliche Bedeutung beigemessen, sie ergibt sich aus der Definition der ihm zuerkannten Aufgaben. Gottes Wille wurde durch den Staat auf Erden vollstreckt. Entsprechend der jeweiligen Situation interpretierte man das politische Verhalten des Staates entweder als Hilfeleistung für den Gläubigen bei der Ausbreitung des Reiches Christi, oder als Bestrafung der sündigen Menschen, sozusagen als Zuchtrute Gottes. Diese Strafen, auch die Verfolgungen der Freunde wurden als solche empfunden, mußten ohne Widerstand erduldet werden, wollte man nicht die Allmacht Gottes bezweifeln.

Magistrate und Richter waren mit der Aufgabe betraut, die Bürger vor Übeltätern - Menschen, die gegen ihr "inneres Licht" verstoßen hatten - mit dem Schwert zu schützen und die Übeltäter, wenn möglich, zu bekehren. Unter diesen Prämissen entstand George Fox' Obrigkeitsbegriff. Er orientierte sich dabei an Paulus (Brief an die Römer XIII, 1 ff.) und Matthäus (XXII, 21 f.) (8), die den Gläubigen der Regierung gegenüber nicht nur zum Gehorsam, sondern auch zur Unterstützung verpflichteten. Wichtig erscheint außerdem, daß Fox dem Staat weder im inner- noch im zwischenstaatlichen Bereich die Prämisse der Gewaltlosigkeit abverlangte und damit das Peace Testimony nur als individuelle Willenserklärung auf die Privatsphäre des Einzelnen beschränkt blieb. Die Fox'schen Konzeptionen, das wird hier deutlich, wurden aus der Perspektive eines Untertanen entwickelt, der staatliche Autorität a priori akzeptierte und damit seine religiös-philosophischen Erkenntnisse von vornherein entpolitisierte.

2. Die politische Theorie William Penns und die verfassungsrechtlichen Grundlagen der Kolonie Pennsylvania

William Penn, Eigentümer und Gründer der Kolonie Pennsylvania und Architekt der pennsylvanischen Verfassung "Frame of Government" (9) orientierte sich bei der Ausarbeitung seiner Konzeptionen an idealtypischen Vorstellungen.

In den 60er Jahren des 17. Jahrhunderts war er als Student der Staats- und Religionswissenschaften der Gesellschaft der Freunde beigetreten und schnell zu einem ihrer religiösen Führer avanciert. Die Möglichkeiten und Probleme der Immigration in die "Neue Welt" beschäftigten den von Verfolgungen gebeutelten Penn schon früh. Im Gegensatz zu Fox, der schon 1660 bei dem Versuch gescheitert war, Land in den Kolonien zu erwerben, wollte er einen eigenen Staat gründen. einen Staat, in dem die Freunde, frei von den einengenden Restriktionen Englands, der ganzen Welt ihre Vorstellungen von sozialem Zusammenleben beispielhaft vorführen konnten. Seine die Politik und den Staat betreffenden Überlegungen brachte Penn in fünf theoretischen Schriften (10) und in der "Frame of Government" zu Papier.

Wichtigstes Element seiner Überlegungen war die Säkularisierung der Aufgaben und Ziele des Staates sowie des Obrigkeitsbegriffs. Der Mensch wurde in Bürger und Gläubigen gespalten und sollte nun zwei verschiedenen Obrigkeiten verpflichtet sein. Der Staat bezog seine Legitimation nicht mehr wie bei Fox von Gott, sondern aus einem ursprünglichen Vertrag. In diesem Vertrag fanden die bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt autonom und nebeneinanderher lebenden Familien zur Gründung des Staates zusammen. Der Einzelne trat mit diesem Vertrag einige seiner Rechte an den Staat ab und war ihm, solange der Staat die Bürgerrechte nicht verletzte, Untertan. Der Staat hatte die Aufgabe, zur Förderung der Moral in der Gesellschaft beizutragen und die Grundrechte des Bürgers zu schützen. Als Grundrechte definierte Penn folgende drei: 1) das Recht auf Eigentum; 2) das Recht auf Mitbestimmung bei der Gesetzgebung; 3) das Recht auf echte Beteiligung an der Rechtsprechung durch Geschworene. Im religiösen Bereich war der Bürger nur Gott, seinem "Inneren Licht" oder dem Bischof verantwortlich.

Die Forderung nach Gewaltlosigkeit findet keinen direkten Eingang in die politischen Schriften des William Penn, auch in der "Frame of Government" wird diese Lebenseinstellung der Freunde nicht erwähnt. Penn erlaubt, genau wie Fox, dem Staat den Gebrauch von Gewalt zum Schutz der Bürger und zur Reform

der Feinde.

Der entscheidende Grundgedanke in der politischen Theorie Penns ist die enge, für beide Seiten vorteilhafte Verbindung von Bürgern und Regierung. In der pennsylvanischen Verfassung findet sich dieses Politikverständnis in der konsequenten Verflechtung von Legislative, Exekutive und Jurisdiktion wieder. Die Regierungsgewalt wird auf frei staatliche Organe verteilt: das Assembly (die Volksvertretung), das Council (Vertreter aus den einzelnen Counties) und den Proprietor (Eigentümer) bzw. seinen stellvertretenden Gouverneur. Das Assembly erhielt nach englischem Vorbild das Budgetrecht, und der stellvertretende Gouverneur und das Council waren mit legislativen Funktionen ausgestattet.

Religionsfreiheit und die Unantastbarkeit von Eigentum wurden mit dieser 1682 von Charles II. in Kraft gesetzten Verfassung garantiert, und freie Wahlen (11) sollten die Gleichwertigkeit aller Bürger unterstreichen.

3. Die historische und politische Entwicklung der Kolonie Pennsylvania 1682-1775

Am 4. März 1681 erhielt William Penn von König Charles II. die "Charter of Charles the Second ...", welche ihm die Eigentumsrechte an der Kolonie Pennsylvania zusprach.

Wichtigstes Element der Penn'schen Siedlungspolitik war ein freundliches, auf gegenseitigem Respekt und Achtung beruhendes Verhältnis zu den Indianern. Sie erhielten dieselben Rechte wie die weißen Siedler, und die Landkäufe wurden gerecht ausgehandelt. (Dok. 1) Das Ergebnis dieses Verhaltens war ein 70 Jahre währender Frieden zwischen Indianern und Siedlern.

Die komplizierte Kompetenzverteilung in der Kolonie - neben Assembly, Eigentümer (der stellvertretende Gouverneur) und Council hatte die englische Regierung ein Weisungsrecht - führte schon bald nach Inkrafttreten der Verfassung zu politischen Auseinandersetzungen mit dem Mutterland. Streitpunkte waren - und diese zogen sich durch die gesamte koloniale

Geschichte Pennsylvanias - die Erhebung von Kriegssteuern und der Bau von Verteidigungsanlagen sowie die Aufstellung einer Miliz zur Unterstützung der anderen Kolonien und des Mutterlandes. Wiederholt weigerten sich die Freunde im Assembly, der Erhebung von Steuern für Verteidigungszwecke zuzustimmen, weil es gegen ihre Glaubenssätze verstieß. Dieses in den Augen der englischen Regierung eklatante Fehlverhalten der Kolonisten gab Anlaß zu einer Reihe von kritischen Berichten, die alle die Umwandlung Pennsylvanias zur Kronkolonie forderten.

Nachdem die Freunde zu Beginn der 90er Jahre erneut die Finanzierung von Verteidigungsmaßnahmen abgelehnt hatten, wurde die Kolonie dem damaligen Gouverneur von New York, Benjamin Fletcher, unterstellt. In seiner ersten Rede vor dem Assembly unterstrich er die Gründe für das königliche Vorgehen. Gleichzeitig legte er Instruktionen vor, die die Unterstützung der militärischen Anstrengungen der Kolonie New York durch Pennsylvania forderten. In dieser Zwangssituation - die Freunde waren sich der Gefahren, daß sie aufgrund ihrer nicht "staats-tragenden", ablehnenden Haltung gegenüber der Kriegssteuererhebung aus dem politischen Leben ausgeschlossen werden könnten, sehr wohl bewußt - verfügten sie die Bereitstellung von nur 150 £ mit dem Etikett "for the support of the government". Die Bewilligung von Kriegssteuern unter diesem dem eigentlichen Zweck verhüllenden Begriff sollte den Ausweg aus dem Dilemma zwischen dem Ungehorsam gegenüber dem König (Bruch mit der Obrigkeitsdoktrin) und der Mißachtung des Peace Testimonys zeigen. Diese Vorgehensweise erhöhte den handlungspolitischen Spielraum der Freunde, was ihnen z.B. die Ablehnung des von Fletcher gewünschten Milizgesetzes ermöglichte. Für die zukünftige Politik der Freunde sollte diese Verfahrensweise Beispielcharakter bekommen. Ließen sich die Forderungen der englischen Regierung nach finanzieller und militärischer Unterstützung nicht mehr abwehren, so genehmigte das Assembly unter verschiedenen Titeln (z.B. "for the Kings/Queens use") Geldgeschenke. (Bis Mitte der 50er Jahre des 18. Jahrhunderts ließ sich mit dieser Argumentation der Bau von Verteidigungsanlagen und die Aufstellung einer Miliz verhindern.) (12)

1696 erhielt William Penn seine Kolonie unter der Auflage, sich an den allgemeinen Kriegs- und Verteidigungskosten zu beteiligen, wieder zurück. Dieses Zugeständnis Penns änderte jedoch wenig an dem Verhalten der Freunde im Assembly, die künftig Gelder nur noch aufgrund von direkten königlichen Instruktionen genehmigten.

Innerstaatliche Auseinandersetzungen berührten vor allem die Kompetenzverteilung innerhalb der Regierung. Mit der Waffe des Budgetrechtes erzwangen die Freunde eine Ausweitung ihrer Rechte in der "Charter of Privileges" von 1701. (13) Diese offizielle Änderung der pennsylvanischen Verfassung gab dem Assembly legislative Bedeutung und dem Council wurde die Machtbasis entzogen.

Waren Turbulenzen und politische Auseinandersetzungen Merkmale der ersten Phase der pennsylvanischen Geschichte, so kann die zweite Phase 1712-1739 als ruhig und prosperitär bezeichnet werden. In dieser auch für Europa kriegsfreien Zeit wurde Philadelphia zum wichtigsten Handelszentrum in der "Neuen Welt".

Das Verhältnis zu den Indianern wurde durch den starken Zustrom neuer Siedler zunehmenden Spannungen ausgesetzt. Der Erwerb von Land wurde nach dem Tod von William Penn (1718) durch unfaire Praktiken (z.B. die Walking Purchase) (14) korrumpiert und die Rechte der Indianer wurden kontinuierlich abgebaut. Ergebnis dieses Vorgehens waren die blutigen Auseinandersetzungen der 50er Jahre.

Die europäischen Kriege zwischen 1739 und 1748 (War of Jenkins Ear; Österreichischer Erbfolgekrieg; Aufstand der Highlanders und die Rebellion in Nordengland) sollten nicht ohne Folgen für die Kolonien bleiben: die Mutterländer forderten finanzielle und materielle Unterstützung. Der innen- und außenpolitische Druck zwang die Freunde zwischen 1741 und 1748 zur Bewilligung neuer Kriegssteuern für die englische Regierung. Begleitet wurden diese Vorgänge von heftigen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Assembly und stellvertretendem

Gouverneur. Auch innerhalb der Gesellschaft der Freunde ist das zunehmend an Machterhalt orientierte Verhalten der Freunde im Assembly nicht mehr unumstritten: es bildet sich eine Opposition in Form der "Erneuerungsbewegung".

Die Wurzeln der von den Predigern und Elders (15) geführten Bewegung liegen in England, wo sich quietistische Strömungen innerhalb der Gesellschaft durchgesetzt und zur Erstarrung des kirchlichen Lebens geführt hatten. Einfluß auf die Argumentation der Prediger übte auch eine asketische Strömung innerhalb der pennsylvanischen Gesellschaft, die seit Anfang der 20er Jahre existierte. (16) Der Wunsch nach innerweltlicher Askese war Ausdruck einer Angst vor zu starker Verweltlichung der eigenen Lehre als Folge der politischen Auseinandersetzungen und des wirtschaftlichen Erfolgs der Freunde. Die Gläubigen sollten zu ihren alten Sitten und Bräuchen zurückkehren und das politische und gesellschaftliche Leben aufgeben, um sich der eigenen Lehre intensiver zu widmen. Hier wird deutlich, daß der missionarische Anspruch, der die Anfangsphase des Quäkertums prägte, zu diesem Zeitpunkt stark in den Hintergrund gedrängt war. Auslösendes Moment für die größere Aktivität der Erneuerungsbewegung war das politische Verhalten der Freunde im Assembly, dessen Feilschen um die Macht nach Ansicht der Erneuerer sich nicht mit der Lehre vereinbaren ließ. Es war der Wunsch der Prediger, die Gesellschaft der Freunde aus ihren weltlichen Verpflichtungen herauszuführen. Das Mittel, mit dem dieses Vorhaben bewältigt werden sollte, erblickten sie in der Kirchendisziplin. Nur in einem Bereich stellten die Überlegungen der Erneuerungsbewegung eine Weiterentwicklung der bisherigen Lehre dar: bezüglich des Peace Testimony. Die Prediger wendeten sich gegen die Zahlung von Kriegssteuern (Dok. 3) und bezeichneten in Anlehnung an die frühe Lehre die aus der Steuerverweigerung erwachsenden Bestrafungen erneut als die Zuchtrute Gottes.

Es muß noch darauf hingewiesen werden, daß die Prediger mit ihrer Interpretation der Lehre das Peace Testimony erstmals höher bewerteten als die Obrigkeitsdoktrin; während die

Quäkerpolitiker noch von der Priorität der Obrigkeitsdoktrin ausgegangen waren.

Das Love-and-Unity-Konzept (17) der Freunde bewahrte die Religionsgemeinschaft in den 40er Jahren vor größeren öffentlichen Auseinandersetzungen. Anfang der 50er Jahre gewann die Erneuerungsbewegung, verstärkt durch einige Prediger aus England, zunehmend Einfluß auf die wichtigen Gremien innerhalb der Gesellschaft der Freunde, zeitweise sogar auf das weisungsberechtigte Yearly Meeting.

Als die Abgeordneten 1755 nach Ausbruch des englisch-französischen Kolonialkrieges (der erste Krieg, der die Kolonie Pennsylvania direkt betraf) Gelder zum Bau von Verteidigungsanlagen und zur Aufstellung einer Miliz gewährten, kam es zum offenen Konflikt mit der Erneuerungsbewegung. Diese rief zum Boykott der Steuern auf und versuchte, die Freunde zur Aufgabe ihrer Politik zu bewegen. Die englische Gesellschaft der Freunde unterstützte zwar den Wunsch nach Aufgabe der Politik, verbat sich aber jeden Verstoß gegen die Obrigkeitsdoktrin. Die Freunde im Abgeordnetenhaus begründeten ihr Verhalten mit dem notwendigen Schutz der Bevölkerung (zur Kontroverse um die Notwendigkeit von Verteidigungsanlagen). (Dok. 2)

Gouverneur Gookins' Kriegserklärung an die Delawaren vom 14. April 1756 und die darauffolgenden Kriegsvorbereitungen setzten den Schlußstrich unter die pazifistische Politik der Freunde in Pennsylvania. Sechs der prominentesten Freunde traten kurz nach der Verlautbarung der Kriegserklärung aus Gewissensgründen von ihren politischen Ämtern zurück, im Laufe der Legislaturperiode (1 Jahr) folgten weitere Freunde, deren genaue Zahl jedoch umstritten ist. Zwar gelang einigen nach Beendigung des Krieges 1763 die Rückkehr ins Assembly, die Majorität der Freunde war jedoch gebrochen und wurde nie wieder zurückgewonnen.

In der "Friendly Association" versuchten die Freunde während des Siebenjährigen Krieges zwischen Siedlern und Indianern zu vermitteln. Es gelang ihnen, einen separaten Frieden für Pennsylvania auszuhandeln. In den Jahren zwischen dem Sie-

benjährigen Krieg und dem Unabhängigkeitskrieg verlor diese Organisation jedoch kontinuierlich an Einfluß und verschwand schließlich ganz.

Während des amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskrieges kam es zur endgültigen Abkehr der Freunde vom politischen Leben, und die Erneuerungsbewegung konnte ihren in den 60er Jahren stabilisierten Einfluß geltend machen. Die Nichtbeteiligung an der Revolution, weder auf der einen noch auf der anderen Seite erzeugte Mißtrauen und Ablehnung der Freunde, was z.T. in offene Diskriminierung umschlug.

Gründe für das Scheitern des "Holy Experiments"

In einer Schlußbetrachtung möchte ich mich kurz mit den Gründen für das Scheitern des "Holy Experiments" auseinandersetzen und die Auswahl der vorliegenden Dokumente begründen.

Die wissenschaftliche Auseinandersetzung mit der Geschichte der Kolonie Pennsylvania hat eine Vielzahl von Erklärungsansätzen produziert, die jedoch größtenteils mehr Fragen aufwerfen als sie beantworten.

Betrachtet man die von Freunden publizierten Arbeiten, so fällt auf, das in einer Art Grundkonsens die imperiale Politik Englands, also die äußeren Einflüsse für den Zusammenbruch ihrer Politik verantwortlich waren. (Z.B. I. Sharpless, M. Hirst) (19) Dieser Ansatz gibt jedoch keinen Aufschluß darüber, warum die Freunde in den 30er Jahren des 18. Jahrhunderts ihre erfolgreiche Indianerpolitik aufgaben oder die Aufgabe duldeten.

Auch F. B. Tolles (20) setzt sich mit dieser für die blutigen Indianeraufstände der 50er Jahre so wichtigen Frage nicht auseinander. Für ihn ist die kapitalistische Grundhaltung der Freunde verantwortlich für das Mißlingen. Nicht überzeugend scheint mir auch die Argumentation von D.J. Boorstin (21), der das Scheitern des Experiments mit der Unfähigkeit der Freunde, ihren eigenen Lehren zu folgen, begründet. Die Unlogik dieser These wird augenscheinlich, wenn man bedenkt, daß die Freunde 1756 aus der Politik ausgeschieden sind, um

sich der eigenen Religion besser zu widmen. Außerdem war die einheitliche Auslegung der Lehre, wie ich versucht habe zu zeigen, gerade in der fraglichen Zeit sehr umstritten. Wesentlich aufschlußreicher erscheint mir die von Hermann Wellenreuther entwickelte These, die Geschichte Pennsylvanias sei von dem Widerspruch zwischen Obrigkeitsbegriff und Peace Testimony geprägt, ein Konflikt, der bei der Übernahme obrigkeitsstaatlicher Funktionen und den daraus folgenden Konsequenzen (z.B. die Bewilligung von Kriegssteuern für die Krone) zwangsläufig vorprogrammiert war. Dieser unlösbare Widerspruch bewirkte, so Wellenreuther, letztlich den Zusammenbruch der Politik der Freunde. Das Scheitern ihrer Politik zwingt erneut zu einer Reflexion ihres Politikverständnisses und damit vor allem über ihren Obrigkeitsbegriff als Dreh- und Angelpunkt politischen Handelns.

Die Gesellschaft der Freunde übernahm mit George Fox einen Politikbegriff, der geprägt war von der Position der Freunde in der englischen Gesellschaft, wo es das Bestreben der Religionsgemeinschaft sein mußte, kein Aufsehen zu erregen. Das eigentlich Notwendige, politisch unterschiedliche Interessen zu erkennen, um eigene zu formulieren und durchzusetzen, war in diesem Politikverständnis notwendigerweise verloren gegangen. Zwar gelang es Penn in seinen Vorstellungen die Rolle des Staates zu säkularisieren - was auch zu einer realistischeren Betrachtung der Obrigkeit führte - und die schlechteren Regierungen, die notwendigerweise auch schlechte Politik betrieben, zu erkennen. Dies wurde aber auch bei ihm nur indirekt angesprochen. Mögliche Konsequenzen, wie z.B. das Recht auf Widerstand gegen die Staatsgewalt, wurden nicht gezogen oder gefordert.

Für ihn hatte das einvernehmliche Verhältnis zwischen Bürgern und Regierung, auch wenn es eher sein Wunschdenken als die Realität widerspiegelte, Vorrang.

Diese Vorstellungen hatten sich innerhalb der Gesellschaft der Freunde durchgesetzt und prägten das äußere Erscheinungsbild der Religionsgemeinschaft. Der Wunsch, ja die Notwendigkeit von Harmonie, besonders aber die Ablehnung oppositio-

neller Haltungen in der Gemeinschaft der Freunde, erschweren die Position ihrer Mitglieder in Politik und Öffentlichkeit. Es war den Freunden nicht möglich, die eigenen Vorstellungen, sprich das Peace Testimony, konsequent über einen längeren Zeitraum in Politik umzusetzen. Bei den Versuchen, wenigstens einen Teil durchzusetzen, wurden sie oftmals von den eigenen Gefolgsleuten behindert.

Die spirituelle Freizügigkeit war das Kennzeichen der neuen Lehre in den ersten 30 Jahren. Sie schaffte Raum und Offenheit innerhalb der Gemeinschaft und verlieh die Überzeugungskraft, die für die schnelle Ausbreitung der Lehre verantwortlich war. Als die Innovationsfreude nach einiger Zeit nachließ, traten auch die Nachteile dieser freien, Theorien und Normen ablehnenden Religion zutage.

Die Freunde sahen sich erneut mit strengen Ritualen konfrontiert, die noch aus der frühen Lehre stammten. Politische Konzeptionen, wie die von Penn. wurden jedoch weder weiterentwickelt noch ausgebaut oder an die neue Situation angepaßt.

Anmerkungen

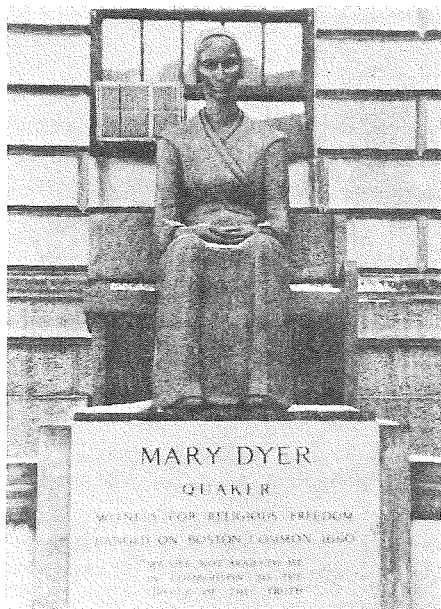
- (1) Dokument 1: William Markham, ein Cousin Penns, wurde mit diesem Brief zu einer ersten Kontaktaufnahme zu den Indianern geschickt. Der Brief zeigt die Bedeutung, die der Gerechtigkeit und der gegenseitigen Achtung innerhalb des Pazifismusbegriffs der Freunde beigemessen wurde.
- (2) Dokument 2: Dieser Aufsatz ist Teil einer literarischen Kontroverse um die Verteidigung der Kolonie Pennsylvania. Samuel Smith antwortet mit seinem Aufsatz, der in der "Pennsylvania Gazette" anonym abgedruckt wurde, auf ein Pamphlet von Benjamin Franklin, in welchem sich dieser mit dem verteidigungslosen Zustand der Kolonie auseinandersetzt. Diese Kontroverse zeigt eines der Hauptprobleme der Freunde in Pennsylvania, nämlich die Diskrepanz zwischen dem Anspruch der Bürger auf Verteidigung und dem eigenen Wunsch der Politiker, das Peace Testimony zu verfolgen.
- (3) Dokument 3: John Woolman war der Führer der Erneuerungsbewegung. Die aus seinem Tagebuch entnommenen Seiten enthalten zwei der wichtigsten Verlautbarungen der Prediger. Die Adresse an das Abgeordnetenhaus und die "Epistle of Tender Love and Caution" wurden zu dem Zeitpunkt formuliert, als die Auseinandersetzungen zwischen den Politikern der Gesellschaft der Freunde und den Predigern sich auf ihrem Höhepunkt befanden. Erstmals wird hier die Ablehnung von Kriegsteuern als notwendig für die Erhaltung des Peace Testimony erachtet.
- (4) Die Bezeichnung Quäker stammt aus dem englischen "to quake" = zittern. Sie bezieht sich auf den Ausspruch eines Richters, der während einer Gerichtsverhandlung gegen George Fox den Satz prägte: "You are a quaker not I". Vg. Margaret Hope Bacon: *The Quiet Rebels*, New Society Press: Philadelphia (Penn.), 1985, S; 17.
- (5) Hermann Wellenreuther: *Glaube und Politik in Pennsylvania 1681-1776*, Kölner Historische Abhandlungen, Th. Schiefer (Hrsg.), Bd. 20, Köln/Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1971; S. 1.
- (6) Wellenreuther (Anm. 5); S. 10.
- (7) Margaret Hope Bacon (Anm. 4); S. 18/19.
- (8) Vgl. Wellenreuther (Anm. 5); S. 5.
- (9) "The Frame of Government of the Province of Pennsylvania in America: Together with certain Laws agreed upon in England, by the Governor and div. Freeman", datiert auf den 5. Mai 1682. Votes Bd. I XLVI-LXIV; benutzte Fassung: *Pennsylvania Archives, series 8: Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania*, Gertrude Mackinney (Bd. 1-5) u. Charles F. Hoban (ed.), Harrisburg Pa., 1931-1935, Bd. 8, im folgenden zitiert als Votes 1-8. Zitiert nach Wellenreuther (Anm. 5); S. 463/51.

- (10) Die folgenden Aufsätze William Penns wurden veröffentlicht in: A Collection of the Works of William Penn, 2 vols. to which is prefixed a Journal of his Life. With many original letters and papers not published before. London: Assigns of J. Sowle, 1726; im folgenden zitiert als works I und II:
- 1) "The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience" 1670 (works I, S. 443-467);
 - 2) "England's Present Interest Considered" 1675 (works I, S. 672-705);
 - 3) "One Project for the Good of England: That is Our Civil Union is Our Civil Safety" 1679 (works II, S. 682-691);
 - 4) "England's Great Interest, in the Choice of this New Parliament" 1679 (works II, S. 678-682);
 - 5) "Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe by the Establishment of an European Dyet" 1695 (works II, S. 838-848); zitiert nach Wellenreuther (Anm. 5); S. 44-45.
- (11) Ganz so frei und allgemein, wie das Wahlrecht damals bezeichnet wurde, war es jedoch nicht. Es gab einige Qualifikationen, die erfüllt werden mußten. Jede Person, die 100 acres Land gekauft hatte, erhielt das aktive und passive Wahlrecht. Freie ehemalige Bondsmen erhielten das Recht, wenn sie 50 acres besaßen, von denen 20 zu kultivieren. Schließlich konnte noch derjenige wählen, der an die Regierung Scot und Lot zahlte; vgl. Wellenreuther (Anm. 5); S. 57.
- (12) Wellenreuther (Anm. 5); S. 83.
- (13) Der Text der "Charta of Privileges" findet sich in: Votes, Bd. 1, S. 346-349.
- (14) Die "Walking Purchase" war der erste große Landbetrug an den Indianern, durchgeführt von William Penns Sohn. William Penn hatte 1686 in Bucks County von den Indianern Land gekauft, und es war verabredet worden, daß das Land so weit reichen sollte, wie ein Mann in 1 1/2 Tagen laufen konnte. Beide Seiten akzeptierten eine Distanz von 30 Meilen. 1737 schickte Penns Sohn zwei speziell ausgebildete Athleten auf diese Strecke. Zusätzlich unterstützte er sie durch allerlei Hilfsmaßnahmen; auf diese Art schafften die Sportler die doppelte Strecke, die Penn fortan als seinen Besitz ansah. Vg. Margaret Hope Bacon (Anm. 1); S. 65.
- (15) Der Begriff "Elders" beschreibt eine bestimmte Funktion - innerhalb der Gesellschaft der Freunde.
- (16) Schon auf den Yearly Meetings von 1722 und 1734 wurde das Problem der Verweltlichung der Freunde diskutiert; vgl. Wellenreuther (Anm. 5); S. 205-206.
- (17) Nächstenliebe und Einigkeit innerhalb der Gesellschaft der Freunde wurden in der frühen Lehre zu festen Bestandteilen der religiösen Treffen. In Pennsylvania wurde dieses Prinzip auch auf die Politik übertragen. Man versuchte, Auseinandersetzungen im eigenen Kreise zu regeln und nicht an die Öffentlichkeit zu lassen. Das Love-and-Unity-Konzept hatte auch disziplinierende Aufgaben.

- (18) Die "Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace by Pacific Measures" entstand April/Mai 1756 aus den ersten Versuchen der Freunde, zwischen den kriegführenden Parteien zu vermitteln. Sie übte politische Funktionen aus, war jedoch keiner politischen Instanz verantwortlich. Die Friendly Association wurde zum Forum für die ehemals im Abgeordnetenhaus tätigen Freunde, die mit spezifisch quäkerischen Methoden den Frieden wiederherstellen wollten.
- (19) Isaac Sharpless: A Quaker Experiment in Government, History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania, 1682-1783. T. I-II, Philadelphia, 1902; Margaret E. Hirst: The Quaker in War and Peace, London: Swarthmore Press, 1923.
- (20) F.B. Tolles: Meeting House and Counting House. The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682-1763, 1. Aufl. 1948, Nachdruck New York 1963 (The Nortton Library Paperback N 211).
- (21) D. J. Boorstin: The Americans, Bd. 1: The Colonial Experience, 1. Aufl. 1958, Nachdruck Harmondsworth 1965 (Pelican Book A 727).

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Mary Dyer - Denkmal am Boston State House-Gebäude

DOKUMENT I

WILLIAM PENN'S
OWN ACCOUNT
OF THE
LENNI LENAPE
OR
DELAWARE
INDIANS
REVISED EDITION

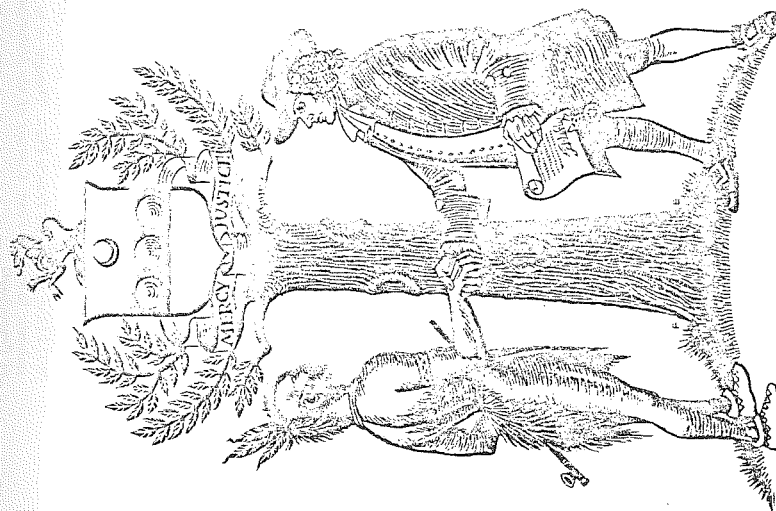
Edited, and with an introduction
by

Albert Cook Myers

With a foreword by
John E. Pomfret



THE MIDDLE ATLANTIC PRESS
Somerset New Jersey



INTRODUCTION

The "Great and Good" William Penn (1644-1718), the Quaker, one of the most illustrious of Englishmen, Founder, Proprietor and Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, and foremost Founder of the American Nation, is the author of the Account of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians of Pennsylvania which is the main piece of this book. Lord Acton, the eminent English historian, called William Penn "The greatest historic figure of his age," and Tennyson wrote that Penn was "no comet of a season but the fixed light of a dark and graceless age shining on into the present."



WILLIAM PENN, by Francis Place. Thought to be the only authentic likeness of Penn. Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

William Penn's Own Account of the

WILLIAM PENN'S LETTER TO THE PENNSYLVANIA INDIANS, DATED LONDON, 8TH MONTH, (OCTOBER) 15, 1681 (OLD STYLE).¹

London: 1681. 8^{vo}. 81.

My Friends --

There is one great God and Power that hath made y^e world and all things therein, to whom you and I and all People owe their being and well being, and to whom you and I must one Day give an account, for all that we do in this world: this great God hath written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love and help and do good to one another and not to do harme and mischief one unto one another.

Now this great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your parts of the world, and the king of the Countrey where I live, hath given unto me a great Province therein, but I desire to enjoy it with your Love and Consent, that we may always live together as Neighbours and freinds, else what would the great God say to us, who hath made us not to devoure and destroy one another but live soberly and kindly together in the world. Now I would have well to observe, that I am very sensible of the unkindness and Injustice that hath been too much exercised toward you by the People of these Parts off the world, who have sought themselves, and to make great Advantages by you, rather than be examples of justice & goodness unto you, which I hear hath been a master of Trouble to you, and caused great Grudgings and Animosities, sometimes to the shedding of blood, which hath made the great God Angry. but I am not such a man, as is

Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians

well known in my own Country: I have great love and regard towards you, and I desire to winn and gain your Love and freindship by a kind, just and peaceable life; and the People I send are of the same mind, & shall in all things behave themselves accordingly; and if in any thing any shall offend you or your People, you shall have a full and Speedy Satisfaction for the same, by an equal number of honest men on both sides that by no means you may have just occasion of being offended against them;

I shall shortly come to you myselfe. At what time we may more largely and freely confer & discourse of these matters; in the mean time I have sent my Commissioners to treat with you about land & a firm league of peace, lett me desire you to be kind to them & y^e People, and receive the Presents and Tokens which I have sent to you, as a Testimony of my Good will to you, and my resolution to live Justly peaceably and freindly with you,

I am your freind
Wm Penn

Addressed in William Penn's hand:

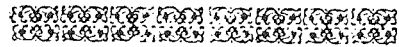
For the Kings
of the Indians
in Pennsylvania.

¹ From the original, of two pages, in size 8 x 12¼ inches, in the hand of a secretary but signed by Penn himself. (H.S.P.)

NECESSARY
T R U T H:
 OR
 SEASONABLE
CONSIDERATIONS
 FOR THE
 INHABITANTS of the
 CITY of PHILADELPHIA,
 A N D
 PROVINCE of PENNSYLVANIA.
 In Relation to the PAMPHLET call'd
PLAIN TRUTH:
 And Two other WRITERS in the
 NEWS-PAPER.

He that walketh righteously, and speaketh uprightly. He that despiseth the Gain of Oppression: That shutteth his Hands from holding of Bribes: That stoppeth his Ears from hearing of Blood, and shutteth his Eyes from seeing Evil. He shall dwell on High. His Place of Defence shall be the mountains of Rocks. Isaiah xxxiii. 15, 16.

P H I L A D E L P H I A:
 Printed in the Year MDCCLXVIII,



Necessary Truth, &c.

DOCUMENT 2

HAD the Writings I am about to consider, a sufficient Stock of genuine Truth to support the Comparisons they contain: Were these Comparisons altogether Just and Equal, Or did I conceive the Means proposed likely to effectually answer the Purposes intended, Nothing here would have interfered at this Time. I apprehended them to be materially deficient in these Respects, and therefore would modestly put in a Claim to be heard with impartiality.

THE Author of the Pamphlet called **PLAIN TRUTH**, after laying open the Probability of an Attack from the Enemy, gives us what he calls an *early Example* from the Book of *Judges*, of the Children of *Dan* sending Spies to see into the Situation of the People of *Laiish*, and to search the Land, &c. *Judges* xviii. 2. He lays down this Case, and observes upon it as a similar Instance to the present Situation of *Philadelphia* and *Pennsylvania*.---With how much Justice and Propriety let us examine.

A 2 TUE

42

(4)

THE Children of *Dan* (it must be remembered) were at this Time departed from the true Faith, had forsaken the God of their Fathers, and were gone into Idolatry; from hence may be easily accounted their covetous Disposition of invading their Neighbours.

THE People of *Laiish*, we are told in the same Chapter, *verse 7. dwell careless, after the Manner of the Zidonians, quiet and secure, and there was no Magistrate in the Land that might put them to Shame in any Thing.* This appears to be the real State of the Case, they had thrown off all Restraint and were arriv'd to that Degree of Extravagance as to be quite shameless, and therefore no Wonder they were liable every Moment to be destroy'd and to be smote with the Edge of the Sword, and the City to be burnt with Fire, for there was no Deliverer because it was far from *Zidon*. This I presume, cannot allude to the before-mention'd *Zidon*, because, according to the Comparison there introduc'd, They, like themselves, *dwell careless.* Nor can it be reasonably suppos'd to be any other *Zidon* then upon Earth, because an evident Absurdity would follow, in supposing that any such could afford a *Deliverer*; we are therefore under a Necessity to extend the Application, and to suppose the *Deliverer* here alluded to, to be that

(5)

that from *Mount Sion*, a *Deliverer* infinite in Power, and the only *Deliverer* that could then, or can now do the Business effectually. But this *Deliverer* it seems, was out of the Question. They possibly thought it *timorous and womanish* to expect it, and therefore neglected the suitable Means to obtain it, and the Consequence was Desolation and Ruin.

I would now ask, is it probable to suppose, that the People of *Laiish*, at that time of the Day possess'd of a Country, where there was no Want of any Thing in the Earth, ver. 19. and at a Time when the Nations around them were almost continually at War, and they themselves likewise frequently engag'd in it, for any thing we know, when it was the Custom of the Times, *an Eye for an Eye, and a Tooth for a Tooth*, and Men thought themselves at Liberty to do as they pleas'd, for in these Days there was no King in Israel, but every Man did that which was right in his own Eyes, *Judges* xvii. 6. Under these Considerations, is it probable that the People of *Laiish* were unacquainted with military Skill, or destitute of any warlike Accommodations then in Use? I think not: And therefore must suppose that the Expressions, 'A People careless, quiet and secure, has a Reference to a People who thought themselves

43

elves *secure*, by Means of some acquired imaginary Strength of their own, such as Preparations of Defence, and the like, and so being vain in their Imaginations became *quiet* and *careless*. As the People of *Laiß* appears to have been thus unhappily circumstanced, their Ignorance and Unthoughtfulness, of which this is a recent Instance, may, I should think, be usefully thought on by the present Generation, by the *Pennsylvanians* especially, who it seems, according to our Author, page 7. 'are if possible, more *careless* than they.' I am sorry this should be the Case in any Country, especially in a free Country. A Country enjoying all the boasted Privileges of Reason and Nature, and the Thing is in itself so unaccountable, that I must freely confess, I should have questioned my Author's Veracity here, if the Ingenuity of his Performance did not depend on the contrary.

That corresponding Passage in his Title-Page, which so feelingly prepares the Reader for future Imprecations, evidently illustrates, that his Sentiments upon this Score are fix'd and invariable, else why he applies a Passage to the People of *Pennsylvania*, spoken to a Generation whom the Author he cites every where Pictures in such dismal Colours, I am at a Loss to determine.

"The

"The *Romans* (says *Salust*) were arriv'd to that Pitch of Corruption that they gloried in Extravagancy and Rapine, and made Sarcasms upon Virtue. Modesty and a disinterested Mind pass'd with them, only for Sloth and Cowardice, those that were in Power, neglecting Virtue and conspiring against Innocence, prefer'd only their own Creatures. *Innocentes circumveniunt juos ad Honores tollunt.*"

I am sorry this, or any thing like this, should be the Case with any body, but as the Thing seems to remain a settled Point with our Author (who must be allow'd to have all the Opportunities necessary to be sufficiently inform'd) unwilling Necessity obliges us here (under some secret Restrictions) to give Way to his better Judgment. And this being premis'd, we shall now take leave to observe, that as the Consequence of these Things is a Matter of the last Importance, CONSIDERATION becomes highly and immediately necessary, — Is it so then *Plain Truth*? Is there no *Magistrate in the Land* that might put them to *Shame* in any Thing? Yes, we are, if possible, more *careless*. And what is the Remedy? *An Association thoroughly arm'd and disciplin'd, to defend Liberty and Property; and then, we might with more Propriety, humbly ask the Assistance*

Assistance of Heaven. Alas! Gentlemen, the Penetration of Heaven is unspeakable. It requires not the most scrupulous *Propriety* in this Respect. Those I acknowledge who are over-much sollicitous to square the Articles of their Creed by the Touchstone of *Aristotle*, may frame their Addresses to Heaven according to their own Rules of Method and *Propriety*: But the honour'd Prophet has long since declared, that *the Lord seeth not as Man seeth, for Man looketh on the outward Appearance, but the Lord looketh at the Heart.** The Prayers of the Heart must therefore be those that are acceptable to him. Prayers, that arise from a Sense of the Necessity of the Thing prayed for, and which are the Result of a *broken Heart* and a *contrite Spirit*. There, he has often graciously declar'd his Approbation of, without any where prescribing preparatory Steps to be observed on the Part of his Creation (especially since the ushering in of the Gospel-Day) with respect to the accomplishing or chalking out any of their own Deliverances. Infinite Wisdom and Power, who has reserved to himself the Disposition of human Events, very well knew the Fallibility and Weakness of human Expedients. And he who has said *I am that I am*, can require no external Aid to bring about the

Pur-

Purposes of his Providence; and notwithstanding he may sometimes be pleas'd to bleat defensible Measures with Success, it does not follow from thence, that they are either lawful or necessary; if it did, the same Argument would equally justify every Species of War; even the most savage and cruel Depredations, seeing such are found frequently to succeed according to very barbarous Contrivances. God annull'd Circumcision among the Jews, but nevertheless permitted them to continue in the Use of it afterwards for a Time. So for his own wise Reasons, such Things are doubtless permitted now, tho' directly contrary to the Temper and Spirit of the Gospel of Peace.

Nothing I have hitherto said, I think, can reasonably subject me to any uncharitable Imputations, with respect to those who are in Principle for the Use of *defensible Measures*, for tho' I think all military Preparations absolutely unlawful to some Christians; those who can neither willtully swallow the Commands of CHRIST, nor make the amiable Nature and Tendency of the Gospel-Dispensation to subside to any suppos'd worldly Inconveniencies, yet I would not be thought Cenforious of those who have, upon mature Consideration, deliberately form'd their Judgment contrary-wisely.

* 1 Sam. xvi 7.

And with respect to the Association, I have before had Occasion to mention, thus much I hold myself warrant'd to say concerning it, That the best Way to render it prosperous and successful is, for every particular Member to endeavour, as much as in them lies, to improve their respective religious and moral Characters: Rectitude of Life, and Contrition of Soul in each Individual, is the most likely Means to procure the Salvation of the whole.

Arms and Ammunition and a feasible Posture of Defence, have a natural Tendency to bugy up the Mind with a presumptuous Dependency upon them, and, as in the before cited Instance of *Laise*, to make the People *careless and secure*: Therefore guard against these Things, "He (saith the Prophet) that will be his own Councillor " shall have a Fool for his Client." As you would avoid being Fools, as your Reputation and every Thing near and dear to you is at Stake, let your Councillor be in Dignity suitable to the importance of the Office he is to perform, ever remembering, that except *GOD be retained in your Knowledge*, you stand but too fair a Chance to be left to yourselves, and then one may venture to tell the Consequence without pretending to a Spirit of Prophecy, the Drums in your Companies will ultimately prove your best resemblance, they

they make a great Noise, but look into them and behold *what is there!*

I have a fair Opportunity here to put in a few Words to another Set of Men whom I have several Times remarked, using their Endeavours to find out some colourable Pretext for their dis-union with their Brethren the *Quakers*, in Point of War and Preparations of Defence. One of these in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, N^o 986 gives a large Quotation from *R. Barclay's Apology*, page 568, 569. and thence deduces a Consequence which is in itself ludicrous and unfair, and which, tho' we were to grant every Part of it, proves nothing; the chief Point he aims at, seems to turn upon this Question: Whether Christians may be so far attach'd to the World as to be *vindictive of their Rights, Possessions and Dues*. I suppose it will not be denied but the *Quakers* are born under the same natural Inconveniencies with other People, and have as many natural Wants to satisfy, and if so, it clearly follows, they have at least an equal Necessity of looking after and vindicating *their Rights, Possessions, and Dues*. How far they do this, consistent with *Christian Perfection*, is the next Point to be consider'd: And here we must appeal to the general Practice of the Society ever since its first Establishment, for it is by no Means fair to form a Con-

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clusion of any People by the particular Behaviour or Practices of a few of their Members: That there may be some such among the *Quakers*, who are too vindictive of their *Rights, Possessions and Dues*; may, for aught I know, be true; but that the Society are therewith chargeable, remains a Point to be proved; the Contrary I think is abundantly manifest, their Care of their own Poor, and their full Propositiō of those of the Publick, besides their Charity to different Societies, and their Universal Benevolence to Mankind, are standing Instances of this.

Another Writer of the same Stamp, who appears in the same Paper N^o 988 introduces his Performance by telling his Readers, That an *Insight into the Conduct of Mr. William Edmondston, during the late Troubles in Ireland, may further explain the real Sentiments of the Quakers, on the Head of Defensive War*: As if the Sentiments of the *Quakers* were to be explained by the particular Conduct of one of their Members. I have before taken Notice of the Injustice of this Method of Proceeding, and shall now add, that supposing any Thing *W. E.* either practis'd himself, or has related in his Journal, were inconsistent with the Principles and Practices of the main Body of the *Quakers*, Does that justify or even tolerate Dissentions of the same kind? Now several

Reasons

Reasons may be given on Behalf of them Times that are now of no Force.

The People called *Quakers* in those Days, had not very long been convinc'd of the Truths they now entertain; their Numbers were but small to what they soon afterwards became, and their Discipline was likewise in its Infancy, and yet I see no Jarring, nor Inconsistency for all that, even in the Case of *W. Edmondston* now before us, he appears to have acted upon the same Principle as the present *Quakers* do in the Magistracy, and the same Arguments will avail for the Practice of both: The People he acted against were Raparees, they were Thieves, a vile licentious Crew, inconsistent with the Peace of civil Society, and a Scandal to human Nature: And if the Magistrate be the *Minister of GOD*, if he bears not the *Sword in vain*, it must, if ever, be certainly necessary to use it upon such Extremities as these: but what Relation does this bear to defence from a foreign Invasion? Very little indeed. The Difference between them is manifestly this; The one, to wit, Government, is *ordin'd of GOD*, and Magistrates are said to be *his Ministers*: But the other, to wit, War, is more or less the Offspring of *Lust*. The Magistrate, in the Execution of his Office is to be in all Respects upright, to know no Revenge or *Lust*

of

(14)
of any Kind, a thing exceedingly difficult, if not altogether impracticable in the Execution of military Exploits. The one of these God has seen meet to ordain for the Benefit of Mankind; but the other forbidden, to prevent their Destruction.

WAR and its ruinous Effects, is allowed by every body to be one of the most calamitous Evils that can befall any People, a general Reformation from it is every where acknowledged a most desirable Thing, and notwithstanding the Work, if ever done, must have a Beginning, and the only Way to make it general, is, to compleat it in the Particular. Yet the People called *Quakers* are stigmatized and reproached for beginning a Work so generally acknowledged glorious in itself, and beneficent in its Tendency. To object the Inconvenience the Particulars principled against Wars and Fighting are obnoxious to from the Encroachment of an Enemy, is, to doubt God's over-ruling Providence: One would think the innate Goodness, and excellent Tendency of the Work, exclusive of the Command to perform it, is sufficient to inspire all that are rightly concern'd, with an humble Confidence in God's Protection, and more especially when to these salutary Views are added, a conscientious observance of the divine Command,

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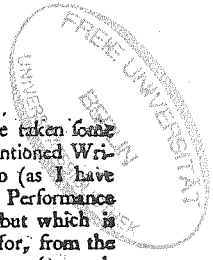
(15)
I had like to forgot to have taken some farther Notice of this last-mentioned Writer in the News-Paper, who (as I have shewn) begins his officious Performance with an unfair Supposition, but which is not much to be wondered at, for, from the pertinent Animadversions he afterwards makes, we may easily take the Dimensions of his *Upper-Works*, and from thence shall be enabled to form a suitable Idea of the real Cause of such a mouthful of Moonshine; the pert, important Air he assumes, puts me in Mind of a Saying I have somewhere met with, That "In the Kingdom of the Blind, he that has but one, Eye is a Prince." If my Author can find any Thing couch'd under this old Theorem worth his Acceptance, 'tis at his Service, and before I part with him, I would just put him in Mind, that one of the *Six Things*, which the wise Author of the *Proverbs* says the Lord hates, is *Him that soweth Discord among Brethren*, ch. vi. ver. 19.

I shall now take my leave of my Reader, recommending to his Consideration, the following elegant and significant Passages from the sacred Records.

"If thou criest after Knowledge and liftest up thy Voice for Understanding. If thou seekest her as Silver, and searchest for her as for hid Treasures, then shalt thou understand

(16)
stand the Fear of the Lord, and find the Knowledge of GOD, for the Lord giveth Wisdom. Out of his Mouth cometh Knowledge and Understanding. He layeth up sound Wisdom for the Righteous: He is a Buckler to them that walk uprightly.-----The Lord will take Vengeance on his Adversaries, and he reserveth Wrath for his Enemies.-----The Mountains quake at Him, and the Hills melt, and the Earth is burnt at his Presence, yea, the World and all that dwell therein.-----The Lord is good, a strong Hold in the Day of Trouble, and he knoweth them that trust in him. *Prov. ii. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. Nahum i. 2, 5, 7.*

F I N I S.



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1755-1758

[MS. B, p. 139]

A FEW YEARS PAST, money being made current in our province for carrying on wars, and to be sunk¹ by taxes laid on the inhabitants, my mind was often affected with the thoughts of paying such taxes, and I believe it right for me to preserve a memorandum concerning it. I was told that Friends in England frequently paid taxes when the money was applied to such purposes. I had conference with several noted Friends on the subject, who all favoured the payment of such taxes, some of whom I preferred before myself; and this made me easier for a time. Yet there was in the deeps of my mind a scruple which I never could get over, and at certain times² I was greatly distressed on that account.

I all along believed that there were some upright-hearted men who paid such taxes, but could not see that their example was a sufficient reason for me to do so, while I believed that the spirit of Truth required of me as an individual to suffer patiently the distress of goods rather than pay actively.

I have been informed that Thomas à Kempis lived and died in the profession of the Roman Catholic religion, and in reading his writings I have believed him to be a man of a true Christian spirit, as fully so as many who died martyrs because they could not join with some superstitions in that church. All true Christians are of the same spirit but their gifts are diverse, Jesus Christ appointing to each one their peculiar office agreeable to his infinite wisdom.

1. See glossary.

2. At some point in his revision of this sentence, Woolman used "intellect" and "intervals," respectively, instead of "mind" and "times." The latter probably represent his final preference, but this is not certain. This paragraph has been revised considerably by Woolman and by the original editorial committee. The words "frequently" and "noted" are probably by Woolman, but they may have been written by the committee to fill in gaps left by Woolman's erasures.

John Huss contended against the errors crept into the church, in opposition to the Council of Constance, which the historian reports to have consisted of many thousands people.³ He modestly vindicated the cause which he believed was right, and though his language and conduct toward his judges appear to have been respectful, yet he never could be moved from the principles settled in his mind. To use his own words, "This I most humbly require and desire you all, even for his sake who is the God of us all, that I be not compelled to the thing which my conscience doth repugn or strive against." And again, in his answer to the Emperor, "I refuse nothing, most noble Emperor, whatsoever the Council shall decree or determine upon me, this only one thing I except, that I do not offend God and my conscience."—Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, p. 233.⁴ At length, rather than act contrary to that which he believed the Lord required of him, [he] chose to suffer death by fire.⁵ Thomas à Kempis, without disputing against the articles then generally agreed to, appears to have laboured, by a pious example as well as by preaching and writing, to promote virtue and an inward spiritual religion. And I believe they were both sincere-hearted followers of Christ.⁶

3. Woolman wrote "many" in place of his original "upwards of twenty." In the next sentence he may have written "appears" instead of "appear." The MS. is not clear.

4. John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments of These Latter and Perillous Days . . .* (London, 1563). This first English version of 1471 pages was followed by a revised, enlarged edition of 2314 pages in 1570. Many other editions followed. John Foxe (1516-1587) through this volume exerted a tremendous influence in England during the Elizabethan period. From its publication until the close of the seventeenth century, *The Book of Martyrs* (as it is generally called) was probably more widely read in England than any other book except the Bible, and thus became the generally accepted interpretation of the history of both church and nation. Of the several studies of Foxe and his work, probably the most scholarly and up-to-date is William Haller, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation* (London, 1963).

5. In MS. B Woolman wrote "act contrary" above "conform to a thing reverse," which he crossed out. In MS. A "act contrary" is written, apparently by Woolman, in a space left by an erasure. This is one of several instances in which MS. B was revised by crossing out and MS. A by erasing. The same procedure is followed in the next sentence, where "disputing against" is written in place of "impugning" in MS. B and to replace an erasure in MS. A. In hardly any of these passages is it possible to determine the original wording in MS. A, but from the length of the erasures one may suppose that it was the same as in MS. B. It is certain that Woolman did some revision of MS. B. Often, but not always, MS. A was changed to correspond to MS. B. Sometimes the change was made by Woolman, sometimes by the committee; sometimes who made it cannot be determined.

6. The phrase "I believe . . . Christ" was substituted by Woolman for his earlier

1755-1758

True charity is an excellent virtue, and to sincerely labour for their good whose belief in all points doth not agree⁷ with ours is a happy case. To refuse the active payment of a tax which our Society generally paid was exceeding disagreeable, but to do a thing contrary to my conscience appeared yet more dreadful.

When this exercise came upon me, I knew of none under the like difficulty, and in my distress I besought the Lord to enable me to give up all,⁸ that so I might follow him wheresoever he was pleased to lead me. And under this exercise I went to our Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia in 1755, at which a committee was appointed, some from each Quarter, to correspond with the Meeting for Sufferings in London, and another to visit our Monthly and Quarterly Meetings. And after their appointment, before the last adjournment of the meeting, it was agreed on in the meeting that these two committees should meet together in Friends' school-house in the city, at a time when the meeting stood adjourned, to consider some things in which the cause of Truth was concerned; and these committees meeting together had a weighty conference in the fear of the Lord, at which time I perceived there were many Friends under a scruple like that before-mentioned.⁹

phrase "to me it looks likely that they were both in their proper places." He neglected to cross off "to" before "me"; the original editorial committee did so.

Thomas à Kempis (ca. 1379-1471) was the reputed author of *The Imitation of Christ*, a devotional book of great insight and depth. Whether he actually composed the book is irrelevant; its author was obviously a good Catholic, not in rebellion against the church. John Huss (ca. 1369-1415), a Bohemian precursor of the Protestant Reformation, vigorously criticized and defied the bulls of the pope. He was tried as a heretic and burned at the stake.

7. Before Woolman revised this passage, it read: "whose sentiments in all points do not exactly agree."

8. At this point Woolman erased "outward considerations."

9. Marginal note by Woolman: "Christians refused to pay taxes to support heathen temples. See *Primitive Christianity*, Part III, p. 327."

The reference is to William Cave, *Primitive Christianity: or, The Religion of the Ancient Christians in the First Ages of the Gospel*, 6th ed. (London, 1702). Cave (1637-1713) wrote other books, some in Latin and some in English, the best known being *The Lives . . . of the Holy Apostles . . .*

The material that follows (enclosed in brackets) is taken from MS. A, where it appears at this point. In the margin Woolman wrote (apparently at a later date): "If this Journal be printed, let all the quotation from J. Churchman's notes be left out." The passage is lacking in MS. B. The earliest extant version of it in Woolman's writing is MS. R1. It consists (with slight modifications) of two passages that were later printed on pages 69-73 and 169-171 of the first edition of John Churchman, *An Ac-*

THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WOOLMAN

[Since I had finished my narrative of this affair, having been favoured by my beloved friend John Churchman* with the perusal of some notes which he made concerning some exercise he went through on account of our testimony against wars, as they contain some things relative to facts hereafter spoken of, I thought good by his permission to copy the substance of them in this place:

"In the 4th month, 1748, it was on my mind to join with Friends in the city of Philadelphia on a visit to some families there, and whilst I was on that service the Governor called the Assembly together and¹⁰ laid before them the defenceless state of Pennsylvania in order to prevail with the House to give a sum of money to station a ship of force at our capes, as also to assist in finishing a battery below the city which had been begun by subscriptions.¹¹

"One night as I lay in bed, it came very weightily upon me to go to the House of Assembly and lay before the members the danger of departing from that divine arm of power which had hitherto protected the inhabitants of our land and preserved us in peace and safety. The concern rested on me several days and occasioned me with earnest breathings to seek to the Lord that if the motion was from him, he would be pleased to direct my steps therein so that I might be preserved from giving just cause of offence to any, for it appeared to be a difficult time,¹² many even of our Society expressing a willingness that a sum should be given to show our loyalty to the king, though as a peaceable people we had a testimony to bear against outward wars and fighting.¹³

"I made no man privy to this my concern until about a week had passed, when one morning it came so heavy upon me that I went to the house of a particular Friend, and as we sat together he was sensible that something was upon me and asked if I was concerned about the Assembly, upon which I asked him if he ever knew of any Friends going to the

count of the *Gospel Labours and Christian Experiences of a Faithful Minister of Christ* (Philadelphia, 1779). The passage in MS. A (reproduced here) is a condensed version of MS. R1. Unless otherwise indicated, the variant readings in MS. R1, documented in the notes, appear also in the first printed edition of Churchman's book.

10. MS. R1 adds: "in pressing terms."

11. MS. R1 adds: "but likely to be too heavy for the undertakers."

12. MS. R1 reads: "very critical time." The first edition reads: "very difficult time."

13. After "loyalty to the king" MS. R1 adds: "and willingness to impart of our substance for his use." Before "people" Woolman (in MS. A) inserted "peaceable," which is lacking from MS. R1 and from the first edition.

1755-1758

Assembly with a concern to speak to them. He answered, 'No, but I have wondered that they have not, for I have understood,' added he, 'that it was formerly a common practice for them to sit in silence like solemn worship before they proceeded to do business.'

"I told him I had it on my mind to go to the House that morning but should be glad of company. He directed me to a Friend whom he thought suitable, and I went and acquainted him with my concern, and withal told him if he did not feel clear and easy I believed it best for him not to go.¹⁴ He replied, 'Thy way is before thee, but I believe I must not go with thee.' So I returned to my friend before-mentioned, who did not discourage me though I had no company.

"And being pressed in my mind I went directly to the State House just as the Speaker, John Kinsey,* was going in, to whom I beckoned; and he came and met me. I told him that I wanted to be admitted into the House, for I thought I had something to say to them which seemed to me of importance. He said it was a critical time and they had a difficult affair before them, and queried whether I had not better wait till the House parted; and another member being near said he thought it would be best and less liable to give offence, for there were a pretty many members that were not of our Society, but if I would wait until the House broke up, they would inform all the members that were of our Society, not doubting but they would be willing to give me an opportunity to inform them of what I had upon my mind. But I told them that would give me no relief, for I had a particular desire to have those members that were not of our Society present,¹⁵ and I requested the Speaker that he would go in and inform them that there was a countryman waiting who had a desire to be admitted into the House that had something to communicate to them, and if they refused I expected to be clear. He readily and affectionately answered he would and soon brought me word the House was willing.

"There was a great awe over my mind when I went in, which I thought in some measure spread and prevailed over the members, and after a

14. Between "acquainted him" and "He replied," MS. R1 originally read: "of my intention, but as I spoke I felt that I had better go alone, and therefore told him if he did not feel clear and easy to go with me, I advised him to stay, for it was better that one man should perish alone than two should be slain together." The words after "stay" have been crossed out; nor do they appear in the first edition.

15. MS. R1 adds: "believing that it would be better for them to hear and judge for themselves than to have it at second hand, as it might be differently represented, at which they were a little silent."

THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WOOLMAN

silence of perhaps ten or twelve minutes, I felt as though all fear of man was taken away and my mind influenced to speak to them nearly¹⁶ in substance as follows:

"My Countrymen and Fellow Subjects, Representatives of the Inhabitants of this Province:

"Under an apprehension of the difficulties before you, I feel a strong sympathy with you and have to remind you of a just and true saying of a great minister of Christ, to wit: 'The powers that be, are ordained of God' [Rom. 13:1]. Now if men in power in whatsoever station do seek unto God (who will be a spirit of judgment to them who sit in judgment) for wisdom and counsel to act singly for him that ordained the power and permitted them to be stationed therein, that they should be his ministers, such will be a blessing under God to their country; but if those in authority do suffer their own fears and the fears and persuasions of others to prevail with them to neglect such attention, and so make laws in order to their own protection and defence by carnal weapons and fortifications styled 'human prudence,' he who is Superintendent, by withdrawing the arm of his power, may permit those evils they feared to come suddenly upon them. May it with gratitude be ever remembered how remarkably we have been preserved in peace and tranquillity for more than fifty years: no invasion by foreign enemies, and the treaties of peace with the natives, wisely began by our proprietor William Penn, preserved inviolable to this day.¹⁷

"Though you now represent and act for a mixed people of various denominations as to religion, yet remember the charter is the same as at first. Beware therefore of acting to oppress tender consciences, for there are many of the inhabitants whom you now represent that still hold forth the same religious principles with their predecessors, who were some of the first adventurers into this (at that time) wilderness land, that would be greatly grieved to see warlike preparations carried on and encouraged by a law consented to by their brethren in profession, or others, contrary to the charter, still conscientiously concluding that the reverent and pure fear of God with a humble trust in his ancient arm of power would be our greatest safety and defence. And those who hold different principles and are settled in this government can have no just cause of reflection if warlike measures are forborne, because the charter was framed and the peaceable constitution settled before they ventured themselves therein.

16. See glossary.

17. William Penn (1644-1718) was the English Quaker who founded Pennsylvania as a model commonwealth, with a government based on Quaker principles, where liberty of conscience was guaranteed.

1755-1758

"We may observe by sundry laws enacted in parliament when the reformation was but newly begun in England, there seemed to be wisdom from above to influence their minds. May you be directed rightly to act at this time, many of whom do believe in the immediate influence of the spirit of Christ, the wisdom of God, which is truly profitable to direct.

"It is not with disrespect to the king or government that I speak after this manner, for I am thankful in my heart that the Lord in mercy vouchsafed that the throne of Great Britain should be filled with our present benevolent prince, King George.

"I acknowledged their kindness in hearing me patiently, and withdrew.

"In the 11th month, 1755," continues he, "I being at Shrewsbury Yearly Meeting in company with John Evans and several other Friends, a consideration was in my mind respecting the nature of giving money for the king's use, knowing the same to be for the carrying on of war.¹⁸ John Evans and I took a few meetings in our way, the last of which was Evesham. I told John I felt an engagement to get to Philadelphia and requested him to go that way,¹⁹ to which he consented. And when we came to the city, the Assembly were sitting and a committee of the House appointed to prepare a bill for giving a sum²⁰ of money for the king's use, to be sunk by a provincial tax.

"And several Friends, being under an exercise on that account, some of whom being providentially together, concluded it was expedient to request a conference with those members that were of our Society; and on applying to the Speaker, who was one himself, an opportunity was obtained with them,²¹ after which we believed an address to the Assembly on behalf of the Society would be necessary. But we then, being only five in number, consulted several weighty Friends thereupon, and at length upward of twenty gathered together, who were all of opinion that the Assembly should be addressed on behalf of the Society; and one being drawn was signed by about twenty, who went together to the House and presented the same to the Speaker, which was read while we were present; notwithstanding, the law passed; which said address is as follows:

18. MS. R1 (but not the first edition) adds: "and whether if a sum should be given by our Assembly and a law by them made for raising the same by a tax, Friends would be clear in their testimony against wars if they paid such a tax."

19. MS. R1 (but not the first edition) reads: "and pressed him to that way."

20. MS. R1 (but not the first edition) reads: "large sum."

21. MS. R1 (but not the first edition) adds: "to some satisfaction as we thought, but alas, the same we soon found had little effect." The Speaker was Isaac Norris (1701-1766).

"To the Representatives of the Freemen of the Province of Pennsylvania in General Assembly Met—The Address of Some of the People Called Quakers on behalf of Themselves and Others.

"The consideration of the measures which have lately been pursued and are now proposed having been weightily impressed on our minds, we apprehend that we should fall short of our duty to you, to ourselves, and to our brethren in religious fellowship, if we did not in this manner inform you that although we shall at all times heartily and freely contribute according to our circumstances, either by the payment of taxes or in such other manner as may be judged necessary, toward the exigencies of government, and sincerely desire that due care may be taken and proper funds provided for raising money to cultivate our friendship with our Indian neighbours, and to support such of our fellow subjects who are or may be in distress, and such other like benevolent purposes; yet as the raising sums of money and putting them into the hands of committees who may apply them to purposes inconsistent with the peaceable testimony we profess, and have borne to the world, appears to us in its consequences to be destructive of our religious liberties, we apprehend many among us will be under the necessity of suffering, rather than consenting thereto by the payment of a tax for such purposes. And thus the fundamental part of our constitution may be essentially affected and that free enjoyment of liberty of conscience, for the sake of which our forefathers left their native country and settled in this then a wilderness, by degrees be violated.

"We sincerely assure you we have no temporal motives in thus addressing you; and could we have preserved peace in our own minds and with each other, we should have declined it, being unwilling to give you any unnecessary trouble and deeply sensible of your difficulty in discharging the trust committed to you irrevocably in these perilous times, which hath engaged our fervent desires that the immediate instruction of Supreme Wisdom may influence your minds, and that being preserved in a steady attention thereto you may be enabled to secure peace and tranquillity to yourselves, and those you represent, by pursuing measures consistent with our peaceable principles. And then we trust we may continue humbly to confide in the protection of that Almighty Power whose providence has heretofore been as walls and bulwarks round about us.

SIGNED BY TWENTY FRIENDS

"After the passing of the said Act, some Friends of those committees appointed by the last Yearly Meeting before-mentioned believed it was expedient for the said committees to meet together to deliberate upon

1755-1758

the matter, as the payment of the tax was appointed to be before the Yearly Meeting, and I being acquainted therewith went to Philadelphia at the time appointed."]²²

As scrupling to pay a tax on account of the application hath seldom been heard of heretofore, even amongst men of integrity who have steadily borne their testimony against outward wars in their time, I may here note some things which have occurred to my mind as I have been inwardly exercised on that account.

From the steady opposition which faithful Friends in early times made to wrong things then approved of, they were hated and persecuted by men living in the spirit of this world,²³ and suffering with firmness they were made a blessing to the church, and the work prospered. It equally concerns men in every age to take heed to their own spirit, and in comparing their situation with ours, it looks to me there was less danger of their being infected with the spirit of this world, in paying their taxes, than there is of us now. They had little or no share in civil government,²⁴ and many of them declared they were through the power of God separated from the spirit in which wars were; and being afflicted by the rulers on account of their testimony, there was less likelihood of uniting in spirit with them in things inconsistent with the purity of Truth.²⁵ We, from the first settlement of this land, have known little or no troubles of that sort. The profession which for a time was accounted reproachful, at length the uprightness of our predecessors being understood by the rulers and their innocent sufferings moving them, the way of worship was tolerated, and many of our members in these colonies became active in civil government. Being thus tried with favour and prosperity, this world hath appeared inviting. Our minds have been turned to the improvement of our country, to merchandise and sciences, amongst which are many things useful, being followed in pure wisdom;²⁶ but in our present condition, that a carnal mind is gaining upon us I believe will not be denied.

Some of our members who are officers in civil government are in one

22. Here ends the section from Churchman's notes, as transcribed in MS. A. At this point Woolman wrote: "Thus far leave it out." The last paragraph is considerably expanded in the first printed edition of Churchman's volume.

23. In this sentence and the next, Woolman originally wrote "wrong spirit," and then substituted "spirit of this world." This equation of the two phrases is significant.

24. After "civil government" Woolman wrote and crossed out: "neither legislative nor executive."

25. Woolman wrote "purity of Truth" in place of his original "perfection of Christianity."

26. Woolman wrote "pure wisdom" in place of his original "sound wisdom."

case or other called upon in their respective stations to assist in things relative to the wars. Such being in doubt whether to act or crave to be excused from their office, seeing their brethren united in the payment of a tax to carry on the said wars, might think their case not much different and so quench the tender movings of the Holy Spirit in their minds. And thus by small degrees there might be an approach toward that of fighting, till we came so near it as that the distinction would be little else but the name of a peaceable people.

It requires great self-denial and resignation of ourselves to God to attain that state wherein we can freely cease from fighting when wrongfully invaded, if by our fighting there were a probability of overcoming the invaders. Whoever rightly attains to it does in some degree feel that spirit in which our Redeemer gave his life for us, and through divine goodness many of our predecessors and many now living have learned this blessed lesson. But many others, having their religion chiefly by education and not being enough acquainted with that cross which crucifies to the world, do manifest a temper distinguishable from that of an entire trust in God.

In calmly considering these things, it hath not appeared strange to me that an exercise hath now fallen upon some which, as to the outward means of it, is different from what was known to many of those who went before us.

Some time after the Yearly Meeting, a day being appointed and letters wrote to distant members, the said committees met at Philadelphia and by adjournments continued several days. The calamities of war were now increasing. The frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania were frequently surprised, some slain and many taken captive by the Indians; and while these committees sat, the corpse of one so slain was brought in a wagon and taken through the streets of the city in his bloody garments to alarm the people and rouse them up to war.

Friends thus met were not all of one mind in relation to the tax, which to such who scrupled it made the way more difficult. To refuse an active payment at such a time might be construed an act of disloyalty and appeared likely to displease the rulers, not only here but in England. Still there was a scruple so fastened upon the minds of many Friends that nothing moved it. It was a conference the most weighty that ever I was at, and the hearts of many were bowed in reverence before the Most High. Some Friends of the said committees who appeared easy to pay the tax, after several adjournments withdrew; others of them continued

1755-1758

till the last. At length an epistle was drawn by²⁷ [some Friends concerned on that account, and being read several times and corrected, was then signed by such who were free to sign it, which is as follows:

An Epistle of Tender Love and Caution to Friends in Pennsylvania

PHILADELPHIA, 16th day, 12th month, 1755

DEAR AND WELL BELOVED FRIENDS,

We salute you in a fresh and renewed sense of our Heavenly Father's love, which hath graciously overshadowed us in several weighty and solid conferences we have had together with many other Friends upon the present situation of the affairs of the Society in this province; and in that love we find our spirits engaged to acquaint you that under a solid exercise of mind to seek for counsel and direction from the High Priest of our profession, who is the Prince of Peace, we believe he hath renewedly favoured us with strong and lively evidences that in his due and appointed time, the day which hath dawned in these later ages foretold by the prophets, wherein swords should be beaten into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks [Is. 2:4], shall gloriously rise higher and higher, and the spirit of the gospel which teaches to love enemies prevail to that degree that the art of war shall be no more learned, and that it is his determination to exalt this blessed day in this our age, if in the depth of humility we receive his instruction and obey his voice.

And being painfully apprehensive that the large sum granted by the late Act of Assembly for the king's use is principally intended for purposes inconsistent with our peaceable testimony, we therefore think that as we cannot be concerned in wars and fightings, so neither ought we to contribute thereto by paying the tax directed by the said Act, though suffering by the consequence of our refusal, which we hope to be enabled to bear with patience.

And [we take this position even] though some part of the money to be raised by the said Act is said to be for such benevolent purposes as supporting our friendship with our Indian neighbours and relieving the distresses of our fellow subjects who have suffered in the present calamities, for whom our hearts are deeply pained; and we affectionately and with bowels of tenderness sympathize with

27. The last words at the bottom of page 148 in MS. B are "drawn by." The next page begins: "On the 9th day." Apparently some intervening pages of MS. B were lost. This is confirmed by a sudden break in the continuity of Woolman's page numbers. In the present edition the rest of this paragraph, the epistle that follows, and the ensuing paragraphs up to "On the 9th day" were taken from MS. A, pages 78-81. The original editorial committee drew upon MS. A to conclude the paragraph after "drawn by." The first edition adopts that reading and then omits the epistle and subsequent paragraphs, resuming the account with "On the 9th day."

THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WOOLMAN

them therein. And we could most cheerfully contribute to those purposes if they were not so mixed that we cannot in the manner proposed show our hearty concurrence therewith without at the same time assenting to, or allowing ourselves in, practices which we apprehend contrary to the testimony which the Lord hath given us to bear for his name and Truth's sake. And having the health and prosperity of the Society at heart, we earnestly exhort Friends to wait for the appearing of the true Light and stand in the council of God, that we may know him to be the rock of our salvation and place of our refuge forever. And beware of the spirit of this world, that is unstable and often draws into dark and timorous reasonings, lest the God thereof should be suffered to blind the eye of the mind, and such not knowing the sure foundation, the Rock of Ages, may partake of the terrors and fears that are not known to the inhabitants of that place where the sheep and lambs of Christ ever had a quiet habitation, which a remnant have to say, to the praise of his name, they have been blessed with a measure of in this day of distress.

And as our fidelity to the present government and our willingly paying all taxes for purposes which do not interfere with our consciences may justly exempt us from the imputation of disloyalty, so we earnestly desire that all who by a deep and quiet seeking for direction from the Holy Spirit are, or shall be, convinced that he calls us as a people to this testimony may dwell under the guidance of the same divine Spirit, and manifest by the meekness and humility of their conversation that they are really under that influence, and therein may know true fortitude and patience to bear that and every other testimony committed to them faithfully and uniformly, and that all Friends may know their spirits clothed with true charity, the bond of Christian fellowship, wherein we again salute you and remain your friends and brethren.

Signed by ABRAHAM FARRINGTON,* JOHN EVANS, JOHN CHURCHMAN,* MORDECAI YARNALL, SAMUEL FOTHERGILL, SAMUEL EASTBURN,* WILLIAM BROWN, JOHN SCARBOROUGH,* THOMAS CARLETON, JOSIUA ELY, WILLIAM JACKSON, JAMES BARTRAM, THOMAS BROWN, DANIEL STANTON,* JOHN WOOLMAN, ISAAC ZANE, WILLIAM HORNE,* BENJAMIN TROTTER, ANTHONY BENEZET,* JOHN ARMITT, JOHN PEMBERTON.*

Copies of this epistle were sent amongst Friends in the several parts of the Province of Pennsylvania, and as some in the Society who were easy to pay the tax spake openly against it, and as some of those who were concerned in the conference believed themselves rightly exercised in putting forward the epistle, they in the next Yearly Meeting expressed a willingness to have their conduct in that case enquired into, but Friends in the Yearly Meeting did not enter into the consideration of it.

1755-1758

When the tax was gathered, many paid it actively and others scrupled the payment, and in many places (the collectors and constables being Friends) distress was made on their goods by their fellow members. This difficulty was considerable, and at the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia, 1757, the matter was opened and a committee of about forty Friends were appointed, some from each Quarter, to consider the case and report their judgment on this point: whether or no it would be best at this time publicly to consider it in the Yearly Meeting.

At this meeting were our Friends William Reckitt,²⁸ John Hunt, and Christopher Wilson from England, Benjamin Ferris from the Province of New York, and Thomas Nicholson from North Carolina, who at the request of the Yearly Meeting all sat with us. We met and, sitting some hours, adjourned until the next morning. It was a time of deep exercise to many minds, and after some hours spent at our second meeting, the following report was drawn and signed by a Friend in behalf of the committee:

Agreeable to the appointment of the Yearly Meeting we have met and had several weighty and deliberate conferences on the subject committed to us, and as we find there are diversity of sentiments, we are for that and several other reasons unanimously of the judgment that it is not proper to enter into a public discussion of the matter, and we are one in judgment that it is highly necessary for the Yearly Meeting to recommend that Friends everywhere endeavour earnestly to have their minds covered with fervent charity towards one another.

Which report was entered on the minutes and copies sent in the extracts to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings.]²⁸

On the 9th day, 8th month, 1757, at night, orders came to the military officers in our county, directing them to draft the militia and prepare a number of men to go off as soldiers to the relief of the English at Fort William Henry in [New] York government.²⁹ And in a few days there was a general review of the militia at Mount Holly, and a number of men chosen and sent off under some officers. Shortly after, there came orders to draft three times as many, to hold themselves in readiness to march when fresh orders came. And on the 17th day, 8th month, there was a meeting of the military officers at Mount Holly, who agreed on a draft,

28. The section taken from MS. A ends here.

29. Written and crossed out here by Woolman: "Then besieged by a number of French and Indians." Earlier in this sentence the original editorial committee inserted "Burlington" after "county" and "N." before "York."

THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WOOLMAN

and orders were sent to the men so chosen to meet their respective captains at set times and places, those in our township to meet at Mount Holly, amongst whom were a considerable number of our Society.

My mind being affected herewith, I had fresh opportunity to see and consider the advantage of living in the real substance of religion, where practice doth harmonize with principle. Amongst the officers are men of understanding, who have some regard to sincerity where they see it; and in the execution of their office, when they have men to deal with whom they believe to be upright-hearted men, to put them to trouble on account of scruples of conscience is a painful task and likely to be avoided as much as may be easily. But where men profess to be so meek and heavenly minded and to have their trust so firmly settled in God that they cannot join in wars, and yet by their spirit and conduct in common life manifest a contrary disposition, their difficulties are great at such a time.

Officers in great anxiety endeavouring to get troops to answer the demands of their superiors, seeing men who are insincere pretend scruple of conscience in hopes of being excused from a dangerous employment, they are likely to be roughly handled. In this time of commotion some of our young men left the parts and tarried abroad till it was over. Some came and proposed to go as soldiers. Others appeared to have a real tender scruple in their minds against joining in wars and were much humbled under the apprehension of a trial so near; I had conversation with several of them to my satisfaction.

At the set time when the captain came to town some of those last-mentioned went and told in substance as follows: That they could not bear arms for conscience sake, nor could they hire any to go in their places, being resigned as to the event of it. At length the captain acquainted them all that they might return home for the present and required them to provide themselves as soldiers and to be in readiness to march when called upon.³⁰ This was such a time as I had not seen before, and yet I may say with thankfulness to the Lord that I believed this trial was intended for our good, and I was favoured with resignation to him. The French army, taking the fort they were besieging, destroyed it and went away. The company of men first drafted, after some days march had orders to return home, and these on the second draft were no more called upon on that occasion.

The 4th day, 4th month, 1758, orders came to some officers in Mount

30. Woolman wrote "themselves as soldiers" in place of his original "soldier-like accoutrements such as he mentioned to them."

1755-1758

Holly to prepare quarters a short time for about one hundred soldiers; and an officer and two other men, all inhabitants of our town, came to my house, and the officer told me that he came to speak with me to provide lodging and entertainment for two soldiers, there being six shillings a week per man allowed as pay for it. The case being new and unexpected, I made no answer suddenly but sat a time silent, my mind being inward. I was fully convinced that the proceedings in wars are inconsistent with the purity of the Christian³¹ religion, and to be hired to entertain men who were then under pay as soldiers was a difficulty with me. I expected they had legal authority for what they did, and after a short time I said to the officer, "If the men are sent here for entertainment, I believe I shall not refuse to admit them into my house, but the nature of the case is such that I expect I cannot keep them on hire." One of the men intimated that he thought I might do it consistent with my religious principles, to which I made no reply, as believing silence at that time best for me.

Though they spake of two, there came only one, who tarried at my house about two weeks and behaved himself civilly. And when the officer came to pay me I told him that I could not take pay for it, having admitted him into my house in a passive obedience to authority. I was on horseback when he spake to me,³² and as I turned from him he said he was obliged to me, to which I said nothing; but thinking on the expression I grew uneasy, and afterwards being near where he lived I went and told him on what grounds I refused pay for keeping the soldier.

[...]

31. Woolman first wrote "of true religion" and then changed it.

32. The section "when the officer . . . horseback when he" is enclosed in brackets, which seem to have been inserted by Woolman. Perhaps he considered omitting this passage and then decided to retain it.

[...]

[One evening a Friend came to our lodgings who was a justice of the peace and in a friendly way introduced the subject of refusing to pay taxes to support wars, and perceiving that I was one who scrupled the payment, said he had wanted an opportunity with some in that circumstance;³³ whereupon we had some conversation in a brotherly way on some texts of Scripture relating thereto, in the conclusion of which he said that according to our way of proceeding it would follow that whenever administration of government was ill, we must suffer restraint of goods rather than pay actively toward supporting it. To which I replied, "Men put in public stations are intended for good purposes, some to make good laws, others to take care that those laws are not broken. Now if those men thus set apart do not answer the design of their institution, our freely contributing to support them in that capacity when we certainly know that they are wrong is to strengthen them in a wrong way and tends to make them forget that it is so. But when from a clear understanding of the case we are really uneasy with the application of money, and in the spirit of meekness suffer distress to be made on our goods rather than to pay actively, this joined with an upright uniform life may tend to put men athinking about their own public conduct."

33. This conversation with a justice of the peace ("One evening . . . conscience sake") does not appear in MS. B. It is taken from MS. A, where Woolman suggests in a marginal note: "If this Journal is printed, leave out this conference and begin again at fourth line in page 88."

1755-1758

He said he would propose a medium: that is, where men in authority do not act agreeable to the mind of those who constituted them, he thought the people should rather remonstrate than refuse a voluntary payment of moneys so demanded, and added, "Civil government is an agreement of free men by which they oblige themselves to abide by certain laws as a standard, and to refuse to obey in that case is of like nature as to refuse to do any particular act which we had covenanted to do."

I replied that in making covenants it was agreeable to honesty and uprightness to take care that we do not foreclose ourselves from adhering strictly to true virtue in all occurrences relating thereto. But if I should unwarily promise to obey the orders of a certain man, or number of men, without any proviso, and he or they command me to assist in doing some great wickedness, I may then see my error in making such promise, and an active obedience in that case would be adding one evil to another; that though by such promise I should be liable to punishment for disobedience, yet to suffer rather than act to me appears most virtuous.

The whole of our conversation was in calmness and good will. And here it may be noted that in Pennsylvania, where there are many Friends under that scruple, a petition was presented to the Assembly by a large number of Friends, asking that no law might be passed to enjoin the payment of money for such uses which they as a peaceable people could not pay for conscience' sake.]

The Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia having been under a concern on account of some Friends who this summer, 1758, had bought Negro slaves, the said meeting moved it in their Quarterly Meeting to have the minute reconsidered in the Yearly Meeting which was made last on that subject. And the said Quarterly Meeting appointed a committee to consider it and report to their next, which committee having met once and adjourned, and I, going to Philadelphia to meet a committee of the Yearly Meeting, was in town the evening on which the Quarterly Meeting's committee met the second time, and finding an inclination to sit with them, was admitted; and Friends had a weighty conference on the subject. And soon after their next Quarterly Meeting I heard that the case was coming to our Yearly Meeting, which brought a weighty exercise upon me, and under a sense of my own infirmities and the great danger I felt of turning aside from perfect purity, my mind was often drawn to retire alone and put up my prayers to the Lord that he would be graciously pleased to strengthen me, that setting aside all views of self-

THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WOOLMAN

interest and the friendship of this world, I might stand fully resigned to his holy will.

In this Yearly Meeting several weighty matters were considered, and toward the last, that in relation to dealing with persons who purchase slaves. During the several sittings of the said meeting, my mind was frequently covered with inward prayer, and I could say with David that tears were my meat day and night [Ps. 42:3]. The case of slavekeeping lay heavy upon me, nor did I find any engagement to speak directly to any other matter before the meeting. Now when this case was opened, several faithful Friends spake weightily thereto, with which I was comforted, and feeling a concern to cast in my mite, I said in substance as follows:

In the difficulties attending us in this life, nothing is more precious than the mind of Truth inwardly manifested, and it is my earnest desire that in this weighty matter we may be so truly humbled as to be favoured with a clear understanding of the mind of Truth and follow it; this would be of more advantage to the Society than any mediums which are not in the clearness of divine wisdom. The case is difficult to some who have them, but if such set aside all self-interest and come to be weaned from the desire of getting estates, or even from holding them together when Truth requires the contrary, I believe way will open that they will know how to steer through those difficulties.

Many Friends appeared to be deeply bowed under the weight of the work and manifested much firmness in their love to the cause of truth and universal righteousness in the earth. And though none did openly justify the practice of slavekeeping in general, yet some appeared concerned lest the meeting should go into such measures as might give uneasiness to many brethren, alleging that if Friends patiently continued under the exercise, the Lord in time to come might open a way for the deliverance of these people.³⁴ And I, finding an engagement to speak, said:

My mind is often led to consider the purity of the Divine Being and the justice of his judgments, and herein my soul is covered with awfulness. I cannot omit to hint of some cases where people have

34. The passage "alleging that . . . these people" was written by Woolman on a slip of paper which has been pasted on the page and keyed to this point. At the bottom of the slip Woolman wrote, "This was occasioned by an omission in copying." This is part of the conclusive evidence that Woolman copied (revising as he did so) from MS. A to MS. B, not vice versa. The wording of this passage in MS. A is exactly the same.

1755-1758

not been treated with the purity of justice, and the event hath been melancholy.

Many slaves on this continent are oppressed, and their cries have reached the ears of the Most High! Such is the purity and certainty of his judgments that he cannot be partial in our favour. In infinite love and goodness he hath opened our understandings from one time to another concerning our duty toward this people, and it is not a time for delay.

Should we now be sensible of what he requires of us, and through a respect to the private interest of some persons or through a regard to some friendships which do not stand on an immutable foundation, neglect to do our duty in firmness and constancy, still waiting for some extraordinary means to bring about their deliverance, it may be that by terrible things in righteousness God may answer us in this matter.

Many faithful brethren laboured with great firmness, and the love of Truth in a good degree prevailed. Several Friends who had Negroes expressed their desire that a rule might be made to deal with such Friends as offenders who bought slaves in future. To this it was answered that the root of this evil would never be effectually struck at until a thorough search was made into the circumstances of such Friends who kept Negroes, in regard to the righteousness of their motives in keeping them, that impartial justice might be administered throughout.

Several Friends expressed their desire that a visit might be made to such Friends who kept slaves, and many Friends declared that they believed liberty was the Negro's right, to which at length no opposition was made publicly, so that a minute was made more full on that subject than any heretofore and the names of several Friends entered who were free to join in a visit to such who kept slaves.³⁵

35. The passage, "entered who were free to join in a visit to such who kept slaves," appears at the top of page 165 in MS. B, the rest of the page remaining blank. "Friends" has been crossed out with two lines, probably by Woolman. The whole passage has been crossed out with an additional single line. The original editorial committee then copied the passage (minus "Friends") at the bottom of page 164.

A Plea for the Poor

OR

A Word of Remembrance and Caution to the Rich

Chapter One

[MS., p. 148]

WEALTH DESTINED for its own sake obstructs the increase of virtue, and large possessions in the hands of selfish men have a bad tendency, for by their means too small a number of people are employed in things useful; and therefore they, or some of them, are necessitated to labour too hard, while others would want business to earn their bread were not employments invented which, having no real use, serve only to please the vain mind.

Rents set on lands are often so high that persons who have but small substance are straitened in hiring a plantation; and while tenants are healthy and prosperous in business, they often find occasion to labour harder than was intended by our gracious Creator.

Oxen and horses are often seen at work when, through heat and too much labour, their eyes and the emotion of their bodies manifest that they are oppressed. Their loads in wagons are frequently so heavy that when weary with hauling it far, their drivers find occasion in going up hills or through mire to raise their spirits by whipping to get forward. Many poor people are so thronged in their business that it is difficult for them to provide shelter suitable for their animals in great storms.

These things are common when in health, but through sickness and inability to labour, through loss of creatures and miscarriage in business, many are straitened; and so much of their increase goes annually to pay rent or interest that they have not wherewith to hire so much as their case requires. Hence one poor woman, in attending on her children, providing for her family, and helping the sick, does as much business as would for the time be suitable employment for two or three; and honest persons are often straitened to give their children suitable learning. The money which the wealthy receive from the poor, who do more than a proper share of business in raising it, is frequently paid to other poor people for doing business which is foreign to the true use of things.

A PLEA FOR THE POOR

Men who have large possessions and live in the spirit of charity, who carefully inspect the circumstance of those who occupy their estates, and regardless of the customs of the times regulate their demands agreeable to universal love—these, by being righteous on a principle, do good to the poor without placing it as an act of bounty. Their example in avoiding superfluities tends to incite others to moderation. Their goodness in not exacting what the laws or customs would support them in tends to open the channel to moderate labour in useful affairs and to discourage those branches of business which have not their foundation in true wisdom.

To be busied in that which is but vanity and serves only to please the unstable mind tends to an alliance with them who promote that vanity, and is a snare in which many poor tradesmen are entangled.¹ To be employed in things connected with virtue is most agreeable to the character and inclination of an honest man.

While industrious, frugal people are borne down with poverty and oppressed with too much labour in useful things, the way to apply money without promoting pride and vanity remains open to such who truly sympathize with them in their various difficulties.

Chapter Two

[MS., p. 150]

The Creator of the earth is the owner of it. He gave us being thereon, and our nature requires nourishment which is the produce of it. As he is kind and merciful, we as his creatures, while we live answerable to the design of our creation, we are so far entitled to a convenient subsistence that no man may justly deprive us of it. By the agreements and contracts of our fathers and predecessors, and by doings and proceedings of our own, some claim a much greater share of this world than others; and whilst those possessions are faithfully improved to the good of the whole, it consists with equity.² But he who with a view to self-exaltation causeth some with their domestic animals to labour immoderately, and with the moneys arising to him therefrom employs others in the luxuries of life, acts contrary to the gracious design of him who is the true owner

1. Woolman wrote "tradesmen" in place of his original phrase, which appears to have been: "people who labour for their living."

2. Between "it" and "consists" Woolman erased a phrase, which included the word "integrity." In the preceding sentence, the passage "while we . . . it" was considerably revised and finally written in the margin.

THE ESSAYS OF JOHN WOOLMAN

of the earth; nor can any possessions, either acquired or derived from ancestors, justify such conduct.

Goodness remains to be goodness, and the direction of pure wisdom is obligatory on all reasonable creatures—that laws and customs are no further a standard for our proceedings than as their foundation is on universal righteousness.

Though the poor occupy our estates by a bargain to which they in their poor circumstance agreed, and we ask even less than a punctual fulfilling of their agreement, yet if our views are to lay up riches or to live in conformity to customs which have not their foundation in the Truth, and our demands are such as requires greater toil or application to business in them than is consistent with pure love, we invade their rights as inhabitants of that world of which a good and gracious God is proprietor, under whom we are tenants.³

Were all superfluities and the desire of outward greatness laid aside and the right use of things universally attended to, such a number of people might be employed in things useful that moderate labour with the blessing of heaven would answer all good purposes relating to people and their animals, and a sufficient number have leisure to attend on proper affairs of civil society.⁴

Chapter Three

[MS., p. 151]

While our strength and spirits are lively, we go cheerfully through business. Either too much or too little action is tiresome, but a right portion is healthful to our bodies and agreeable to an honest mind.

Where men have great estates they stand in a place of trust. To have it in their power without difficulty to live in that fashion which occasions much labour, and at the same time confine themselves to that use of things prescribed by our Redeemer, and confirmed by his example and the example of many who lived in the early ages of the Christian church, that they may more extensively relieve objects of charity—for men possessed of great estates to live thus—requires close attention to divine love.⁵

3. Woolman wrote "is consistent with pure love" in place of his original phrase, which appears to have been "that God intends for us."

4. In this paragraph, the words "outward" and "proper" were added by Woolman in the process of revision.

5. In the margin opposite the passage, "by his example . . . lived in the," Woolman wrote "look." Perhaps this was a reminder to himself to revise the next line, which he changed by adding "Christian" and "that they may more extensively relieve objects of charity."

A PLEA FOR THE POOR

Our gracious Creator cares and provides for all his creatures. His tender mercies are over all his works; and so far as his love influences our minds, so far we become interested in his workmanship and feel a desire to take hold of every opportunity to lessen the distresses of the afflicted and increase the happiness of the creation. Here we have a prospect of one common interest from which our own is inseparable—that to turn all the treasures we possess into the channel of universal love becomes the business of our lives.⁹ Men of large estates whose hearts are thus enlarged are like fathers to the poor, and in looking over their brethren in distressed circumstances and considering their own more easy condition, find a field for humble meditation and feel the strength of those obligations they are under to be kind and tender-hearted toward them.

Poor men eased of their burdens and released from too close an application to business are at liberty to hire others to their assistance, to provide well for their animals, and find time to perform those visits amongst their acquaintance which belongs to a well-guided social life.

When these reflect on the opportunity those had to oppress them, and consider the goodness of their conduct, they behold it lovely and consistent with brotherhood; and as the man whose mind is conformed to universal love hath his trust settled in God and finds a firm foundation to stand on in any changes or revolutions that happen amongst men, so also the goodness of his conduct tends to spread a kind, benevolent disposition in the world.

[...]

Chapter Seven

[MS., p. 159]

“This kind goeth not out but by prayer” [Mt. 17:21].

In our care for our children, should we give way to partiality in things relating to what may be when we are gone, yet after death we cannot look at partiality with pleasure. If by our wealth we make them great without a full persuasion that we could not bestow it better, and thus give them power to deal hardly with others more virtuous than they, it can, after death, give us no more satisfaction than if by this treasure we had raised these others above our own and given them power to oppress ours.

Did a man possess as much good land as would well suffice twenty industrious, frugal people, and expect that he was lawful heir to it and intend to give this great estate to his children, but found on a research into the title that one-half this estate was the undoubted property of a number of poor orphans who, as to virtue and understanding, to him appeared as hopeful as his own children—this discovery would give him an opportunity to consider whether he was attached to any interest distinct from the interest of those children. Some of us have estates sufficient for our children and for as many more to live upon did they all employ their time in useful business and live in that plainness consistent with the character of true disciples of Christ, and have no reason to believe that our children after us will apply them to benevolent purposes more than some poor children who we are acquainted with would, if they had them; and yet, did we believe that after our decease these estates would go equally between our children and an equal number of these poor children, it would be likely to give us uneasiness. This may show to a thoughtful person that to be redeemed from all the remains of selfishness, to have a universal regard to our fellow creatures, and love them as our Heavenly Father loves them, we must constantly attend to the influence of his Spirit.

When our hearts are enlarged to contemplate the nature of this divine love, we behold it harmonious; but if we attentively consider that moving of selfishness which would make us uneasy at the apprehension of that

A PLEA FOR THE POOR

which is in itself reasonable, and which being separated from all previous conceptions and expectations will appear so, we may see an inconsistency in it, for the subject of such uneasiness is in future, and would not affect our children till we were removed into that state of being where there is no possibility of our taking delight in any thing contrary to the pure principle of universal love.

As that natural desire of superiority in us, being given way to, extends to such our favourites whom we expect will succeed us, and as the grasping after wealth and power for them adds greatly to the burdens of the poor and increaseth the evil of covetousness in this age, I have often desired in secret that in looking toward posterity we may remember the purity of that rest which is prepared for the Lord's people, the impossibility of our taking pleasure in any thing distinguishable from universal righteousness, and how vain and weak a thing it is to give wealth and power to such who appear unlikely to apply it to a general good when we are gone.

As Christians, all we possess are the gifts of God. Now in distributing it to others we act as his steward, and it becomes our station to act agreeable to that divine wisdom which he gracious gives to his servants. If the steward of a great family, from a selfish attachment to particulars, takes that with which he is entrusted and bestows it lavishly on some to the injury of others and to the damage of him who employs him, he disunites himself and becomes unworthy of that office.

The true felicity of man in this life, and that which is to come, is in being inwardly united to the fountain of universal love and bliss. When we provide for posterity and make settlements which will not take effect till after we are centered in another state of being, if we therein act contrary to universal love and righteousness, such conduct must arise from a false, selfish pleasure in directing a thing to be done wrong, in which it will be impossible for us to take pleasure at the time when our directions are put in execution. For if we, after such settlement and when too late for an alteration, attain to that purified state which our Redeemer prayed his Father that his people might attain to—of being united to the Father and the Son—a sincere repentance for all things done in a will separate from universal love must precede this inward sanctification; and though in such depth of repentance and reconciliation all sins are forgiven and sorrows removed, that our misdeeds heretofore done could no longer afflict us, yet our partial determinations in favour of such whom we loved in a selfish love could not afford us any pleasure. And if after such

selfish settlement our wills continue to stand in opposition to the fountain of universal light and love, there will be an unpassable gulf between the soul and true felicity, nor can anything²⁴ heretofore done in this separate will afford us pleasure.

Chapter Eight

[MS., p. 162]

To labour for an establishment in divine love where the mind is disentangled from the power of darkness is the great business of man's life. Collecting of riches, covering the body with fine-wrought, costly apparel, and having magnificent furniture operates against universal love and tends to feed self, that to desire these things belongs not to the children of the Light.

He who sent ravens to feed Elijah in the wilderness, and increased the poor widow's small remains of meal and oil, is now as attentive to the necessities of his people as ever, that when he numbers us with his people and saith, "Ye are my sons and daughters" [2 Cor. 6:18]—no greater happiness can be desired by them who know how gracious a Father he is.

The greater part of the necessaries of life are so far perishable that each generation hath occasion to labour for them; and when we look toward a succeeding age with a mind influenced by universal love, we endeavour not to exempt some from those cares which necessarily relate to this life, and give them power to oppress others, but desire they may all be the Lord's children and live in that humility and order becoming his family. Our hearts being thus opened and enlarged, we feel content in a use of things as foreign to luxury and grandeur as that which our Redeemer laid down as a pattern.

By desiring wealth for the power and distinction it gives and gathering it on this motive, a person may properly be called a rich man, whose mind is moved by a draft distinguishable from the drawings of the Father and cannot be united to the heavenly society, where God is the strength of their life, before he is delivered from this contrary drawing.

"It is easier," saith our Saviour, "for a camel to go through a needle's

24. The MS. actually reads "and thing." That this is clearly an error in writing is substantiated by Woolman's having erased "any" before "pleasure," apparently to avoid repetition. This is perhaps the only instance in which the present editor has felt justified in changing a word Woolman wrote—a decision substantiated by MS. W, which reads "anything."

A PLEA FOR THE POOR

eye than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God" [Mk. 10:25]. Here our Lord uses an instructing similitude, for as a camel considered under that character cannot pass through a needle's eye, so a man who trusteth in riches and holds them for the sake of the power and distinction attending them cannot in that spirit enter the kingdom. Now every part of a camel may be so reduced as to pass through a hole as small as a needle's eye, yet such is the bulk of the creature, and the hardness of its bones and teeth, that it could not be completed without much labour. So man must cease from that spirit which craves riches, and be reduced into another disposition, before he inherits the kingdom, as effectually as a camel must cease from the form of a camel in passing through the eye of a needle.²⁵

When our Saviour said to the rich youth, "Go sell that thou hast and give to the poor" [Mk. 10:21], though undoubtedly it was his duty to have done so, yet to confine this of selling all as a duty on every true Christian would be to limit the Holy One. Obedient children who are entrusted with much outward substance wait for wisdom to dispose of it agreeable to his will, in whom "the fatherless findeth mercy" [Hos. 14:3]. It may not be the duty of every one to commit at once their substance to other hands, but rather from time to time to look round amongst the numerous branches of the great family, as his stewards who said, "Leave thy fatherless children; I will preserve them alive; and let thy widows trust in me" [Jer. 49:11]. But as disciples of Christ, however entrusted with much goods, they may not conform to sumptuous or luxurious living.²⁶ For if possessing great treasures had been a sufficient reason to make a fine show in the world, then Christ our Lord, who had an unfailing storehouse, and in a way surpassing the common operations in nature supplied thousands of people with food, would not have lived in so much plainness.

What we equitably possess is a gift from God to us; but by the Son all things were created. Now he who forms things out of nothing—who creates and, having created, doth possess—is more truly rich than he who possesseth by receiving gifts from another. If depth of knowledge and a high title had been sufficient reasons to make a splendid show, he would have made it. He told the woman of Samaria sundry things relative to her past life, made mention of the decease of Lazarus, and answered the scribe

25. Inserted with a caret: "before he inherits the kingdom."

26. The first edition omits a long passage starting in the next sentence and continuing to near the end of the chapter: "if possessing . . . to him; and."

THE ESSAYS OF JOHN WOOLMAN

who accounted him a blasphemer, without information, and having the spirit without measure knew what was in man. The title of Lord he owned, nor was it ever more justly given to any—that in riches and wisdom and greatness there was none on earth equal to him; and as he lived in perfect plainness and simplicity, the greatest in his family cannot by virtue of their station claim a right to live in worldly grandeur without contradicting his doctrine who said: "It is enough for the disciple to be as his master" [Mt. 10:25].

Chapter Nine

[MS., p. 165]

When our eyes are so single as to discern the selfish spirit clearly, we behold it the greatest of all tyrants.²⁷ Many thousand innocent people under some of the Roman emperors, being confirmed in the truth of Christ's religion from the powerful effects of his Holy Spirit upon them, and scrupling to conform to heathenish rites, were therefore, by various kinds of cruel and lingering torments, put to death, as is largely set forth by Eusebius.²⁸ Now if we single out Domitian, Nero, or any other of these persecuting emperors, the man, though terrible in his time, will appear a tyrant of small consequence compared with the selfish spirit. For though his bounds were large, yet a great part of the world were out of his reach; and though he grievously afflicted the bodies of those innocent people, yet the minds of many were divinely supported in their greatest agonies, and being faithful unto death were delivered from his tyranny. His reign though cruel for a time was soon over, and he, considered in his greatest pomp, appears to have been a slave to the selfish spirit. Thus tyranny, as applied to a man, rises up and soon hath an end. But if we consider the numerous oppressions in many states and the calamities occasioned by nation contending with nation in various parts and ages of the world, and remember that selfishness hath been the original cause of them all; if we consider that such who are finally possessed with this selfish

27. For no apparent reason, the first edition fails to indicate the beginning of Chapter 9, but includes it as part of Chapter 8. As a result, Chapter 10 is designated as Chapter 9, and throughout the rest of the essay the designations are one number behind in the sequence.

28. Eusebius (ca. 263-ca. 340), Bishop of Caesarea, was (next to St. Luke) the most eminent historian of the early church, and is chiefly known for his *Ecclesiastical History*.

A PLEA FOR THE POOR

spirit not only afflict others but are afflicted themselves and have no real quietness in this life nor in futurity, but according to the saying of Christ have their portion in that uneasy condition "where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched" [Mk. 9:48]; under all these circumstances how terrible does this selfishness appear?²⁹

If we consider the havoc that is made in this age, and how numbers of people are hurried on, striving to collect treasures to please that mind which wanders from perfect resignedness, and in that wisdom which is foolishness with God are perverting the true use of things, labouring as in the fire, contending with one another even unto blood, and exerting their power to support ways of living foreign to the life of one wholly crucified to the world; if we consider what great numbers of people are employed in different kingdoms in preparing the materials of war, and the labour and toil of armies set apart for protecting their respective territories from the incursions of others, and the extensive miseries which attend their engagements; while many of those who till the lands and are employed in other useful things—in supporting themselves, supporting those employed in military affairs, and some who own the soil—have great hardships to encounter through too much labour; while others in several kingdoms are busied in fetching men to help labour from distant parts of the world, to spend the remainder of their lives in the uncomfortable condition of slaves, and that self is at the bottom of these proceedings—amidst all this confusion, and these scenes of sorrow and distress, can we remember the Prince of Peace, remember that we are his disciples, and remember that example of humility and plainness which he set for us, without feeling an earnest desire to be disentangled from everything connected with selfish customs in food, in raiment, in houses, and all things else; that being of Christ[’s] family and walking as he walked, we may stand in that uprightness wherein man was first made, and have no fellowship with those inventions which men in the fallen wisdom have sought out.³⁰

In the selfish spirit standeth idolatry. Did our blessed Redeemer enable his family to endure great reproaches, and suffer cruel torments

29. Inserted with carets: "real" and "in this life nor."

30. What follows, from this point to the end of the chapter, is written on a sheet pasted into the MS. This was probably attached after MS. W (which lacks it) was written, making MS. *Plea* later at this point. Other evidence suggests that Woolman did not consciously prepare either version as his final one.

THE ESSAYS OF JOHN WOOLMAN

even unto death, for their testimony against the idolatry of those times, and can we behold the prevalence of idolatry though under a different appearance, without being jealous over ourselves lest we unwarily join in it?

Those faithful martyrs refused to cast incense into the fire, though by doing it they might have escaped a cruel death. Casting sweet-scented matter into the fire to make a comfortable smell—this considered separate from all circumstances—would appear to be of small consequence; but as they would thereby have signified their approbation of idolatry, it was necessarily refused by the faithful. Nor can we in any degree depart from pure universal righteousness and publicly continue in that which is not agreeable to the Truth, without strengthening the hands of the unrighteous and doing that which in the nature of the thing is like offering incense to an idol.³¹

Origen, a primitive Christian, it is reported of him that in a time of unwatchfulness, being under great difficulty, he took incense into his hand, and a certain heathen to forward the work took hold of his hand and cast the incense into the fire on the altar, and that through thus far complying, he was released from his outward troubles, but afterward greatly bewailed his condition as one fallen from a good estate to that which was worse.³² Thus it appears that a small degree of deliberate compliance to that which is wrong is very dangerous, and the case of Origen carries in it an admonition worthy of our notice.

Chapter Ten

[MS, p. 167]

"Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing, and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father" [Mt. 10:29].

The way of carrying on wars, common in the world, is so far distinguishable from the purity of Christ's religion that many scruple to join in them. Those who are so redeemed from the love of the world as to possess nothing in a selfish spirit, their "life is hid with Christ in God"

31. Inserted with a caret: "publicly."

32. Origen (ca. 185-ca. 254), a native of Alexandria, ranks with Augustine as a leading scholar, theologian, and teacher of the early church. His prolific writings reflect a thorough knowledge of Greek philosophy. He survived three major periods of persecution, during the last of which (A.D. 250) he was imprisoned and tortured.

A PLEA FOR THE POOR

[Col. 3:3], and these he preserves in resignedness, even in times of commotion. As they possess nothing but what pertains to his family, anxious thoughts about wealth or dominion hath little or nothing in them to work upon, and they learn contentment in being disposed of according to his will who, being omnipotent and always mindful of his children, causeth all things to work for their good. But where that spirit which loves riches works, and in its working gathers wealth and cleaves to customs which have their root in self-pleasing, this spirit, thus separating from universal love, seeks help from that power which stands in the separation; and whatever name it hath, it still desires to defend the treasures thus gotten. This is like a chain where the end of one link encloses the end of another. The rising up of a desire to attain wealth is the beginning. This desire being cherished moves to action, and riches thus gotten please self, and while self hath a life in them it desires to have them defended.

Wealth is attended with power, by which bargains and proceedings contrary to universal righteousness are supported; and here oppression, carried on with worldly policy and order, clothes itself with the name of justice and becomes like a seed of discord in the soil; and as this spirit which wanders from the pure habitation prevails, so the seed of war swells and sprouts and grows and becomes strong, till much fruits are ripened. Thus cometh the harvest spoken of by the prophet, which is "a heap in the day of grief, and of desperate sorrow" [Is. 17:11].

Oh, that we who declare against wars and acknowledge our trust to be in God only, may walk in the Light and therein examine our foundation and motives in holding great estates! May we look upon our treasures and the furniture of our houses and the garments in which we array ourselves and try whether the seeds of war have any nourishment in these our possessions or not. Holding treasures in the self-pleasing spirit is a strong plant, the fruit whereof ripens fast. A day of outward distress is coming and divine love calls to prepare against it!³³ Harken then, Oh ye children who have known the Light, and come forth! Leave everything which our Lord Jesus Christ does not own. Think not his pattern too plain or too coarse for you. Think not a small portion in this life too little, but let us live in his spirit and walk as he walked, and he will preserve us in the greatest troubles.

33. At this point, at the bottom of page 168, MS. *Plea*, Woolman wrote: "the end. Chap 11." Then he erased this note and at the top of page 169 repeated the last sentence from page 168: "A day . . . against it." Then he wrote what follows, through "troubles," after which he wrote, "the end is here."

THE ESSAYS OF JOHN WOOLMAN

Chapter Eleven

[MS., p. 171]

"The heavens, even the heavens, are the Lord's, but the earth hath he given to the children of men." Ps. 115:16.

As servants of God, what land or estate we hold, we hold under him as his gift; and in applying the profits it is our duty to act consistent with the design of our benefactor. Imperfect men may give on motives of misguided affection, but Perfect Wisdom and Goodness gives agreeable to his own nature. Nor is this gift absolute, but conditional, for us to occupy as dutiful children and not otherwise, for he alone is the true proprietor. "The world," saith he, "is mine, and the fullness thereof." Ps. 24:1.

The inspired Lawgiver directed that such of the Israelites who sold their inheritance should sell it for a term only, and that they or their children should again enjoy it in the Year of Jubilee, settled on every fiftieth year. "The land shall not be sold forever, for the land is mine," saith the Lord, "for ye are strangers and sojourners with me" (Lev. 25:23), the design of which was to prevent the rich from oppressing the poor by too much engrossing the land. And our blessed Redeemer said: "Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled" [Mt. 5:18].

Where divine love takes place in the hearts of any people, and they steadily act on a principle of universal righteousness, there the true intent of the Law is fulfilled, though their outward modes of proceeding may be distinguishable from one another. But where men are possessed by that spirit hinted at by the prophet, and looking over their wealth, say in their hearts, "Have we not taken to us horns by our own strength?" [Amos 6:13]³⁴—here they deviate from the divine law and do not account their possessions so strictly God's, nor the weak and poor entitled to so much of the increase thereof, but that they may indulge their de-

34. Woolman originally wrote all of Chapter 11 except the last paragraph on pages 169 and 170 of the MS. He then crossed it out and wrote his final version on pages 171 and 172. Although most of his changes were minor, two are of interest, as indicated here and in note 35. At this point in the original version (after "by our own strength") he added: "Have we not attained by lawful means a clear, uncontested right to the estate we possess? And may we not, within the bounds of the laws of our country, use the profits thereof agreeable to our heart's desire?"

A PLEA FOR THE POOR

sires in conforming to worldly pomp.³⁵ And thus where house is joined to house and field laid to field till there is no place, and the poor are thereby straitened, though this be done by bargain and purchase, yet, so far as it stands distinguished from universal love, so far that woe prefixed by the prophet will accompany their proceedings.³⁶

As he who first formed the earth out of nothing was then the true proprietor of it, so he still remains; and though he hath given it to the children of men, so that multitudes of people have had sustenance from it while they continued here, yet he hath never aliened it; but his right to give is as good as at the first, nor can any apply the increase of their possessions contrary to universal love, nor dispose of lands in a way which they know tends to exalt some by oppressing others, without being justly chargeable with usurpation.

[...]

35. The original version reads: "indulge their inclinations in conforming to the expensive, showy customs of the world."

36. At this point Woolman wrote a paragraph which he later crossed out. In the margin he wrote, "let this be left out." The deleted paragraph reads: "When God promised the land of Canaan to Abraham, he said, 'To thee will I give it and to thy seed forever.' Gen. 13:15. To Jacob he said, 'The land which I gave Abraham and Isaac, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed after thee will I give the land.' Gen. 35:12. The way of expressing is here very instructive. The Lord speaks of giving as a thing doing and to be done, and not as a thing finished. In rehearsing to Jacob the gifts he made to Abraham and Isaac, he mentions the same land as his own, and though he promiseth it to Jacob, he still retains the property in himself, to give to others in futurity: 'To thy seed after thee will I give the land.'"

II. Die "Non-Resisters" und Abolitionisten

CHRISTIAN BARTOLF

1. Die ersten säkularen Friedensorganisationen

Seit 1815 gründeten sich nicht zu einem traditionellen Pazifismus bekennende Kirchenmänner Organisationen zur Friedensförderung, die ersten säkulären "peace societies". Diese Organisationen (wie die New York, Massachusetts oder American Peace Society) werden säkular¹⁾ genannt, obwohl die meisten ihrer Mitglieder Kirchenmänner waren, weil die Mitgliedschaft in der Gesellschaft nicht von der Kirchenmitgliedschaft abhängig gemacht wurde.

Die säkularen Anstrengungen zur Friedensförderung liefen auf zwei verschiedene Richtungen hinaus. Das leichter von der allgemeinen Öffentlichkeit akzeptierte Programm forderte die Ächtung der Angriffskriege. Ein anderes forderte die Ausrottung jeglicher Gewalt, innenpolitischer wie auf internationaler Ebene. Diese beiden gedanklichen Richtungen fanden ihren Ausdruck in der Debatte über Angriffs- versus Verteidigungskriege: "Lehnen wir jeglichen Krieg oder nur Angriffskriege ab?" Weil die Organisationen eine breite Öffentlichkeit erreichen wollten, bezog sich die Debatte ebenso sehr auf taktische wie auf prinzipielle Fragen. Würde größere Wirkung erzielt durch die Förderung fortschrittlicher Ideen oder dadurch, daß mehr Menschen als Mitglieder oder Anhänger gewonnen würden?

Gelegentlich führte diese Debatte zu Brüchen innerhalb der säkularen Friedensbewegung. Die Friedensorganisationen, die daraus hervorgingen: die New-England Non-Resistance Society²⁾ und die League of Universal Brotherhood,³⁾ waren im Wortsinne viel eher "säkular". Außer dem Kriegproblem gingen die neuen Organisationen die Probleme der Sklaverei an, der Rechte für Minderheiten, der Gleichberechtigung der Frauen und der Situation für Gefangene in Gefängnissen.

Im Gegensatz zu den älteren Organisationen, die Prominente und Akademiker zu beeinflussen suchten, wandten die neueren Organisationen ihre Aufmerksamkeit eher der "gemeinen Bevölkerung" zu.

Im Jahre 1815, als David Low Dodge,⁴⁾ ein New Yorker Kaufmann, die New York Peace Society ins Leben rief, und Noah Worcester,⁵⁾ ein Gemeindegeistlicher, die Massachusetts Peace Society gründete, wurden die unterschiedlichen Sichtweisen über die Aufgaben einer säkularen Friedensorganisation nicht so sehr betont. Beide, sowohl Dodge als auch Worcester, lehnten persönliche Angriffs- wie Verteidigungskriege ab, genauso wie die Anwendung verletzender Gewalt bei Fällen von Selbstverteidigung. Diese vollkommen pazifistische Organisationsgrundlage wurde von der New York Peace Society nachdrücklich betont, während die Massachusetts Peace Society⁶⁾ mit mehr Nachdruck den Gedanken eines Weltgerichtshofes fördern wollte als Alternative zum Krieg.

Diese ersten säkularen Friedensorganisationen führten ihre Arbeit mittels Redebeiträgen und Veröffentlichungen durch. Sie richteten ihre Bemühungen an Geistliche, damit diese ihre Gemeinden instruieren könnten, und an hochgestellte Persönlichkeiten des öffentlichen Lebens, damit jene ihren Einfluß ausübten, um die Regierungen vom Krieg anzuhalten. 1818, auf der Höhe der Popularität, verzeichneten die Massachusetts Peace Society 1.000 Mitglieder, von denen viele als aktive Militärbeamte in den Listen aufgeführt wurden. Während weiterhin als Grundlage der Kriegsablehnung Argumente aus der Interpretation von Bibeltexten herangezogen wurden, begann man zunehmend damit, weitere Gründe zu entwickeln und als Argumentationslinien in die Debatten einzuführen.

Noah Worcester schrieb "A Solemn Review of the Custom of War" (1814)⁷⁾, worin er behauptete, daß Kriege nicht als gerechtes Übel ausgefochten werden sollten, weil die Getöteten nicht die Menschen seien, die am meisten Verant-

wortung für die unregelmäßige Politik besäßen.

Dodge schrieb in seinem Buch "War Inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ" (1815)⁸⁾, daß Kriege eine Ressourcenverschwendung darstellten; daß der Krieg biologisch ungesund sei, weil er die Jungen und Gesunden aussondere, und daß er nicht wirkungsvoll sei, weil der Frieden und die Freiheit, die er zu erreichen sich zum Zweck gesetzt hat, durch den Haß und die Rachegefühle, die er erzeuge, zum Fehlschlag verkümmerten.

Samuel Whelpley von der New Yorker Society schrieb eine Reihe von offenen Briefen an den Gouverneur von Massachusetts, in denen er den Krieg in Verbindung brachte mit der Verteidigung von Eigentum. Im Jahre 1828 vereinigten sich die Massachusetts und die New York Peace Society, zusammen mit anderen säkularen Friedensgruppen, die sich in der Zwischenzeit entwickelt hatten, um die American Peace Society⁹⁾ zu bilden, für die Noah Worcester die Verfassung schrieb. Unter der Führung von William Ladd¹⁰⁾, Worcester's Nachfolger als erstem Organisator der Friedensgesellschaft, bat die American Peace Society weiterhin einflußreiche Mitglieder um Unterstützung, um Treffen zu organisieren und Versammlungen einzuberufen, Pamphlete zu veröffentlichen, Bundes- und Einzelstaatenregierungen anzusprechen oder durch Petitionen in wichtigen Angelegenheiten aufzufordern. Mitglieder der Gesellschaft kritisierten die expansionistische US-Politik und verlangten nach Abrüstung, aber die Gesellschaft als Ganze konzentrierte ihre gesteigerte Aufmerksamkeit auf die mögliche Errichtung eines Weltgerichtshofes als Appellations- und Entscheidungsinstanz in internationalen Konflikten.

Die offizielle Position der American Peace Society lehnte zunehmend und mit Nachdruck allerdings lediglich Angriffs-kriege ab. Dieser wachsende Konservatismus ergab sich aus zwei schismatischen Abspaltungen: die erste führte 1838 zur Bildung der New England Non-Resistance Society und die zweite, im Jahre 1846, zur Bildung der League of

Universal Brotherhood. Während des Bürgerkrieges veröffentlichte die American Peace Society eine Stellungnahme, in der sie den Konflikt zwischen Nord- und Südstaaten der USA für eine interne Polizeiaktion erklärte und somit als nicht innerhalb ihres Zuständigkeitsbereiches liegend.

Die Anstrengungen der American Peace Society im Erziehungsbereich und in lobbyistischer Interessenvertretung führten in ihren späteren Jahren direkt zum Aufbau des Haager Gerichtshofes (1899), dem ersten permanenten Gerichtshof für internationale Schiedssprüche und ebneten den Weg zum Völkerbund ("League of Nations"), der Vorläuferorganisation der heutigen Vereinten Nationen.

2. Die New England Non-Resistance Society

Um das Jahr 1838 herum wuchs bei einigen Mitgliedern der American Peace Society die Unzufriedenheit so sehr, daß sie nicht länger innerhalb des offiziellen Programms gemäßigter Reformen in der Gesellschaft arbeiten konnten. Diese Mitglieder waren unzufrieden, weil die American Peace Society sich nicht entschieden gegen jede staatliche und personale Form der Gewalt ausgesprochen hatte und zogen sich nun zurück, um die New England Non-Resistance Society zu gründen, die entschiedenste pazifistische Organisation im 19. Jahrhundert. Mitglieder der New England Non-Resistance Society verpflichteten sich zu einem radikalen sozialen Wandel ohne Gewalt. Sie bezogen offensiv gegen Ungerechtigkeiten Stellung und trugen ebenfalls theoretisch Bedeutendes bei zur Entwicklung einer gewaltfreien Konzeption.

Henry Clarke Wright¹¹⁾, ein Gemeindegeistlicher und stürmischer Gegner der Sklaverei, führte die unzufriedenen Mitglieder in ihren Bemühungen an, die American Peace Society zu radikalisieren. Wright wurde stark unterstützt von Samuel J. May, einem Unitariergeistlichen, der Enthaltensamkeit betonte und für Reformen der Strafjustiz, für Frauenrechte und das Anliegen unterdrückter Minderheiten eintrat - der Indianer bis hin zu den eingewanderten Iren. William Lloyd

Garrison¹²⁾, Pazifist und führender Abolitionist (Gegner der Sklaverei), unterstützte ihre Bemühungen, obwohl er nicht ein Mitglied der American Peace Society war. In seiner Abolitionistenzeitung 'Liberator' kritisierte Garrison die American Peace Society und betonte, daß diese ~~zahmen~~ Organisation "schädlich statt wohltätig seien, weil sie das Feld besetzten, ohne imstande zu sein, den Gegenstand zu beeinflussen."

Was für eine Farce es sei, eine Friedensgesellschaft Mitglieder anwerben zu sehen, auf deren Liste nicht Bekehrte stünden, sondern kriegslüsterne Oberbefehlshaber, Generale, Oberste, Generalmajore, Unteroffiziere und alle anderen mit Rang! Was für eine wundervolle Reform in Erwartung stehe, wo es keinen gebe, der reformiert worden sei!

Garrison sagte einst zu William Ladd, dem Präsidenten der American Peace Society: "Seien Sie versichert, daß solange Ihr Anliegen geehrt wird durchs Lynchgesetz, einem Mantel mit Teer und Federn, Ziegelbrocken und verfaulten Eiern - keine radikale Reform stattfinden kann!"

Unter Wrights Führung beriefen die Radikalen eine Versammlung ein, zu der sie alle einluden, von denen sie hofften, daß sie ihre Ansichten teilen würden. Garrison und seine Anhänger kamen; George C. Beckwith¹³⁾, Sekretär der American Peace Society und Herausgeber ihrer Zeitschrift 'Advocate of Peace', traf mit seinem Anhang ein. Nach wenigen Stunden verließen Beckwith und seine Sympathisanten die Versammlung und begründeten dies damit, daß sie gegen Frauen als vollwertige Mitglieder in der Versammlung und ihren Ausschüssen Einwände erhoben hätten. Der Schwerpunkt der Debatte kreiste um die erfolgreiche Entschließung, daß "menschliches Leben unverletzlich sei und weder von Nationen noch von Einzelnen jemals genommen werden könne ...". Die Versammlung gründete die New England Non-Resistance Society und Garrison stand dem Ausschuß vor, um die Verfassung zu verabschieden und jene "Declaration of Sentiments" (Dok. 4).

Garrison (1805-1879)¹⁴⁾ nahm sich der Abschaffung der Todesstrafe an, der Kriegsgegnerschaft, der Enthaltensamkeit von jeglichem politischen Amt und vor allem der Abschaffung der Sklaverei. Die Prinzipienklärung der Gesellschaft, die er entwarf, illustriert die Tatsache, daß Garrison zwar physische Gewalt verabscheuen mochte, sich jedoch niemals zurückhielt, mit seinen Worten Ungleichheit anzugreifen. Genauso wie die Friedenskirchen, wollte die New England Non-Resistance Society keine Gewaltanwendung befürworten oder sich an irgendeiner Regierung beteiligen; im Unterschied zu jenen Kirchen, die sich von der Welt zurückzogen, forderte die New England Non-Resistance Society die Ungerechtigkeit der zeitgenössischen Gesellschaft direkt heraus und initiierte aktiv Kampagnen für rasche soziale Veränderung. Während der größte Teil der Arbeit in Neuengland angesiedelt war, arbeiteten aktive Zweige auch in Ohio, Michigan und Indiana. Die Ansichten der Gesellschaft fanden ihren Ausdruck im 'Liberator' und von 1839 bis zur Mitte des Jahres 1842 veröffentlichte die Gesellschaft ihre eigene Zeitung, 'Non-Resistant', die 1840 1.000 Abonnenten hatte. Die größte Zahl der Mitglieder in der Gesellschaft unterbrachen Gemeindeversammlungen, um die allgemeine Aufmerksamkeit auf unterlassene Handlungen der Kirche zu lenken, wirkungsvoll und entschieden gegen die Sklaverei vorzugehen. Wegen ihrer Bemühungen sahen sich sowohl die Mitglieder als auch die Führer der Gesellschaft oft der Gewalt des zornigen Pöbels ausgesetzt, aber die 'Non-Resister' weigerten sich beständig, die Beleidigungen zu vergelten. Die Gesellschaft schrieb es dieser Tatsache zu, daß keines ihrer Mitglieder in den Auseinandersetzungen jemals getötet wurde.

Mehrere fähige und energische Frauen förderten die Organisation und die Prinzipien der New England Non-Resistance Society. Unter ihnen waren: Lucretia Mott¹⁵⁾, Abolitionistin und Frauenrechtlerin, Sarah und Angelina Grimké¹⁶⁾, frühe Feministinnen und Abolitionistinnen, Lydia Maria Child¹⁷⁾, Schriftstellerin, Maria Chapman, Abolitionistin, Abby Kelly, Quäkerin und Frauenrechtlerin und Ann Weston,

aktive 'Non-Resister'.

William Lloyd Garrison leitete die Arbeit gegen die Sklaverei. Henry Clarke Wright, ein fähiger Organisator, reiste quer durchs Land und nach England, wo er einen beträchtlichen Einfluß nahm auf die antimilitaristische Bewegung, die dort gerade in den Anfängen steckte. Von dieser Gruppe trug Adin Ballou (1803-1890)¹⁸⁾ am meisten zur Förderung einer pazifistischen Theorie bei. Später korrespondierte der russische Schriftsteller und Pazifist Leo Tolstoi¹⁹⁾ mit Ballou, übersetzte einige seiner Werke und propagierte seine Schriften damit in Rußland. Mohandas Gandhi²⁰⁾ wurde so ebenfalls durch das Werk und Denken von Adin Ballou und William Lloyd Garrison beeinflusst.

Die von der New England Non-Resistance Society und ihren Mitgliedern entwickelte Ideologie war kein wohlhabendes Credo, sondern eine ständige Untersuchung von Philosophie und Methode. Die Mitglieder stimmten darin überein, daß das existierende System nicht reformiert werden könnte, und sie suchten einen klaren Ausweg heraus. Sie behaupteten eine bestimmte, regierungsverneinende Position und vermieden konsequenterweise auf Wahlen basierende Politik als Mittel für ihre Ziele. Anstelle dessen appellierten sie direkt an Individuen und ermutigten sie zu einer Revolution der eigenen Person ... Indem sie ihre Theorie und Praxis des Nicht-Widerstehens entwickelte, richtete die Gesellschaft ihr Augenmerk eher auf die innere Verteidigung gegen anti-soziale Kräfte als auf den Schutz einer Nation gegen einen äußeren Angriff. In bezug auf Kriminelle führte Adin Ballou das Konzept der "nicht verletzenden Kraft" ein, die den Gebrauch von Zwang auf gefährliche Personen insoweit begrenzte, daß sie sie nicht verletzte. Die Resozialisierung von Verbrechern, schlug Ballou vor, wäre abhängig von der Macht des Interesses, das die Gemeinschaft für sie hegte. Charles K. Whipple (1808-1900)²¹⁾ machte nachdrücklich geltend, daß Polizisten aus verurteilten 'Non-Resisters' rekrutiert werden sollten, die zwar ohne Waffen ihr Amt ausüben würden, jedoch mit der vollen Unter-

stützung der Gemeinschaft. Die 'Non-Resisters' bestanden auf der Notwendigkeit, die sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Ursachen von Verbrechen zu beseitigen.

Adin Ballou unterschied (Dok. 6) drei Arten von prinzipiellem Pazifismus:

- philosophischer Pazifismus, auf dem Grundsatz basierend, daß Gewalt irrational sei;
- sentimentaler Pazifismus, basierend auf humanitären Grundsätzen und dem Glauben an die Fähigkeit des Menschen zur Vervollkommnung und
- christlicher Pazifismus, basierend auf dem Verlangen, dem Beispiel Jesu Christi zu folgen.

Ballou war der erste, der vorschlug, daß es prinzipiellen Pazifismus geben könnte, der nicht auf religiösen Betrachtungen und Erwägungen basierte.

Ballou war es ebenfalls, der den Lehrsatz der Reziprozität aufstellte. Dieses "Gesetz" bedeutete, daß die Absorption von Unrecht und das ihm Antworten durch eine wohlwollende Beharrlichkeit auf gerechte Zustände hin die menschliche Gesellschaft vervollkommneten, während Unrecht mit Unrecht zu begegnen, in weiterem Unrecht resultierte. Die 'Non-Resisters' betonten wiederholtermaßen, daß Menschen in ihrer gesamten Geschichte den letzteren Weg eingeschlagen seien mit dem einzigen Ergebnis, daß sie eine Welt voller Gewalt und Unsicherheit zurückgelassen hatten.

Da ihnen die Abschaffung der Sklaverei ein Anliegen war und da sie in einer Welt lebten, die Zeuge von mehreren Revolutionen und versuchten Revolutionen geworden war, untersuchten die 'Non-Resisters' von Neuengland insbesondere die Beziehung des Pazifismus zu Freiheitskämpfen gegen Unterdrückung. Charles K. Whipple kündigte dabei sowohl Gandhis Denken wie seine Methode im Vorhinein an, als er "Evils of the Revolutionary War" (1839) (Dok. 5) schrieb. Whipple begrüßte die Ziele der Revolutionsführer, aber behauptete:

"We should have attained independence as effectually, as speedily, as honorably, and under very much more favorable circumstances, if we had not resorted to arms."

Um ihre Ziele zu erreichen, hätten die Siedler

1. alle ungerechten Forderungen der Engländer zurückweisen,
2. nachdrücklich ihr Anliegen verbreiten und
3. die Repressalien, die zweifelsohne gefolgt wären, durchstehen müssen.

Whipple gab zu bedenken, daß die Siedler sicherlich hätten leiden müssen, aber nichts, was annähernd dem Kriegselend gleichgekommen wäre. Hätten sie darüber hinaus die Achtsamkeit besessen, ihre Revolution ohne Gewalt durchzuführen, hätte die Nation, die sie begründeten, viele Vorteile daraus gewinnen können. Es wäre nicht ein halbes Jahrhundert von Feindseligkeiten mit England gefolgt, Sklaverei wäre nicht in die Verfassung eingeschrieben worden, Indianer wären anders behandelt worden und der Geist der Rache hätte nicht die Außenpolitik des Landes und ihr System der Strafjustiz durchdrungen.

Die New England Non Resistance Society hielt ihre letzte reguläre Versammlung 1849 ab. Mit der steigenden Flut von Militanz unter den Abolitionisten wurden die 'Non-Resisters' zwischen ihrer Verpflichtung zum Pazifismus und ihrer Verpflichtung zur Abschaffung der Sklaverei hin- und hergerissen: Während sie ihren persönlichen Treueid auf das Prinzip des Nicht-Widerstehens leisteten, befürworteten Garrison und Wright, daß Menschen ihrem Rechtsempfinden treu bleiben sollten und auch dann Gewalt anwenden könnten, um Sklaven zu helfen, wenn sie sie dazu benutzten, um sich selbst zu verteidigen. Die 'Non-Resisters' hatten es nicht vermocht, ihre Theorie zu weitverbreiteter und wirkungsvoller Praxis heranreifen zu lassen und beendeten infolgedessen ihre zweifache öffentliche Kampagne für sowohl Pazifismus als auch soziale Gerechtigkeit.

Declaration of Sentiments

ADOPTED BY THE PEACE CONVENTION, HELD IN BOSTON,
SEPTEMBER 18, 19 AND 20, 1838.

Assembled in Convention, from various sections of the American Union, for the promotion of peace on earth and good will among men, we, the undersigned, regard it as due to ourselves, to the cause which we love, to the country in which we live, and to the world; to publish a Declaration, expressive of the principles we cherish, the purposes we aim to accomplish, and the measures we shall adopt to carry forward the work of peaceful and universal reformation.

We cannot acknowledge allegiance to any human government; neither can we oppose any such government, by a resort to physical force. We recognize but one King and Lawgiver, one Judge and Ruler of mankind. We are bound by the laws of a kingdom which is not of this world; the subjects of which are forbidden to fight; in which Mercy and Truth are met together, and Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other; which has no state lines, no national partitions, no geographical boundaries; in which there is no distinction of rank, or division of caste, or inequality of sex; the officers of which are Peace, its exactors Righteousness, its walls Salvation, and its gates Praise; and which is destined to break in pieces and consume all other kingdoms.

Our country is the world, our countrymen are all mankind. We love the land of our nativity, only as we love all other lands. The interests, rights, and liberties of American citizens are no more dear to us, than are those of the whole human race. Hence, we can allow no appeal to patriotism, to revenge any national insult or injury. The Prince of Peace, under whose stainless banner we rally, came not to destroy, but to save, even the worst of enemies. He has

left us an example, that we should follow his steps. 'God commendeth his love towards us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us.'

We conceive, that if a nation has no right to defend itself against foreign enemies, or to punish its invaders, no individual possesses that right in his own case. The unit cannot be of greater importance than the aggregate. If one man may take life, to obtain or defend his rights, the same license must necessarily be granted to communities, states, and nations. If he may use a dagger or a pistol, they may employ cannon, bomb-shells, land and naval forces. The means of self-preservation must be in proportion to the magnitude of interests at stake, and the number of lives exposed to destruction. But if a rapacious and blood-thirsty soldiery, thronging these shores from abroad, with intent to commit rapine and destroy life, may not be resisted by the people or magistracy, then ought no resistance to be offered to domestic troublers of the public peace, or of private security. No obligation can rest upon Americans to regard foreigners as more sacred in their persons than themselves, or to give them a monopoly of wrong-doing with impunity.

The dogma, that all the governments of the world are approvingly ordained of God, and that the powers that be in the United States, in Russia, in Turkey, are in accordance with His will, is not less absurd than impious. It makes the impartial Author of human freedom and equality, unequal and tyrannical. It cannot be affirmed, that the powers that be, in any nation, are actuated by the spirit, or guided by the example of Christ, in the treatment of enemies: therefore, they cannot be agreeable to the will of God: and, therefore, their overthrow, by a spiritual regeneration of their subjects, is inevitable.

We register our testimony, not only against all wars, whether offensive or defensive, but all preparations for war;

DOCUMENT 4

- 92 -

SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS OF

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

against every naval ship, every arsenal, every fortification; against the militia system and a standing army; against all military chieftains and soldiers; against all monuments commemorative of victory over a foreign foe, all trophies won in battle, all celebrations in honor of military or naval exploits; against all appropriations for the defence of a nation by force and arms on the part of any legislative body; against every edict of government, requiring of its subjects military service. Hence, we deem it unlawful to bear arms, or to hold a military office.

As every human government is upheld by physical strength, and its laws are enforced virtually at the point of the bayonet, we cannot hold any office which imposes upon its incumbent the obligation to do right, on pain of imprisonment or death. We therefore voluntarily exclude ourselves from every legislative and judicial body, and repudiate all human politics, worldly honors, and stations of authority. If we cannot occupy a seat in the legislature, or on the bench, neither can we elect others to act as our substitutes in any such capacity.

It follows, that we cannot sue any man at law, to compel him by force to restore any thing which he may have wrongfully taken from us or others; but, if he has seized our coat, we shall surrender up our cloak, rather than subject him to punishment.

We believe that the penal code of the old covenant, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, has been abrogated by Jesus Christ; and that, under the new covenant, the forgiveness, instead of the punishment of enemies, has been enjoined upon all his disciples, in all cases whatsoever. To extort money from enemies, or set them upon a pillory, or cast them into prison, or hang them upon a gallows, is obviously not to forgive, but to take retribution. 'Vengeance is mine—I will repay, saith the Lord.'

The history of mankind is crowded with evidences, proving that physical coercion is not adapted to moral regeneration; that the sinful disposition of man can be subdued only by love; that evil can be exterminated from the earth only by goodness; that it is not safe to rely upon an arm of flesh, upon man, whose breath is in his nostrils, to preserve us from harm; that there is great security in being gentle, harmless, long-suffering, and abundant in mercy; that it is only the meek who shall inherit the earth, for the violent, who resort to the sword, shall perish with the sword. Hence, as a measure of sound policy, of safety to property, life, and liberty, of public quietude and private enjoyment, as well as on the ground of allegiance to Him who is King of kings, and Lord of lords, we cordially adopt the non-resistance principle; being confident that it provides for all possible consequences, will ensure all things needful to us, is armed with omnipotent power, and must ultimately triumph over every assailing force.

We advocate no jacobinical doctrines. The spirit of jacobinism is the spirit of retaliation, violence and murder. It neither fears God, nor regards man. We would be filled with the spirit of Christ. If we abide by our principles, it is impossible for us to be disorderly, or plot treason, or participate in any evil work: we shall submit to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake; obey all the requirements of government, except such as we deem contrary to the commands of the gospel; and in no wise resist the operation of law, except by meekly submitting to the penalty of disobedience.

But, while we shall adhere to the doctrines of non-resistance and passive submission to enemies, we purpose, in a moral and spiritual sense, to speak and act boldly in the cause of God; to assail iniquity in high places and in low places; to apply our principles to all existing civil, political,

- 93 -

legal, and ecclesiastical institutions; and to hasten the time, when the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever.

It appears to us a self-evident truth, that, whatever the gospel is designed to destroy at any period of the world, being contrary to it, ought now to be abandoned. If, then, the time is predicted, when swords shall be beaten into plough-shares, and spears into pruning-hooks, and men shall not learn the art of war any more, it follows that all who manufacture, sell, or wield those deadly weapons, do thus array themselves against the peaceful dominion of the Son of God on earth.

Having thus briefly, but frankly, stated our principles and purposes, we proceed to specify the measures we propose to adopt, in carrying our object into effect.

We expect to prevail through the foolishness of preaching—striving to commend ourselves unto every man's conscience, in the sight of God. From the press, we shall promulgate our sentiments as widely as practicable. We shall endeavor to secure the co-operation of all persons, of whatever name or sect. The triumphant progress of the cause of Temperance and of Abolition in our land, through the instrumentality of benevolent and voluntary associations, encourages us to combine our own means and efforts for the promotion of a still greater cause. Hence we shall employ lecturers, circulate tracts and publications, form societies, and petition our state and national governments in relation to the subject of Universal Peace. It will be our leading object to devise ways and means for effecting a radical change in the views, feelings and practices of society respecting the sinfulness of war, and the treatment of enemies.

In entering upon the great work before us, we are not unmindful that, in its prosecution, we may be called to test

our sincerity, even as in a fiery ordeal. It may subject us to insult, outrage, suffering, yea, even death itself. We anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, calumny. Tumults may arise against us. The ungodly and violent, the proud and pharisaical, the ambitious and tyrannical, principalities and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places, may combine to crush us. So they treated the Messiah, whose example we are humbly striving to imitate. If we suffer with him, we know that we shall reign with him. We shall not be afraid of their terror, neither be troubled. Our confidence is in the Lord Almighty, not in man. Having withdrawn from human protection, what can sustain us but that faith which overcomes the world? We shall not think it strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try us, as though some strange thing had happened unto us; but rejoice, inasmuch as we are partakers of Christ's sufferings. Wherefore, we commit the keeping of our souls to God, in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator. 'For every one that forsakes houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for Christ's sake, shall receive an hundred fold, and shall inherit everlasting life.'

Firmly relying upon the certain and universal triumph of the sentiments contained in this Declaration, however formidable may be the opposition arrayed against them, in solemn testimony of our faith in their divine origin, we hereby affix our signatures to it; commending it to the reason and conscience of mankind, giving ourselves no anxiety as to what may befall us, and resolving, in the strength of the Lord God, calmly and meekly to abide the issue.

3. William Lloyd Garrison (1805-1879)

William Lloyd Garrison ²² wurde in Newburyport, Massachusetts, am 12. Dezember 1805 als Sohn des Segelmeisters und Trinkers Abijah Garrison geboren, der 1814 starb, zumindest nicht mehr gesehen wurde. Garrisons älterer Bruder James arbeitete in einer Schuhfabrik, seine jüngere Schwester Maria starb 1822, seine Mutter ein Jahr darauf. Sein Bruder James starb 1842, nach seiner Navy-Zeit ein hoffnungsloser Alkoholiker. Als ein Kind ging Garrison mit einem Eimer von einer Haustür zur anderen, um für seine Familie die Überreste der Reichen zu ergattern. Er lernte Drucker und mochte seine Arbeit. Garrisons Haus, das er mit seiner Frau Helen und seinen sieben Kindern bewohnte, war ein Anziehungspunkt für jede Sorte von Radikalen, weil Garrison auch für Frauenrechte einstand, gegen Alkohol, Tabak und Kriege eintrat. Er war ein Städter, mochte Menschenmengen und war ein todernter Mann ohne Sinn für Humor. Als er am 1. Januar 1831 die erste Ausgabe des 'Liberator' mit den unterschiedenen Worten begann,

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ... I am in earnest - I will not equivocate - I will not excuse - I will not retreat a single inch - And I will be heard."

war er ein Jahr zuvor schon 49 Tage im Gefängnis gewesen, weil er einen Mann zusammengestaucht hatte, der von seiner Heimatstadt in Massachusetts eine Ladung Sklaven nach Louisiana brachte.

Seine berühmte Bemerkung über die Verfassung als "einen Vertrag mit dem Tod und einer Übereinkunft mit der Hölle", 1843, wurde oft zitiert, aber nur wenige wissen, daß die Friedensversammlung, die er am 21. September 1838 in Boston einberief und dominierte, wo sich 200 Delegierte auf die Haltung eines christlichen Anarchismus einigten, diese Position klar umschrieb. Sie erklärten, daß jede menschliche Regierung antichristlich ist, und verpflichteten sich, sich von jedem legislativen und judikativen Organ freiwillig auszuschließen und menschliche Politik, weltliche Ehrungen und den Rang von Autoritäten abzulehnen. Diese Deklaration war es, die Tolstoi ²³ nach der Lektüre zu einem "Tolstoliner"

werden ließ, obwohl er sie erst spät nach Garrisons Statement gelesen hat. Garrison blieb seinen anarchistischen Ideen treu, weil er sich weigerte, für Lincoln oder einen anderen Abolitionisten zu stimmen, und weil er den angebotenen Sitz im US-Senat, nachdem Senator Sumner aus Massachusetts 1874 gestorben war, ablehnte. Garrison mag physische Gewalt abgelehnt haben, was sich in seiner konsequenten Kriegsgegnerschaft, seinem Plädoyer für die Abschaffung der Todesstrafe und seinem Eintreten für die Emanzipation der Sklaven ausdrückte; er zögerte jedoch niemals, die herrschende Ungleichheit mit Worten anzugreifen.

William Lloyd Garrison ist nicht so bekannt wie Emerson oder Thoreau. Er war kein Philosoph, eher ein Mann der Aktion und klaren Verstandes. In einer Zeit von Kompromiß und Zwiesprache war er das genaue Gegenteil: ein Mann von Integrität. Er war, genauso wie Thoreau, jedoch nicht aus dem Trittbretten geraten, sondern "horchte auf einen anderen Trommler".



William Lloyd Garrison (1805-1879)

EVILS
OF
THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

BY C. K. WHIPPLE.

What, ALL war wrong?
Yes, says the Peace man.
Then the war which gained American Independence, our glorious Revolutionary war, was wrong!
It was.
Then, sir, tell me this, if you can. Where would our great, prosperous and happy country have been at this moment, but for that war?
I will tell you. It would have been more prosperous, more moral, and happier than it now is.
You cannot surely believe such an absurdity. Wonderfully prosperous and happy we should be, no doubt, remaining to this hour under the tyranny of Great Britain!
There is your mistake, my friend. You take it for granted, without examination, that we

could never have freed ourselves from British domination, except by war; "Now, I say, that we should have attained independence as effectually, as speedily, as honorably, and under very much more favorable circumstances, if we had not resorted to arms.

Very well: now show me how it could have been done.

Our fathers might have accomplished this object, great as it was, merely by taking the course which the Society of Friends took to maintain their rights, and by which, though a small and despised body of men, they compelled the English and American governments to recognize and protect those rights. This course consisted of three things. 1st. A steady and quiet refusal to comply with unjust requisitions; 2d, public declarations of their grievances, and demands for redress; and 3d, patient endurance of whatever violence was used to compel their submission.

We have every reason to expect that steady perseverance in a course like this will ultimately succeed, wherever the cause is just. Because "moral might is always on the side of right;" and because governments are composed of men, and not of brutes.

Let us suppose, for a moment, that our fathers had acted in the manner I have mentioned,

and see what the various stages of the process would have been. In every part of the contest, they strictly adhere to the principles above stated. They carefully refrain from violence, constantly remonstrate against the oppressive acts, and persevere in passive resistance. When the taxed tea is brought to their shores, they universally abstain from the use of it. It lies undemanded in the ware-houses, and thus the plan of taxation, as far as that article goes, is as completely defeated as it could have been by violence and robbery. When the stamped paper is taxed, they carry on their business without it. This involves great difficulty, inconvenience, and embarrassment of business. No matter! They are patriots, and willing to suffer for their country; and the evils thus endured are infinitely less than the calamities of war. If direct taxes are laid upon them, they quietly, but universally, refuse payment. Their property is seized and sold to raise the tax. They patiently submit to this evil, for their country's sake, and rejoice that it is so slight in comparison with war. Imprisonment, insult, and abuse of every kind, are added to enforce the oppressive acts of parliament. Still no violence is used, either for defense or retaliation; but petitions, remonstrances, delegations are multiplied on the occasions for them recur

When all these measures are found to fail of success, they unite in solemn assembly to make to the world a declaration of their wrongs, and pronounce their formal separation from, and independence of, the British nation. This movement excites new and more violent demonstrations of hostility on the part of the British functionaries. The signers of the Declaration of Independence, and the officers of the new government, are seized and sent to England to take their trial for high treason. No opposition is made, no defense attempted by the patriot leaders. They are ready to lay down their lives in support of the liberty of their country, and they rejoice to meet the danger in this form, in which they can explain and defend their principles, rather than submit their cause to the decision of brute force on the battle-field, where their own fall would involve the destruction of thousands of their countrymen. They are tried by the constituted authorities of England, and calmly avow and defend their revolutionary measures. They are found guilty, sentenced to death, and (for we will suppose the worst,) actually executed as traitors. But their defense, their bold and clear explanation of the principles of liberty, their new views of the relative rights and duties of a government and its subjects, are in the mean time eagerly read and pondered by all the British nation. And while this good seed is taking root in the hearts of the people, the source of power, let us return to the United States, and see what the revolu-

tionists, thus suddenly deprived of their leaders, are doing.

* As soon as that noble band of pioneers is taken from them, they choose others to administer the affairs of the new nation. These, too, are seized as rebels. They immediately elect more. What shall the colonial officers do against such pertinacious, yet unresisting opponents? The whole population avow their determination to be free. The whole population offer themselves for punishment. The prisons are filled to overflowing with rebels; yet they have accomplished nothing, for every man they meet is a rebel. What is to be done? Shall they send for an army? That is needless, for their present force is unresisted. But suppose an army comes. They can do nothing but take prisoners and destroy property, and perhaps execute a few persons; for I take it for granted that they would not attempt to put to death the great mass of the population. All that they do to enforce obedience renders them more odious to the people, and nothing is effected towards destroying the principles of liberty. Intelligence arrives of the death of their leaders in England. This adds fuel to the fire. Their determination, before strong, is now irrevocable. On the other hand, the news of their measures, their pertinacity, and their non-resistance, is constantly going to the people of England, a people already moved to sympathy by the constancy and heroism of the patriot leaders, and already half persuaded by the arguments of those leaders that their cause is just. Can it be imagined, is it consistent with the attributes of

human nature to suppose, that such a persevering and undaunted defense of principles so just would fail of working conviction in the hearts of a people like the English? Even were it possible for parliament to persevere in the attempt to subjugate such opponents by force, the whole English people, the whole civilized world, indeed, would cry out shame upon them, and force them to abandon the design, and finally to recognize the independence of the Americans.

It follows as a necessary inference from the principles before alluded to, namely, that moral might is always on the side of justice, and that governors and legislators are never destitute of the feelings and sympathies of men, that firm perseverance in such a course as I have described *must* have resulted in the acknowledgment of American Independence; and probably that result would have occurred in much less time than was occupied by the revolutionary war. This will be made perfectly clear by looking for a moment at the reason why Great Britain at last gave up the contest. Did we conquer that mighty nation? Not at all! Still less did they conquer us! Why then did not the war continue? Simply and solely because Great Britain was tired of fighting! absolutely wearied out by contention and its necessary consequences! Would not a similar pertinacity in time produce the same effect without the use of physical force? I say, we should *certainly* in this way have attained our Independence.

We will now suppose this object effected.

Let us see what evils the pacific course has produced, in comparison with the evils actually resulting from the revolutionary war.

1st. **LOSS OF LIFE.** We will make a liberal estimate, and allow that one thousand persons have been executed as traitors, after deliberate trial and sentence; and that ten thousand (men, women, and children,) have been slain, unre-sisting, by the exasperated British soldiers. Upon this enormously exaggerated supposition we have eleven thousand lives lost. But it is computed that a hundred thousand Americans perished during the eight years of the revolutionary war. We have, then, a direct saving of eighty-nine thousand lives of American citizens by pacific measures. This alone should decide the question in favor of peace. But we have other considerations.

2d. **EXPENSE, DIRECT AND INDIRECT.** Commerce, trade, and manufactures have been to a great extent suspended, and a large amount of property has been wantonly destroyed by the devastations of the enemy. But all this would have happened to a still greater extent in war; and the non-resisting policy has saved us the enormous expense of supporting an army and navy, and of building and equipping fortifications. The direct expense of the revolutionary war to our country is estimated, by Pitkin, at \$135,000,000. The military operations since that war, to be more than \$300,000,000. All this at least, \$135,000,000, we should have saved by the pacific policy.

3d. **THE INTERESTS OF MORALITY AND RELIGION.** If a whole people have such a sense of

their duty to God as to refuse to protect themselves by means which he has forbidden, they will not be likely to neglect either to recognize his hand or implore his protection, throughout the struggle. The Sabbath has been strictly observed, and the supplications of the nation have arisen more ardently than ever to Him who holds the hearts of kings in his hand. The mass of the people having their minds intently fixed on the great struggle between liberty and oppression, and anxiously watching the contest of faith, love, patience and hope, against carnal weapons, have been strongly withheld both from trifling amusements and vicious indulgences. At the close of the struggle, therefore, the interests of religion, and morality are, more flourishing than at its commencement.

But on the other hand, look at the long train of moral evils which crowd in the track of our revolutionary war. *Intemperance*, which has now become so extensively the disgrace of our land, unquestionably had its origin in the daily rations of spirit served to the revolutionary army and navy. *Sabbath-breaking*, was abhorred by the descendants of the pious pilgrims, until war, which knows no Sabbath, broke over the appropriate employments of that day, and the reverence due to it. *Licentiousness*, the proverbial inmate of every camp, and *profaneness*, a vice almost universal among soldiers, have fearfully increased since their toleration in the revolutionary army and navy. Then the whole spirit and practice of war produce a slight estimation of the value of human life. Habits of plunder destroy that regard which we naturally

feel for the sacredness of private property. The absolute and unconditional obedience demanded by military superiors, takes away the sense of individual responsibility to God. In short, war is permitted to suspend all the rules of morality.

The loss of \$100,000,000 and even the destruction of 100,000 lives, appear but trifling evils, in comparison with the enormous deprivation of moral habits and religious principles which the revolutionary war has produced in this nation.

The considerations above mentioned entirely satisfy me not only that we should have gained our independence, but that we should have been more prosperous, better and happier than we now are, had there been no revolutionary war.

So much for *positive* results of the non-resistance plan. It may now be well to look at the subject in another aspect, and see what results *would not have taken place*, had our ancestors been magnanimous enough, honorable enough, CHRISTIAN enough, to refuse to fight with Great Britain.

Having gained their independence in the mode above mentioned, most assuredly THEY WOULD NOT HAVE CONTINUED TO HOLD THEIR FELLOW CREATURES IN SLAVERY.

Upon this point we cannot be mistaken. Men who had been led by Christian principles to regard the rights and abstain from the destruction of their *enemies*, could not have deliberately pursued a system of oppression and fraud against their former fellow-sufferers. Men

who had so strongly demonstrated their belief in the doctrine, that the whole human race are alike entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, could not have systematically manufactured and used whips, chains, handcuffs and branding-irons. They would not have kept back the hire of the laborer; they would not have taken away the key of knowledge; they would neither have denied the theory nor shrunk from the practice of immediate emancipation. They would certainly have been, in truth as well as in pretense, a free people.

Again. They would not have proceeded to defraud, corrupt, and exterminate the original inhabitants of this country. They would neither have deprived the Indians of their lands, nor supplied them with liquid fire; nor broken their faith plighted in solemn treaties, nor expended the revenues of the country in making war upon them. How much treasure, how much blood, how many precious lives, how many immortal souls, might they have saved!

Lastly. They would not have admitted the system of violence and retaliation as a constituent part of their own government. Having forgiven their foreign foes, they would have pursued the like Christian course towards every domestic enemy. Having conquered by suffering in the great contest between nations, they would have trusted to the same means for overcoming all minor evils. So far from depending on the gallows, the prison, the stocks, the whipping-post, for peace and quietness, they would utterly have rejected all such barbarous instruments, and substituted for them.

love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, hope, patience, meekness. And, doing thus, they would have found the word of God a sure reliance; the whole armor of God a safe protection.

DOES GOD ORDAIN HUMAN GOVERNMENTS?

Are the present governments of the United States, England, Russia, Turkey, and China, ordained of God?

Yes!—just as the government of Saul was ordained of God, who nevertheless mercifully remonstrated with the Israelites against having a government of their own!—just as the government of Nero was ordained of God!—just as the governments of Herod, Julian the Apostate, Mahomet, and the Popes of Rome, were ordained of God!—and in no other sense.

Human government is not *approvingly* ordained of God. It is generally supposed to be so, mainly in consequence of an erroneous interpretation of the thirteenth chapter of Romans. Courteous reader,—do not reject this without examination; and do not believe it without evidence. Read for yourself, deliberately and repeatedly, from Romans xii. 9 to xiii, 11, and you will find the following proposition true:

The apostle Paul, in referring to human government here, designed not at all to maintain its rightfulness, nor sanction its claims; but only to inculcate upon the subject the Christian duty of non-resistance, and patient submission

to such injuries as the government might inflict.

Observe the connection. The apostle has just been insisting upon the general duty of forbearance and submission to injuries. "Bless them which persecute you." "Recompense to no man evil for evil." "If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men." "What if it be not possible, but some continue to injure you; what then? "Avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath." Whose wrath? May not this mean that we should appeal to the civil government for redress? Not so! It is written, Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord." Suffer your injuries patiently, and leave their redress to God.

While he is thus speaking on submission to injuries in general, his thoughts naturally recur to the persecutions and oppressions of the heathen government under which he lives; the most barbarous, bloody and iniquitous government that ever scourged this world; so bad indeed, that without some special direction, the Christians of that day might have considered themselves authorized to attempt to overthrow it by force. He immediately applies the same principle to this vicious, idolatrous, anti-Christian government. "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power, but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God." He not only suffers them to exist, but has expressly ordained them a scourge of the wickedness of men; or, as the apostle afterwards expresses it, "He is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that do-

eth evil." Yet "he is the minister of God to thee for good," as all God's dispensations are, to the true Christian. "But, if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain." He has the power and the disposition to punish all those that offend him.—"Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath's sake, but also for conscience' sake;" not only to avoid the vengeance of the ruler, but also in obedience to God, who forbids violent resistance.

Again; this whole exhortation is addressed to subjects, and not a word of it to governors! It takes for granted that all the Christians to whom it shall come, will be subjects; for the apostle seems not once to have suspected that a Christian could be a prince, a ruler or a magistrate; that a follower of the meek and lowly Jesus could ever seek to occupy those high places of worldly honor. He supposes, of course, that they are subjects, and urges them to obey the laws of God, because he is their rightful sovereign, and submit to the laws of men, for the sake of peace. And yet, by a monstrous perversion of the apostle's meaning, he is represented as asserting the just authority of human governors: that is to say, of every ambitious man who has ever succeeded in placing himself on the throne. For this phrase (human government) must not be restricted in its meaning to our own mode of administering public affairs, nor to any selection of comparatively good governments; but must include every monarchy, aristocracy and democracy that has ever existed in the world since the apostle's

time. For, what is human government, but allowing a man, or a set of men, to *do as he or they think best*? The Sultan of Turkey thinks it best immediately to strangle the man who offends him. If human government is approved of God, this is approved of God. Napoleon thought it best to conquer the nations of Europe. God approved that, if he approved of human governments at all. The Senate of France, in the revolution, thought it best to renounce religion and abolish public worship. If God ever approves human governments, he was pleased with these acts. But he never approves of human governments at all, nor can any recognition of their rightfulness be found in the New Testament. On the contrary, the followers of Christ are plainly forbidden to occupy or desire stations in human governments which give them power and authority over others. Listen to the teaching of Jesus on this point. Matt. xviii: 1—1. "At the same time came the disciples unto Jesus, saying, Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven? And Jesus called a little child unto him and set him in the midst of them, and said, Verily I say unto you, except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven." Luke xxii: 24—26. "And there was also a strife among them, which of them should be accounted the greatest. And he said unto them, The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise authority upon

them are called benefactors. But ye shall not be so; but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief as he that doth serve." Mark x: 43-45.

"Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and their great ones exercise authority upon them. But so shall it not be among you; but whosoever will be great among you, shall be your minister; and whosoever of you will be the chiefest, shall be servant of all. For even the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many."

Now reflect a moment upon these instructions of Jesus, and answer, if you can, how his followers can be Generals or colonels in the army, or commanders and captains in the navy? How can they be commanders-in-chief of the army and navy, as the President of the United States and the Governors of the States are? If they cannot consistently hold these positions themselves, how can they assist in putting others into such offices? How can they uphold a state of society which causes and perpetuates a necessity for such offices? "They cannot do these things consistently," you say; "but how can they do otherwise?"

Let them join the earnest few who have commenced a movement for organizing a *Free Social State*; a state in which the weak combine to help each other, and the strong take the heaviest burdens upon themselves. A state in which the rich *earn* their own bread, while the poor never slave in body for want of food, or in mind for lack of means to obtain knowledge.

A state where no laws can be enacted or enforced which are inconsistent with the Higher Law. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." A state, in fine, where "the absolute sovereignty of divine principles over all human beings, combinations, associations, governments, institutions, laws, customs, habits, practices, actions, opinions, intentions, and affections," is asserted and endeavored to be carried out.

Such a state has not merely been dreamed of. A hundred souls are now engaged in endeavoring to realize it. Thirteen years ago, a few persons of limited means made a commencement on a small scale, in the town of Milford, Mass. And although we have had to encounter many difficulties and trials, we have been prospered through them, until now we feel strong enough to take more energetic measures to spread our principles amongst men. Not that we would say that we have already attained to our ideal, even on a small scale; but that the success we have already met with has more than rewarded our exertions. And that we feel encouraged to make increased efforts, not only to actualize among ourselves, but to disseminate among others, a true Practical Christian Socialism. We feel that our cause has claims on every well wisher to mankind. Especially has it claims upon those who are called Christians. For surely if true Christianity is ever to prevail amongst men, all the war, oppression, vice and crime now tolerated even in the Church must be done away. True Christians will be known by their fruits; and men, seeing their good works, will be induced to glorify the Great Father.

4. Adin Ballou (1803-1890)

Adin Ballou war ein weiterer Reformier des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts, der im wesentlichen zur theoretischen Arbeit beitrug, allerdings auch eine der ersten amerikanischen utopischen Gemeinschaften in Hopedale²⁴⁾, Massachusetts (1841-1856) gründete. Bei der Versammlung der New England Non-Resistance Society 1839 hielt er einen Vortrag über "Non-Resistance in Relation to Human Governments"²⁵⁾, dessen erweiterte gedruckte Fassung unter dem Titel "Christian Non-Resistance"²⁶⁾ hier exzerpiert vorliegt. Ballous Buch enthält viele jener Ideen, die von Thoreaus bekannteren Essays bekannt gemacht wurden. Es schließt mit interessanten Spekulationen über Gesellschaften ohne Regierung, in denen der Einfluß der Neuengland-Städtetreffen und der Bewegung utopischer Kommunen gleichermaßen wiederzuerkennen sind. 1860 veröffentlichte Ballou über die Community Press von Hopedale einen Diskurs über "Christian Non-Resistance in Extreme Cases". Kurz vor seinem Tod im Alter von 87 Jahren erörterte er in einem faszinierenden Briefwechsel mit dem Grafen Leo Tolstoi²⁷⁾ die Gewaltfrage. Ballou hatte eine Übersetzung von Tolstois Buch "Mein Glaube" gelesen, das erstmals 1884 in Rußland erschienen war. "Found many good things in it on ethics", vertraute Ballou im Februar 1886 seinem Tagebuch an, "with here and there an indiscriminating extremism in the application of Christ's precepts against resisting evil with evil. ... But on theology found him wild, crude and mystically absurd. ... So it seems to me in this first perusal. But I will read further and think him out more thoroughly." Jedoch blieb Ballou fortwährend verwirrt von der extremen Buchstäblichkeit, mit der Tolstoi das Gebot "Widerstehet nicht dem Bösen" interpretierte, "making it inculcate complete passivity not only toward wrong-doers but toward persons rendered insane and dangerous by bad habits, inflamed passions, or unbalanced minds, to the exclusion of non-injurious and beneficent force under any and every circumstance of life."

Vier Jahre später, im Juni 1889, sandte Ballous Freund und Nachfolger, der Geistliche Lewis G. Wilson, der daraufhin der Pastor der Unitariergemeinde von Hopedale wurde, Tolsto

mehrere der Schriften Ballous über Frieden und gesellschaftlich-politische Probleme. Es dauerte nicht lange, bis die beiden alten Männer eine lebhaftige Korrespondenz aufnahmen, die allein durch Ballous Tod im Jahr darauf abgebrochen wurde. Tolstoi, der sich zuvor des Pionierwerks seines amerikanischen Vorläufers nicht bewußt gewesen war, war äußerst dankbar, viele seiner unorthodoxen Meinungen so detailliert wiederzufinden. "Zwei ihrer Traktate", schrieb er Ballou im März 1890, "werden ins Russische übersetzt, unter Gläubigen empfohlen und von ihnen zutiefst geschätzt." Insbesondere Ballous Einschränkung von strikt gewaltfreier Aktion unter Einschluß eines gewissen Maßes an physischem Zwang jedoch fand Tolstois Widerspruch: "The Master made no concessions and we can make none," gab Tolstoi zu verstehen. "A true Christian will always prefer to be killed by a madman rather than deprive him of his liberty." Diese Auffassung fand Ballous heftigen Widerspruch und der Kern der Debatte war zentriert in der Frage nach der Annäherung von Idee und Wirklichkeit, also möglichen Kompromissen entweder in der Theorie oder in der Praxis. Peter Brock endet in seiner ausführlichen Wiedergabe dieses bemerkenswerten amerikanisch-russischen Dialogs im 19. Jahrhundert, was eine mögliche Versöhnung der unterschiedlichen gedanklichen Ansätze anging, skeptisch:

"Even if Ballou's death had not cut short the dialogue, it is doubtful whether the New Englander would ever have become a convinced Tolstoyan. The gap between theory and practice that is typical not only of Tolstoy but of much of Russian revolutionary thought was alien to the American nonresistant communalist, for all the utopianism he and his fellows exhibited, had at least one foot firmly grounded on the rocky New England soil."²⁸⁾

DOKUMENT 6



Adin Ballou

CHRISTIAN NON-RESISTANCE
IN ALL ITS IMPORTANT BEARINGS

ILLUSTRATED AND DEFENDED

BY

ADIN BALLOU

Whoso readeth let him understand

SECOND EDITION

ALSO

AN APPENDIX—In Two Parts

By WILLIAM S. HEYWOOD

1. Biographical Sketch of the Author
2. The Higher Patriotism

UNIVERSAL PEACE UNION
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
1910

CHRISTIAN NON-RESISTANCE.

CHAPTER I.

Explanatory Definitions.

Different kinds of Non-Resistance.—The term Non-Resistance.—The term Force, etc.—The term Injury, etc.—The term Christian Non-Resistance; its derivation.—The key text of Non-Resistance.—Necessary applications of Non-Resistance.—What a Christian Non-Resistant cannot consistently do.—The principle and sub-principle of Non-Resistance.—The conclusion.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF NON-RESISTANCE.

What is Christian Non-Resistance? It is that original, peculiar kind of non-resistance, which was enjoined and exemplified by Jesus Christ, according to the Scriptures of the New Testament. Are there other kinds of non-resistance? Yes. 1. Philosophical non-resistance of various hue; which sets at naught divine revelation, disregards the authority of Jesus Christ as a divine teacher, excludes all strictly religious considerations, and deduces its conclusions from the light of nature, the supposed fitness of things and the expediency of consequences. 2. Sentimental non-resistance, also of various hue; which is

CHRISTIAN NON-RESISTANCE.

held to be the spontaneous dictate of man's higher sentiments in the advanced stages of his development, transcending all special divine revelations, positive instructions, ratiocination and considerations of expediency. 3. Necessitous non-resistance, commonly expressed in the phrase, "passive obedience and non-resistance," imperiously preached by despots to their subjects, as their indispensable duty and highest virtue; also recommended by worldly prudence to the victims of oppression when unable to offer successful resistance to their injurers. With this last mentioned kind Christian non-resistance has nothing in common. With philosophical and sentimental non-resistance it holds much in common; being, in fact, the divine original of which they are human adulterations, and embracing all the good of both without the evils of either. This treatise is an illustration and defence of Christian non-resistance, properly so designated.

THE TERM NON-RESISTANCE.

The term non-resistance itself next demands attention. It requires very considerable qualifications. I use it as applicable only to the conduct of human beings towards human beings—not towards the inferior animals, inanimate things, or satanic influences. If an opponent, willing to make me appear ridiculous, should say—"You are a non-resistant, and therefore must be passive to all assailing beings, things and influences, to satan, man, beast, bird, serpent, insect, rocks, timbers, fires, floods, heat, cold and storm,"—I should answer, not so; my non-resistance relates solely to conduct between human beings. This is an important limitation of the term. But I go further, and disclaim using the term to express absolute passiv-

CHRISTIAN NON-RESISTANCE.

ity, even towards human beings. I claim the right to offer the utmost moral resistance, not sinful, of which God has made me capable, to every manifestation of evil among mankind. Nay, I hold it my duty to offer such moral resistance. In this sense my very non-resistance becomes the highest kind of resistance to evil. This is another important qualification of the term. But I do not stop here. There is an uninjurious, benevolent physical force. There are cases in which it would not only be allowable, but in the highest degree commendable, to restrain human beings by this kind of force. Thus, maniacs, the insane, the delirious sick, ill-natured children, the intellectually or morally *non-compos mentis*, the intoxicated and the violently passionate, are frequently disposed to perpetrate outrages and inflict injuries, either on themselves or others, which ought to be kindly and un injuriously prevented by the muscular energy of their friends. And in cases where deadly violence is inflicted with deliberation and malice afore-thought, one may nobly throw his body as a temporary barrier between the destroyer and his helpless victim, choosing to die in that position, rather than be a passive spectator. Thus another most important qualification is given to the term non-resistance. It is not non-resistance to animals and inanimate things, nor to satan, but only to human beings. Nor is it moral non-resistance to human beings, but chiefly physical. Nor is it physical non-resistance to all human beings, under all circumstances, but only so far as to abstain totally from the infliction of personal injury, as a means of resistance. It is simply non-resistance of injury with injury—evil with evil.

Will the opposer exclaim—"This is no non-resist-

CHRISTIAN NON-RESISTANCE.

ance at all; the term is mischosen?" I answer, No said the old opposers of the Temperance Reformation, respecting the term "total abstinence." They began by insisting that the term must be taken unqualifiedly, and pronounced total abstinence an absurdity. It was replied—"we limit its application to the use of ardent spirits and intoxicating liquors." "Then you exclude these substances from the arts and from external applications, do you?" rejoined the opposers. "No," replied the advocates of the cause, "we mean total abstinence from the internal use—the drinking of those liquors." "But are they not sometimes necessary for medical purposes?" said the opposers, "and then may they not be taken internally?" "Certainly, with proper precautions," was the reply; "we mean by total abstinence, precisely this and no more—the entire disuse of all ardent spirits and intoxicating liquors, as a beverage." "That," exclaimed the objectors, (despairing of a *reductio ad absurdum*), "is no total abstinence at all; the term is mischosen!" Nevertheless, it was a most significant term. It had in it an almost talismanic power. It expressed better than any other just what was meant, and wrought a prodigious change in public opinion and practice. The term non-resistance is equally significant and talismanic. It signifies total abstinence from all resistance of injury with injury. It is thus far non-resistance—no farther.

The almost universal opinion and practice of mankind has been on the side of resistance of injury with injury. It has been held justifiable and necessary, for individuals and nations to inflict any amount of injury which would effectually resist a supposed greater injury. The consequence has been universal suspicion,

defiance, armament, violence, torture and bloodshed. The earth has been rendered a vast slaughter-field—a theatre of reciprocal cruelty and vengeance—strewn with human skulls, reeking with human blood, resounding with human groans, and steeped with human tears. Men have become drunk with mutual revenge; and they who could inflict the greatest amount of injury, in pretended defence of life, honor, rights, property, institutions and laws, have been idolized as the heroes and rightful sovereigns of the world. Non-resistance explodes this horrible delusion; announces the impossibility of overcoming evil with evil; and, making its appeal directly to all the injured of the human race, enjoins on them, in the name of God, never more to resist injury with injury; assuring them that by adhering to the law of love under all provocations, and scrupulously suffering wrong rather than inflicting it, they shall gloriously “overcome evil with good,” and exterminate all their enemies by turning them into faithful friends.

THE TERM FORCE, ETC.

Having thus qualified and defined the term non-resistance, it would seem proper to do the same with several others, frequently made use of in the discussion of our general subject. One of these terms is force. Non-resistance, like others, have been in the habit of using this, and similar terms too loosely; thereby giving needless occasion for misunderstanding, on the part of the uninformed, and misrepresentation on the part of interested opposers. The word force, is thus defined by Walker, “strength, vigor, might, violence, virtue, efficacy, validness, power of law, armament, warlike preparations, destiny, necessity,

fatal compulsion.” Now if we should use the word force, as the contrary of non-resistance, without any qualification, the idea would be conveyed that non-resistance was identical with absolute passivity, and that it necessarily excluded all kinds and degrees of force, under all circumstances whatsoever. The generic meaning of the term force, is “strength, vigor, might,” whether physical or moral. Thus we may speak of the force of love, the force of truth, the force of public opinion, the force of moral suasion, the force of non-resistance. Or we may speak of the force of gravitation, the force of cohesion the force of repulsion, &c. Or in relation to the muscular force of human beings, we may speak of benevolent force, kind force, uninjurious force; meaning thereby, various applications of muscular strength for the purpose of preventing human beings committing on themselves or others some injury; in which prevention no personal injury is inflicted, but real kindness and benefit done to all parties concerned. As non-resistance is not identical with absolute passivity but allows, implies and requires various kinds and degrees of moral and physical “strength,” according to circumstances, the term force must not be used as its converse unless it be with such qualifications, or in such a connection, as will give it some one of its conventional significations, so that it shall mean violence, warlike force, positive vengeance, destructive force—in fine, INJURIOUS FORCE. Injurious force of all kinds and degrees, between human beings, is incompatible with non-resistance. Such are the qualifications with which the term force will be used in this work.

The term moral force will be understood from the preceding remarks, as synonymous with moral power

—the effective influence of moral “strength, vigor, might.” Physical force, as distinguished from moral force, is a term used to express the idea of material force, the action of one body on another, compelling the weaker to yield to the stronger by mere animal strength or mechanical power. As moral force may be either good or evil, injurious or uninjurious, according to its kind, its object, its spirit, or its manner of application; so may physical force be good or evil, injurious or uninjurious, according to the same considerations. When a licentious man corrupts the mind of an innocent youth by bad examples, bad counsel, bad maxims, and other evil influences, in which there is no physical force, he exerts a most injurious moral force. He demoralizes the principles and habits of one, whom he ought to encourage and confirm in virtue. When a good man converts a sinner from the error of his ways, by good examples, counsels, maxims and other purifying influences, he exerts a most beneficial and salutary moral force. So when a man by physical force destroys or impairs the life, intellect, moral sentiment, or absolute welfare of a human being, he uses an injurious physical force. But in restraining a madman from outrage, or holding a delirious sick person on the bed, or compelling an ill-matured child to desist from tearing out the hair of a weaker brother, or interposing his body and muscular strength to prevent rape, or any similar act, wherein he does no one a real injury, while he renders to some or all the parties concerned a real benefit, he uses a rightful, uninjurious, physical force.

THE TERM INJURY.

I use this term in a somewhat peculiar sense, to sig-

nify any moral influence or physical force exerted by one human being upon another, the legitimate effect of which is to destroy or impair life, to destroy or impair the physical faculties, to destroy or impair the intellectual powers, to destroy, impair or pervert the moral and religious sentiment, or to destroy or impair the absolute welfare, all things considered, of the person on whom such influence or force is exerted, whether that person be innocent or guilty, harmless, or offensive, injurious or uninjurious, sane or insane, *compos mentis* or *non-compos*, adult or infant. Some of the lexicographers define an “injury” to be “hurt, harm or mischief, unjustly done to a person;” thereby implying that any hurt, harm or mischief done to one who deserves nothing better, or can be considered as justly liable to it, is no injury at all. I reject entirely every such qualification of the term. I hold an injury to be an injury, whether deserved or undeserved, whether intended or unintended, whether well meant or ill meant, determining the fact in accordance with the foregoing definition. But, says the inquirer—“what if it can be proved justifiable, by the law of God, to inflict personal injury in certain cases on the offensive and guilty?” Then, of course, it will be proved that non-resistance is a false doctrine. “What if it can be proved that the infliction of small injuries may prevent much greater evils?” Then it will be proved that we may do evil that good may come, which will forever keep the world just where it is. “What if it can be shown that the person who inflicts an injury honestly intended it for a benefit?” That will only prove him honestly mistaken, and so undeserving of blame. “What if a man inflicts death or any other injury, according to established human laws, but does

it without malice, or revenge, or any malevolent intent?" Then he does an anti-Christian act, without conscience as to its real nature. The act must be condemned; he must be credited for his motives; due allowance must be made for his misapprehension of duty; and light poured into his mind to superinduce a better conscience, that he may be brought to act the Christian part. But in no case must we lose sight of the inquiry, whether an injury has been done. And in determining this, we must not ask whether the recipient were guilty or innocent, whether the thing done were well or ill intended, whether it were done in a right or a wrong spirit. If it be in fact an injury, it is contrary to the doctrine of Christian non-resistance; and no person knowing it to be such can repeat it under any pretext whatsoever, without violating the law of God. This is the sense and signification of the terms injury, injurer, injurious, &c., as used in these pages. The objector may here interpose critical queries, with a view to test the soundness of my definition. He may suppose that a man's leg, hand or eye, is so diseased as to require amputation in order to save his life. But such member is one of his physical faculties, which must not be destroyed or impaired, because that would be an injury. I answer. The diseased member is already lost. The question is not whether the friendly surgeon shall destroy or impair it; but only whether he shall amputate it, in order to preserve the life and remaining faculties. No injury, but an absolute benefit is proposed. This case is clear. But suppose the minister of the law is ordered to amputate a sound leg, hand or eye, as a punishment, or for an example to deter others from the commission of crime. This is absolute injury, done

under good pretexts indeed, but on that account none the less an injury. Again, a child dangerously sick requires some medical application, very disagreeable, yet indispensable to his recovery, which can only be applied by physical force. Or an insane adult is in the same circumstances. Or a person infected with hydrophobia, and subject to terrible paroxysms of the disease, needs to be confined; and yet for want of judgment, even in his intervals, refuses to be. Or a man subject to violent impulses of propensity or passion, rendering him dangerous to all around him when excited, needs to be excluded from general society, or otherwise watched and restrained by keepers in order to prevent serious mischief to others; and yet he resents and resists all entreaties to submit to such restriction. Or a wicked man is exceedingly alarmed, disturbed and offended by a truthful exposure of his iniquitous proceedings, or by the faithful remonstrances and rebukes of some good man. Now in all such cases the will must be crossed, the personal freedom abridged, and the feelings pained. Must it not be an injury to coerce, restrain, expose and reprove such persons, however necessary to their and the public good, and however kindly executed? Is it not generally more intolerable to be crossed in one's will, and wounded in one's feelings, than to be beaten, maimed and otherwise maltreated? Answer. It is not man's imaginations, thoughts and feelings, that determine what is or is not injurious to him. Love itself may "heap coals of fire on a man's head." Truth may torment his mind. The most benevolent restraint may be painful to his feelings. He may be made, for a while, quite unhappy by crossing his evil will. He may prefer to be smitten and mutilated, rather than

be exposed in his secret iniquities, or endure the faithful reproof of the upright. Such persons often prefer an injury to a benefit. They are not, for the time being, in a state of mind to understand and choose what is best for them. Therefore their wills, feelings and opinions are not the indices of their own good—much less that of others. Is it good for a capricious, obstinate child to be indulged in opposing a necessary medical application? Is it good for an insane or delirious, sick adult to have his own will, even to the commission of murder and self-destruction? Is it good for a man to have unlimited freedom, when he will almost certainly make it a curse to himself and others, by gross involuntary outrage, or uncontrollable passion? Is it good for a wicked man, under specious hypocritical disguises, to perpetrate the most atrocious mischief, unexposed and unreprieved? These things are not good for mankind. On the contrary, it is good for them to be crossed, restrained, coerced and reprovved, by all uninjurious moral and physical forces, which benevolence prompts and wisdom dictates. To cross their wills, and pain their feelings, by such means, under such circumstances, is not an injury, but a substantial good, to them and to all who are connected with them. It may be said—"these things cannot be done uninjuriouslly. It would be impracticable." Cannot unreasonable children be nursed, delirious adults controlled, dangerously distempered people prevented from doing themselves and others harm, outrageous non-compos persons restrained, hypocrites exposed, and sinners reprovved without inflicting injury on them! Then can nothing good be done without doing evil. Imperfection is indeed incidental to all human judgment and conduct; and therefore

it is probable that some mistakes and some accidental injuries might happen. But the reason and common sense of mankind, once fairly pledged to the true principle of action, would seldom fail to discharge all these duties to general satisfaction. Still it may be asked: "What is to be done if uninjurious force should prove inadequate? May life be sacrificed, limbs broken, the flesh mangled, or any other injuries allowed in extreme cases?" Never. The principle of non-injury must be held inviolable. It is worth worlds and must be preserved at all hazards. What cannot be done uninjuriouslly must be left undone. But these extreme cases are mostly imaginary. The truth is, that what cannot be done uninjuriouslly can scarcely ever be done at all. Or if done, had better have been let alone. Experience in the case of the insane has already proved that incomparably more can be done by uninjurious forces, scrupulously and judiciously employed, than by any admixtures of the injurious element. Presuming that my definition and use of the terms injure, injury, injurer, injurious, &c., cannot be misunderstood, I pass on.

THE TERM CHRISTIAN NON-RESISTANCE.

Whence originated the term Christian non-resistance? Non-resistance comes from the injunction, "resist not evil," Matt. 5: 39. The words "resist not," being changed from the form of a verb to that of a substantive, give us non-resistance. This term is considered more strikingly significant than any other of the principle involved, and the duty enjoined in our Saviour's precept. Hence its adoption and established use. It is denominated Christian non-resistance, to distinguish it, as the genuine primitive doctrine, from mere

philosophical, sentimental and necessitous non-resistance. Literally, then, Christian non-resistance is the original non-resistance taught and exemplified by Jesus Christ; the bearings, limitations and applications of which are to be learned from the Scriptures of the New Testament.

And what are those bearings, limitations and applications? I have already given an imperfect view of them in the previous definitions. But I will be more explicit. What I aim at is to carry the obligations of non-resistance just as far and no farther than Jesus Christ has done. It is easy to go beyond, or to fall short of his limits. Ultra radicals go beyond him. Ultra conservatives fall short of him. Even those of both these classes, who profess to abide implicitly by his teachings, construe and interpret his language so as to favor their respective errors. The ultra radicals seize on strong figurative, hyperbolic, or intensive forms of expression, and make him seem to mean much more than he could have intended. The ultra conservatives ingeniously fritter away and nullify the very essence of his precepts, in such a manner as to make him seem to mean much less than he must have intended. There is, however, a general rule for such cases, which can scarcely fail to expose the errors of both classes, in respect to any given text. It is this: "Consider the context; consider parallel texts; consider examples; consider the known spirit of Christianity." Any construction or interpretation of the recorded language of Christ, or of his apostles, in which all these concur, is sound. Any other is probably erroneous.

THE KEY TEXT OF NON-RESISTANCE.

Now let us examine Matt. 5: 39. "I say unto you,

resist not evil," &c. This single text, from which, as has been stated, the term non-resistance took its rise, if justly construed, furnishes a complete key to the true bearings, limitations and applications of the doctrine under discussion. This is precisely one of those precepts which may be easily made to mean much more, or much less, than its author intended. It is in the intensive, condensed form of expression, and can be understood only by a due regard to its context. What did the divine Teacher mean by the word "evil," and what by the word "resist?" There are several kinds of evil. 1. Pain, loss, damage, suffered from causes involving no moral agency, or natural evil. 2. Sin in general, or moral evil. 3. Temptations to sin, or spiritual evil; and 4. Personal wrong, insult, outrage, injury--or personal evil. Which of these kinds of evil does the context show to have been in our Saviour's mind when he said, "resist not evil?" Was he speaking of fires, floods, famine, disease, serpents, wild beasts, or any other mere natural evil agents? No. Then of course he does not prohibit our resisting such evil. Was he speaking of sin in general? No. Then of course he does not prohibit our resisting such evil by suitable means. Was he speaking of temptations addressed to our propensities and passions, enticing us to commit sin? No. Then of course he does not prohibit our resisting the devil, withstanding the evil suggestions of our own carnal mind, and suppressing our evil lusts. Was he speaking of personal evil, injury personally inflicted by man on man? Yes. "Ye have heard that it hath been said, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you that ye resist not evil," *i. e.* personal outrage, insult, affront--injury. The word "evil,"

necessarily means, in this connection, personal injury or evil inflicted by human beings on human beings.

But what did Jesus mean by the words "resist not?" There are various kinds of resistance, which may be offered to personal injury, when threatened or actually inflicted. There is passive resistance--a dead silence, a sullen inertia, a complete muscular helplessness--an utter refusal to speak or move. Does the context show that Jesus contemplated, pro or con, any such resistance in his prohibition? No. There is an active, righteous, moral resistance--a meek, firm remonstrance, rebuke, reproof, protestation. Does the connection show that Jesus prohibits this kind of resistance? No. There is an active, firm, compound, moral and physical resistance, uninjurious to the evil doer, and only calculated to restrain him from deadly violence or extreme outrage. Was Jesus contemplating such modes of resisting personal injury? Does the context show that he intended to prohibit all resistance of evil by such means? No. There is a determined resistance of personal injury by means of injury inflicted; as when a man deliberately takes life to save life, destroys an assailant's eye to save an eye, inflicts a violent blow to prevent a blow; or, as when, in retaliation, he takes life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, &c.; or, as when, by means of governmental agencies, he causes an injurious person to be punished by the infliction of some injury equivalent to the one he has inflicted or attempted. It was of such resistance as this, that our Saviour was speaking. It is such resistance as this that he prohibits. His obvious doctrine is: Resist not personal injury with personal injury. I shall have occasion to press this point more conclusively in the next chap-

ter, when presenting my Scriptural proofs. Enough has been said to determine the important bearings and limitations of the general doctrine. It bears on all mankind, in every social relation of life. It contemplates men as actually injured, or in imminent danger of being injured, by their fellow men; and commands them to abstain from all personal injuries either as a means of retaliation, self-defence, or suppression of injury. If smitten on the one cheek, they must submit the other to outrage, rather than smite back. If the life of their dearest friend has been taken, or an eye or a tooth thrust out, or any other wrong been done to themselves or their fellow men, they must not render evil for evil, or railing for railing, or hatred for hatred. But they are not prohibited from resisting, opposing, preventing, or counteracting the injuries inflicted, attempted or threatened by man on man, in the use of any absolutely uninjurious forces, whether moral or physical. On the contrary, it is their bounden duty, by all such benevolent resistances, to promote the safety and welfare, the holiness and happiness of all human beings, as opportunity may offer.

NECESSARY APPLICATIONS OF NON-RESISTANCE.

The necessary applications of the doctrine, are to all cases in human intercourse where man receives aggressive injury from man, or is presumed to be in imminent danger of receiving it; *i. e.*, to all cases where in the injury of man upon man, is either to be repelled, punished or prevented. There are four general positions in which human beings may stand to resist injury with injury. 1. As individuals; 2. As a lawless combination of individuals; 3. As members of allowable

voluntary associations; and 4. As constituent supporters of human government in its State or National sovereignty. Standing in either of these positions, they can resist injury with injury, either in immediate self-defence, in retaliation or by vindictive punishments. As individuals, they may act immediately by their own personal energies, or they may act through their agents--persons employed to execute their will. Connected with a lawless combination, they may act directly in open co-operative violence, or clandestinely, or through select agents, or in a more general manner through their acknowledged leaders. As members of allowable voluntary associations, they may exert a powerful influence, without any deeds of violence, by means of speech, the press, education, religion, &c., to delude, corrupt, prejudice and instigate to evil the minds of mankind one toward another. Thus designedly to stimulate, predispose and lead men to commit personal injury, under pretence of serving God and humanity, is essentially the same thing as directly resisting injury with injury by physical means. The mischief may be much greater, the moral responsibility certainly no less. As constituent supporters of human government, (whether civil or military, or a compound of both,) in its State or National sovereignty, men are morally responsible for all constitutions, institutions, laws, processes and usages which they have pledged themselves to support, or which they avowedly approve, or which they depend upon as instrumentalities for securing and promoting their personal welfare, or in which they acquiesce without positive remonstrance and disfellowship. Thus if a political compact, a civil or military league, covenant or constitution, requires, authorizes, pro-

vides for or tolerates war, bloodshed, capital punishment, slavery, or any kind of absolute injury, offensive or defensive, the man who swears, affirms or otherwise pledges himself to support such a compact, league, covenant or constitution, is just as responsible for every act of injury done in strict conformity thereto, as if he himself personally committed it. He is not responsible for abuses and violations of the constitution. But for all that is constitutionally done he is responsible. The army is his army, the navy his navy, the militia his militia, the gallows his gallows, the pillory his pillory, the whipping post his whipping post, the branding iron his branding iron, the prison his prison, the dungeon his dungeon, and the slaveholding his slaveholding. When the constitutional majority declare war, it is his war. All the slaughter, rapine, ravages, robbery, destruction and mischief committed under that declaration, in accordance with the laws of war, are his. Nor can he exculpate himself by pleading that he was one of a strenuous anti-war minority in the government. He was in the government. He had sworn, affirmed or otherwise pledged himself, that the majority should have discretionary power to declare war. He tied up his hands with that anti-Christian obligation, to stand by the majority in all the crimes and abominations inseparable from war. It is therefore his war, its murders are his murders, its horrible injuries on humanity are his injuries. They are all committed with his solemn sanction. There is no escape from this terrible moral responsibility but by a conscientious withdrawal from such government, and an uncompromising protest against so much of its fundamental creed and constitutional law, as is decidedly anti-Christian. He must cease to be its pledged supporter, and approving dependent.

WHAT A CHRISTIAN NON-RESISTANT CANNOT
CONSISTENTLY DO.

It will appear from the foregoing exposition, that a true Christian non-resistant cannot, with deliberate intent, knowledge or conscious voluntariness, compromise his principles by either of the following acts.

1. He cannot kill, maim or otherwise absolutely injure any human being, in personal self defence, or for the sake of his family, or any thing he holds dear.

2. He cannot participate in any lawless conspiracy, mob, riotous assembly, or disorderly combination of individuals, to cause or countenance the commission of any such absolute personal injury.

3. He cannot be a member of any voluntary association, however orderly, respectable or allowable by law and general consent, which declaratively holds as fundamental truth, or claims as an essential right, or distinctly inculcates as sound doctrine, or approves as commendable in practice, war, capital punishment, or any other absolute personal injury.

4. He cannot be an officer or private, chaplain or retainer, in the army, navy or militia of any nation, state, or chieftain.

5. He cannot be an officer, elector, agent, legal prosecutor, passive constituent, or approver of any government, as a sworn or otherwise pledged supporter thereof, whose civil constitution and fundamental laws, require, authorize or tolerate war, slavery, capital punishment, or the infliction of any absolute personal injury.

6. He cannot be a member of any chartered corporation or body politic, whose articles of compact oblige or authorize its official functionaries to resort for com-

pulsory aid in the conducting of its affairs, to a government of constitutional violence.

7. Finally, he cannot do any act, either in person or by proxy; nor abet or encourage any act in others; nor demand, petition for, request, advise or approve the doing of any act, by an individual, association or government, which act would inflict, threaten to inflict, or necessarily cause to be inflicted, any absolute personal injury, as herein before defined.

Such are the necessary bearings, limitations and applications of the doctrine of Christian non-resistance. Let the reader be careful not to misunderstand the positions laid down. The platform of principle and action has been carefully founded, and its essential peculiarities plainly delineated. Let it not be said that the doctrine goes against all religion, government, social organization, constitutions, laws, order, rules, and regulations. It goes against none of these things *per se*. It goes for them in the highest and best sense. It goes only against such religion, government, social organization, constitutions, laws, order, rules, regulations and restraints, as are unequivocally contrary to the law of Christ; as sanction taking "life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth;" as are based on the assumption, that it is right to resist injury with injury, evil with evil.

THE PRINCIPLE AND SUB-PRINCIPLE OF NON-RESISTANCE.

This chapter may be profitably concluded with a brief consideration of the doctrine under discussion with respect to the principle from which it proceeds, to the sub-principle which is its immediate moral basis, and to the rule of duty in which all its applications

are comprehended. What is the principle from which it proceeds? It is a principle from the inmost bosom of God. It proceeds from ALL PERFECT LOVE that absolute, independent, unerringly wise, holy love, which distinguishes the Divine from all inferior natures, and which, transfused into the natural sentiment of human benevolence, superinduces the highest order of goodness. Of this it is said—"Love worketh no ill to his neighbor; therefore love is the fulfilling of the law." Or as the amiable John expressed it—"He that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him." This love is not mere natural affection, nor sentimental passion, but a pure, enlightened, conscientious principle. It is a divine spring of action, which intuitively and spontaneously dictates the doing of good to others, whether they do good or evil. It operates independently of external influences, and being in its nature absolutely unselfish, is not affected by the merit or demerit of its objects. It does not inquire, "Am I loved? have I been benefited? have my merits been appreciated? shall I be blessed in return? Or, am I hated, injured, cursed and condemned?" Whether others love or hate, bless or curse, benefit or injure, it says, "I will do right; I will love still; I will bless; I will never injure even the most injurious; I will overcome evil with good." Therefore its goodness is not measured by or adjusted to the goodness of others, but ever finds in itself a sufficient reason for doing good and nothing but good to all moral agents. Jesus, in whom flowed the full current of this divine love, the sublime efflux of the heavenly nature, laying hold of the great commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," drew it forth from the ark of the Mosaic Testament,

all mildewed and dusky with human misapprehension, and struck from it the celestial fire. The true principle was in it, but men could not clearly perceive it, much less appreciate its excellency. He showed that the "neighbor" intended was any human being, a stranger, an enemy, a bitter foe—any one needing relief, or in danger of suffering through our selfishness, anger or contempt—the greatest criminal, the veriest wretch of our race. Hence, knowing that the entire wisdom of this world had justified injury to injurers, hatred to enemies, and destruction to destroyers, he reversed the ancient maxims, abrogated the law of retaliation, and proclaimed the duty of unlimited forbearance, mercy and kindness. Imperfect religion, worldly minded philosophy, and vindictive selfishness had concurrently declared "there is a point beyond which forbearance ceases to be a virtue." He swept away this heartless delusion with a divine breath, and sublimely taught obedient and everlasting adherence to the law of love, as well toward offenders, injurers and enemies, as toward benefactors, lovers, and friends. "I say unto you, take not life for life, eye for eye, and tooth for tooth. Smite not the smiter to save thine own cheek. Give to him that asketh, and turn not the borrower away. Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which spitefully use you and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father in Heaven. For he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. For if ye love, and salute, and do good to them that love you, what are ye better than the publicans?" Be like your Father in Heaven. Such is the true light radiated from

the bosom of the Infinite Father, and reflected on this benighted world from the face of Jesus Christ. What are the puerile sentimentalisms of effeminate poets, or the gossamer elaborations of the world's philosophers, or the incantations of solemn but vindictive religionists, compared with the divine excellency of Truth, as it distilled in the language of the Messiah.

All-perfect, independent, self-sustaining, unswerving love—DIVINE LOVE—is the principle from which Christian non-resistance proceeds. What is the sub-principle which constitutes its immediate moral basis? The essential efficacy of good, as the counteracting force with which to resist evil. The wisdom of this world has relied on the efficacy of injury, terror, EVIL, to resist evil. It has trusted in this during all past time. It has educated the human race to believe that their welfare and security depended mainly on their power to inflict injury on offenders. Hence it has been their constant endeavor to possess a sufficiency of injurious means to overawe their enemies, and terrify their encroaching fellow-men. Their language has been, "keep your distance; touch not my property; insult not my honor; infringe not my rights; assault not my person; be just and respectful; yield to my convenience, and be my friend; or I will let slip the dogs of war; you shall feel the weight of my vengeance; I will inflict unendurable injuries on you death itself, torture, imprisonment in a loathsome dungeon, pains and penalties, shall be your portion. I will do you incomparably greater evil, than you can do me. Therefore be afraid, and let me alone." And so perfectly befooled are the children of this world, with faith in injury as their chief ultimate se-

curity, that scarcely one in a thousand will at first thought allow the non-resistance doctrine to be anything better than a proclamation of cowardice on one side, and of universal anarchy, lawlessness and violence on the other. As if all mankind were so entirely controlled by the dread of deadly, or, at least tremendous personal injury, that if this were relinquished a man's throat would be instantly cut, his family assassinated, or some horrible mischief inflicted. Very few know how entirely they trust for defence and security in this grim and bloody god of human injury. They have enshrined him in the sword, the gibbet and the dungeon. They worship him in armies, navies, militia organizations, battle-ships, forts, arsenals, penal statutes, judicial inflictions, pistols, daggers and bowie knives. And if we propose to lay all these evils aside, and go for nothing but uninjurious, beneficent treatment of transcending mankind never, even with the most outrageous, the limits of firm, but friendly personal restraint, lo, they cry out with alarm, "these have come hither that turn the world upside down!" "Torment us not before the time!" "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" "Great is the sword, the halter, the salutary power to kill or injure sinners at discretion! What would become of human society, if war, capital and other injurious punishments should be abolished!" On this altar they have sacrificed human beings enough to people twenty such planets as the earth, with no other success than to confirm and systematize violence throughout the whole habitable globe. And yet INJURY is their god, and at his gory altar of revenge and cruelty they are resolved forever to worship, amid the clangor of deadly weapons, and the groans of a bleeding world.

THE CONCLUSION.

But the Son of the Highest, the great self-sacrificing Non-Resistant, is our prophet, priest and king. Though the maddened inhabitants of the earth have so long turned a deaf ear to his voice, he shall yet be heard. He declares that good is the only antagonist of evil, which can conquer the deadly foe. Therefore he enjoins on his disciples the duty of resisting evil only with good. This is the sub-principle of Christian non-resistance. "Evil can be overcome only with good." Faith, then, in the inherent superiority of good over evil, truth over error, right over wrong, love over hatred, is the immediate moral basis of our doctrine. Accordingly we transfer all the faith we have been taught to cherish in injury, to beneficence, kindness, and uninjurious treatment, as the only all-sufficient enginery of war against evil doers. No longer seeking or expecting to put down evil with evil, we lift up the cross for an ensign, and surmounting it with the glorious banner of love, exult in the divine motto displayed on its immaculate folds, "RESIST NOT INJURY WITH INJURY." Let this in all future time be the specific rule of our conduct, the magnetic needle of our pathway across the troubled waters of human reform, till all men, all governments and all social institutions shall have been moulded into moral harmony with the grand comprehensive commandment of the living God—"THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THYSELF." Then shall Love (God by his sublimest name) "be all in all."

The earth, so long a slaughter-field,
Shall yet an Eden bloom;
The tiger to the lamb shall yield,
And War descend the tomb;
For all shall feel the Saviour's love,
Reflected from the cross---
That love, that non-resistant love,
Which triumphed on the cross.

CHAPTER IV.

Non-Resistance Not Contrary To Nature.

Nature and the laws of nature defined—Self-preservation the first law of nature—What is the true method of self-preservation?—Denurrer of the objector—The objector still persists; analogy of the animals—Common method of self-preservation certainly false—Five great laws of human nature considered—These laws radically harmonious—Non-Resistance in perfect unison with these laws—A law of universal nature, like begets its like—(General illustrations in common life—)Special illustrations; 1, Subdued pride and scorn; 2, The man whose temper was broken; 3, The colored woman and the sailor; 4, The hay mowers; 5, The two students; 6, Two neighbors and the manure; 7, Impounding the horse; 8, Two neighbors and the hens; 9, Henry and Albert; 10, The subdued hatter; 11, The revolutionary soldier; 12, Ex-President Jefferson and the cooper's shop; 13, Wm. Ladd and his neighbor Pulsifer—Conclusion.

The opposers of Non-Resistance with one voice confidently assert that it is contrary to the known law of Nature and therefore must be false, however plausibly defended from the Scriptures. It is the design of the present chapter to refute this confident assertion, and to demonstrate that Christian non-resistance is in perfect accordance with the laws of Nature considered in all their developments. I shall endeavor to do this with arguments sustained by numerous facts and illustrations drawn from real life.

NATURE AND THE LAWS OF NATURE DEFINED.

What is "Nature?" and what are "the laws of Na-

ture?" These terms are in very common use with a certain class of persons. But they are more flippantly uttered than definitely understood. Doubtless they may properly be used with considerable latitude of meaning. In the present discussion, however, we must be definite and clear. I shall, therefore, take the term "nature" to mean—the essential constituent elements, properties, qualities and capabilities of any being or thing. The aggregate of these is the nature of any being or thing, whether the particular being or thing considered be ever so simple, or ever so complex. Whatever, in or about a being or thing, is not an essential constituent element, property, quality or capability thereof, is not an absolute necessary of it. And what is not generally an absolute necessary of a being or thing, is not a part of its nature, but merely an incidental or factitious appendage. Take human nature, as that particular division of Universal Nature which we must consider in this discussion. There are elements, properties, qualities and capabilities essential to the constitution of a human being. These are common to the race. We may say of them in general that they are the absolute inherent necessities of man—*i. e.* his nature. But there are many incidental and factitious elements, properties, qualities and capabilities in and about individuals and communities of the human race, which are the results of causes and circumstances, either temporary and transient in their operation or ultimately removable by human efforts. None of these are the essential constituents of human nature. They may all be reversed or removed without annihilating or perverting nature. Let this be well understood. Next, "the laws of nature." I understand the laws of nature to

be those forms, modes or methods according to which it necessarily operates in its various developments. When any tendency or action of nature is observed to be uniform under given circumstances throughout the sphere of our knowledge, we infer that a certain law or necessity governs it. Consequently, we speak of all things as governed by some law of nature. What to us is uniform and universal, or nearly so, we regard as the result of nature's laws—a certain necessity of tendency and development, which determines the form, mode, or method of its manifestation. These laws are at best but imperfectly understood, and are oftener talked about than well conceived of. They are only secondary causes in a vast chain incomprehensible to finite minds, and which we vaguely trace to a Supreme First Cause—the Self-Existent Divine Nature, God. What we can with any propriety assume to know of those undefinable some-things, termed “the laws of nature,” is only the uniformity and universality of their results within the narrow sphere of our observation. It becomes us therefore to be humble and modest in pronouncing on these laws. We know some things perhaps beyond possibility of mistake. Many other things we know partially and imperfectly; concerning which it is our besetting weakness to presume that we know a vast deal more than we really do. Of the great whole we know comparatively next to nothing. Of the whole, even of those natures concerning which we know most, we are extremely ignorant,—as a few thousand years of existence and continued observation would no doubt convince us. But let us reason as well as we can from what we know, and learn what we may in the great future.

SELF-PRESERVATION THE FIRST LAW OF NATURE.

It is reiterated that “self-preservation is the first law of nature.” I grant it, and then what follows? “Self-defence against whatever threatens destruction or injury,” says the opponent. I grant it, and what next follows? “Generally mutual personal conflict, injury, and, in extremities, death. Hence there are justifiable homicides, wars, injuries and penal inflictions. Nature impels them. Her law of self-preservation necessitates them. They are right in the very nature of things; and therefore non-resistance must be as wrong, as it is impracticable. It is contrary to nature, and cannot be brought into practice.” Let us examine these bold assertions. I have granted that “self-preservation is the first law of nature.” Also that this law prompts to self-defence against whatever threatens destruction or injury. I also admit the fact that generally men, in common with the lower animals, fight, injure, and frequently slay each other in self-defence, or for something supposed to be necessary to self-preservation. In granting this last, I only grant that men are generally very foolish and wicked.

WHAT IS THE TRUE METHOD OF SELF-PRESERVATION.

For it remains to be seen whether this general method of self-preservation be the true method. Whether it be not a very bad method. Whether it be not a method which absolutely defeats its own designed object. Let us inquire. If it be the true method, it must on the whole work well. It must preserve human life and secure mankind against injury, more certainly and effectually than any other possible method. Has it done this? I do not admit

it. How happens it that, according to the lowest probable estimate, some fourteen thousand millions of human beings have been slain by human means, in war and otherwise? Here are enough to people eighteen planets like the earth with its present population. What inconceivable miseries must have been endured by these worlds of people and their friends, in the process of those murderous conflicts which extinguished their earthly existence! Could all their dying groans be heard and their expiring throes be witnessed at once by the existing generation of men; could their blood flow together into one vast lake, mingled with the tears of their bereaved relatives; could their corpses be seen piled up in one huge pyramid; or their skeletons be contemplated in a broad golgotha, would it be deemed conclusive evidence that mankind has practised the true method of self-preservation!! Would it encourage us still to confide in and pursue the same method? Would it suggest no inquiries, whether there were not “a more excellent way?” Should we not be impelled to conclude that this method was the offspring of a purblind instinct—the cherished salvo of ignorance—the fatal charm of deluded credulity—the supposed preserver, but the real destroyer of the human family? If this long-trusted method of self-preservation be indeed the best which nature affords to her children, their lot is most deplorable. To preserve what life has been preserved at such a cost, renders life itself a thing of doubtful value. If only a few thousands, or even a few millions, had perished by the two edged sword; if innocence and justice and right had uniformly triumphed; if aggression, injustice, violence, injury and insult, after a few dreadful experiences, had been overawed;

if gradually the world had come into wholesome order—a state of truthfulness, justice and peace; if the sword of self-defence had frightened the sword of aggression into its scabbard, there to consume in its rust; then might we admit that the common method of self-preservation was the true one. But now we have ample demonstration that they who take the sword, perish with the sword. Is it supposable that if no injured person or party, since the days of Abel, had lifted up a deadly weapon, or threatened an injury against an offending party, there would have been a thousandth part of the murders and miseries which have actually taken place on our earth? Take the worst possible view; resolve all the assailed and injured into the most passive non-resistants imaginable, and let the offenders have unlimited scope to commit all the robberies, cruelties and murders they pleased; would as many lives have been sacrificed, or as much real misery have been experienced by the human race, as have actually resulted from the general method of self-preservation, by personal conflict and resistance of injury with injury? He must be a bold man who affirms it. The truth is, man has stood in his own light. He has frustrated his own wishes. He has been deceived, deluded, betrayed, and all but destroyed, by his own self-conceited, evil imagination. He would not be taught of God. He would have his own way. He would be a fool, a spendthrift, a murderer and a suicide. Yet his Father still calls after him. He offers to make him wise, good and happy. He offers to teach him the true method of self-preservation. It is found in the non-resistance of Jesus Christ. But he is wretchedly wedded to his old idols, and will scarcely hear the voice of his only true friend. When he will hear, he shall live.

CHAPTER V.

The Safety Of Non-Resistance.

Raymond the traveller—Agent of the Bible Society in Texas—The young man near Philadelphia—Robert Barclay and Leonard Fell—Archbishop Sharpe—Rowland Hill—Two Methodist Non-Resistants—The two New Zealand chiefs—The Missionary and Arabs—A Christian tribe in Africa—The Moravian Indians—The Moravians of Grace Hill—The Shakers—The Indians and the Quaker family—The Indians and the Quaker Meeting—The Christian town in the Tyrol—Captain Back, the Quakers, and the Maylays—Jonathan Dymond—Colony of Pennsylvania.

I have been endeavoring to demonstrate in the preceding chapter that non-resistance, instead of being contrary to nature, is in perfect accordance with all her fundamental laws. I intend in the present chapter to complete that demonstration by a further illustration of the superior general safety of non-resistance. This will be done by anecdotes and historical facts, showing its actual workings in many cases of imminent danger. I do not undertake to prove that the practice of non-resistance will always preserve the life and personal security of its adherents, but only that it generally will. Jesus, the apostles, and thousands of Christian martyrs were slain notwithstanding their non-resistance. Doubtless others will be wronged, outraged, and murdered in time to come, notwithstanding the same safeguard. Exceptions do not disprove a general rule. As the advocates of deadly resistance do not contend that it always en-

sures the preservation of life and personal security, so neither do I contend that Christian non-resistance will do it. They contend that discretionary resistance is safer than non-resistance; that its general tendency, despite of incidental failures, is to preserve life and render personal safety secure. I contend for the exact reverse. Here is an important issue. The deadly resistants affirm the superior safety of their principle of action; the non-resistants of theirs. The parties are in direct contradiction. Which of them is right? The resistants have lost, according to Dr. Dick, 11,000,000,000, and according to Mr. Burke, 35,000,000,000 of human lives, since their experiment commenced. Can non-resistants make a greater loss than this? Can their principle of action result in a greater expenditure of life and happiness? No. Under the most unfavorable circumstances they will not lose in the proportion of one to a thousand, and a few centuries of perseverance in their principle would totally extinguish the fires of human violence throughout the earth. Let us proceed to show that the practice of non-resistance is pre-eminently safe.

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ROBERT BARCLAY AND LEONARD FELL.

Robert Barclay, the celebrated apologist of the Quakers, and Leonard Fell, a member of the same Society, were severally attacked by highwaymen in England, at different times. Both faithfully adhered to their non-resistance principles, and both signally tri-

CHRISTIAN NON-RESISTANCE.

umphed. The pistol was levelled at Barclay, and a determined demand made for his purse. Calm and self-possessed, he looked the robber in the face, with a firm but meek benignity, assured him he was his and every man's friend, that he was willing and ready to relieve his wants, that he was free from the fear of death through a divine hope in immortality, and therefore was not to be intimidated by a deadly weapon, and then appealed to him, whether he could have heart to shed the blood of one who had no other feeling or purpose but to do him good. The robber was confounded; his eyes melted; his brawny arm trembled; his pistol fell to his side; and he fled from the presence of the non-resistant hero whom he could no longer confront.

Fell was assaulted in a much more violent manner. The robber rushed upon him, dragged him from his horse, filled his pockets, and threatened to blow out his brains on the spot, if he made the least resistance. This was the work of a moment. But Fell experienced no panic. His principles raised him above the fear of man and of death. Though forbidden to speak, he calmly but resolutely reproved the robber for his wickedness, warned him of the consequences of such a course of life, counselled him to reform, and assured him that while he forgave this wanton outrage on himself, he hoped for his own sake he would henceforth betake himself to an upright calling. His expostulation was so fearless, faithful and affectionate, that the robber was struck with compunction, delivered back his money and horse, and bade him go in peace. Then, with tears filling his eyes, he exclaimed,—“May God have mercy on a sinful wretch,” and hastened out of sight,

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Perhaps the severest test to which the peace principles were ever put, was in Ireland, during the memorable rebellion of 1798. During that terrible conflict the Irish Quakers were continually between two fires. The Protestant party viewed them with suspicion and dislike because they refused to fight or to pay military taxes; and the fierce multitude of insurgents deemed it sufficient cause of death, that they would neither profess belief in the Catholic religion nor help them fight for Irish freedom. Victory alternated between the two contending parties, and, as usual in civil war, the victors made almost indiscriminate havoc of those who did not march under their banners. It was a perilous time for all men: but the Quakers alone were liable to a raking fire from both sides. Foreseeing calamity, they had, nearly two years before the war broke out, publicly destroyed all their guns, and other weapons used for game. But this pledge of pacific intentions was not sufficient to satisfy the government, which required warlike assistance at their hands. Threats and insults were heaped upon them from all quarters; but they steadfastly adhered to their resolution of doing good to both parties, and harm to neither. Their houses were filled with widows and orphans, with the sick, the wounded and the dying, belonging both to the loyalists and the rebels. Some-

times, when the Catholic insurgents were victorious, they would be greatly enraged to find Quaker houses filled with Protestant families. They would point their pistols and threaten death, if their enemies were not immediately turned into the street to be massacred. But the pistol dropped, when the Christian mildly replied, "Friend, do what thou wilt, I will not harm thee, or any other human being." Not even amid the savage fierceness of civil war, could men fire at one who spoke such words as these. They saw that this was not cowardice, but bravery very much higher than their own.

On one occasion, an insurgent threatened to burn down a Quaker house unless the owner expelled the Protestant women and children who had taken refuge there. "I cannot help it," replied the Friend; "so long as I have a house, I will keep it open to succor the helpless and distressed, whether they belong to thy ranks, or those of thy enemies. If my house is burned, I must be turned out with them, and share their affliction." The fighter turned away and did the Christian no harm.

The Protestant party seized the Quaker school-master of Ballitore, saying they could see no reason why he should stay at home in quiet, while they were obliged to defend his property. "Friends, I have asked no man to fight for me," replied the school-master. But they dragged him along, swearing that he should at least stop a bullet. His house and school-house were filled with women and children, who had taken refuge there; for it was an instructive fact, throughout this bloody contest, that *the houses of the men of peace were the only places of safety*. Some of the women followed the soldiers, begging them not

to take away their friend and protector, a man who had expended more for the sick and starving, than others did for arms and ammunition. The school-master said, "Do not be distressed, my friends. I forgive these neighbors; for what they do, they do in ignorance of my principles and feelings. They may take my life, but they cannot force me to do injury to one of my fellow creatures." As the Catholics had done, so did the Protestants; they went away, and left the man of peace safe in his divine armor.

The flames of bigotry were, of course, fanned by civil war. On one occasion, the insurgents seized a wealthy old Quaker, in very feeble health, and threatened to shoot him, if he did not go with them to a Catholic priest to be christened. They had not led him far, before he sank down from extreme weakness. "What do you say to our proposition?" asked one of the soldiers, handling his gun significantly. The old man quietly replied, "If thou art permitted to take my life I hope our Heavenly Father will forgive thee." The insurgents talked apart for a few moments, and then went away, restrained by a power they did not understand.

Deeds of kindness added strength to the influence of gentle words. The officers and soldiers of both parties had had some dying brother tended by the Quakers, or some starving mother who had been fed, or some desolate little ones who had been cherished. Whichever party marched into a village victorious, the cry was, "Spare the Quakers! They have done good to all, and harm to none." While flames were raging, and blood flowing in every direction, the houses of the peace makers stood uninjured.

It is a circumstance worthy to be recorded, that,

during the fierce and terrible struggle, even in counties where Quakers were most numerous, but one of their society fell a sacrifice.

That one was a young man, who, being afraid to trust peace principles, put on a military uniform, and went to the garrison for protection. The garrison was taken by the insurgents, and he was killed. "His dress and arms spoke the language of hostility," says the historian, "and therefore invited it."

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CHAPTER VII.

Non-Resistance In Relation To Government.

Is Non-Resistance for or against human government?—Human government *de facto*—Objection—Answer—Constitutions of Massachusetts and the United States—extracts—Why not participate to reform?—Cannot lie and commit perjury—Delegated power to declare war—Letters of marque and reprisal, piracy—Legal and political action—How to reform government—Injurious force not essential to government—Under what circumstances this country might have a non-resistant government—View of the present order of things, and remedy—Extract from M. Guizot's Lectures—Conclusion.

IS NON-RESISTANCE FOR OR AGAINST HUMAN GOVERNMENT?

I propose to occupy the present chapter in treating on the relation of non-resistance to human government. Is non-resistance, as defined and expounded in this work, for or against human government *per se*? This depends on what sense is given to the adjective human when joined to the noun government. If human government be understood to imply or presuppose an inherent, original, ABSOLUTE power in man to make laws and exercise discretionary control over man, non resistance is against it. It denies any such inherent, original, absolute power in man, and refers it to God only. In this sense all rightful government is essentially divine; man being ever a subject—not a governor. And whenever he assumes to require any thing repugnant to the divine law, he is a rebel against

God, and a usurper over his co-equal fellow-man. Man cannot rightfully legislate or govern insubordinately to his Creator. He can only govern under and with the divine sanction. If this position needs any defence, non-resistants are prepared to maintain it against the world. None, however, but atheists and would-be Deicides—[God-killers]—the genuine no-governmentists, can be reckless enough to controvert it.

But if human government be understood to imply only divine government clothed in human forms and administered by human organizations, with merely incidental human imperfections, non-resistance is for it *per se*. It has no necessary opposition to it whatever. It recognizes man as by nature a social being. It sees the ties and dependencies of husband and wife, parent and child, friend and neighbor, smaller and larger community; and is essentially friendly to all social organizations founded on love to God and man. Human government in this sense would be an organization of society constitutionally deferential to the highest known law of God. It would disclaim and denounce all assumption of power to set up and enforce any law, regulation or usage in violation of the natural equality and brotherhood of mankind. It would inscribe on its main pillars, no resistance of injury with injury—no rendering of evil for evil—evil can be overcome only with good! It would pledge its entire religious, intellectual, moral, physical, industrial and pecuniary resources to the maintenance of the right education, good conduct, comfortable subsistence and general welfare of all its population. It would declare and treat all its officers as servants of their brethren, entitled to no other remuneration than

an equal subsistence and dividend of general profits with the mass of unofficials. It would know no such thing as government craft, and have no separate interests of its functionaries to be fattened at the expense of their constituents. It would disclaim all authority of its own, and rest all its legislation, its judicial decrees, and its executive proceedings on their intrinsic rectitude and fitness to promote the public good. It would put off all external display, pomp, parade and childish insignia, and be a plain simple business concern, provided with all things decent and convenient for its necessary use and nothing more. It would incur no expense for distinction's sake—for show and dazzle. Man would make no wicked and foolish attempt to appear a god to his fellow-worms. The most exalted servant of the people would need to dwell in no better house, eat no better food, drink no costlier liquors, wear no richer livery, ride in no better carriage, under a wise and righteous government than would be proper for every common citizen. He would be ashamed to wish anything better. "He that will be chief among you shall be as he that doth serve." This is the pattern for the head of a Christian republic. Such a government would verify the prophetic prediction: "I will also make thy officers peace, and thine exactors righteousness. Violence shall no more be heard in thy hand, wasting nor destruction within thy borders." Such a government there will yet be throughout the earth. It is coming in the dim distant future. Christian non-resistance is its forerunner, and will hail its arrival amid the welcome shouts of an enlightened world. Men will then look back on our present semi-barbarous government, much as a philosopher now does on the picture

of an Indian Sachem, smeared with paint, ornamented with feathers and wampum and resting on his war club or tomahawk. Understanding then by human government only divine government humanized in its forms, applications and details, non-resistance is decidedly for it *per se*.

HUMAN GOVERNMENT DE FACTO.

But is it for human government as it is *de facto*? This is now the practical question. No. Why not? Because it cannot be both for and against itself. Non-resistance cannot be for war, capital punishment, slavery and all sorts of penal injury. Nor can it be for any government which is fundamentally for these things. These things are not reconcilable with non-resistance. Its adherents cannot therefore be voluntary participators in existing governments. Not because they are opposed to government *per se*; but because they are utterly opposed to these fundamental evils, with which all that is good in existing governments is inseparably interwoven. They demand a removal of these anti-Christian articles from our national and state constitutions before they can voluntarily participate in the government. Are they right in assuming this stand?

OBJECTION.

"No," says the objector, "you are not clearly right, to my apprehension, in charging our national and state constitution with being necessarily for war, capital punishment, slavery and penal injury. But if you are right in this, you are positively wrong in refusing to participate in the government till these things are expunged. If you will neither hold office, vote nor bring actions at law under the government,

how do you expect these evils are to be eradicated? You ought to take part in the government, if for nothing else, to effect the necessary amendments in our constitutions. Who is to remove these evils, if you, who see and feel them, refuse to lift a finger to dislodge them? Stay in the government and reform it. You frustrate your own aims by non-participation."

ANSWER.

War, capital punishment, slavery and many penal injuries have prevailed in the United States. They still prevail. Are they contrary to the fundamental law? Do they not flourish under its positive sanction? I shall not go far out of my way to establish facts naked to universal observation. Without meddling with fine spun arguments, designed to show that the federal constitution is an anti-slavery instrument, or anticipating any ingenious plea which might be offered to demonstrate its consonance with Christianity in respect to capital punishment, I shall content myself with presenting an extract from the Constitution of Massachusetts, (a state in the vanguard of human improvement,) and two or three from that of the United States. These will show whether non-resistance can endorse even republican constitutions—not to mention the written and unwritten ones of the old world.

EXTRACT FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF MASSACHUSETTS.

"The Governor of this Commonwealth, for the time being, shall be the commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and of all the military forces of the State, by sea and land; and shall have full power, by himself, or by any commander, or other officer and offi-

oers, from time to time, to train, instruct, exercise and govern the militia and navy; and for the special defence and safety of the Commonwealth, to assemble in martial array, and put in warlike posture, the inhabitants thereof; and to lead and conduct them, and with them to encounter, repel, resist, expel, and pursue, by force of arms, as well by sea as by land, within or without the limits of this Commonwealth, and also to KILL, SLAY AND DESTROY, if necessary, and conquer, by all fitting ways, enterprizes and means whatsoever, all and every such person or persons as shall, at any time hereafter, in a hostile manner, attempt or enterprize the destruction, invasion, detriment or annoyance of this Commonwealth; and to use and exercise, over the army and navy, and over the militia in actual service, the law martial, in time of war and invasion, and also in time of rebellion declared by the Legislature to exist, as occasion shall necessarily require; and to take and surprise, by all ways and means whatsoever, all and every such person or persons, with their ships, arms, ammunition, and other goods, as shall, in a hostile manner, invade, or attempt the invading, conquering, or annoying this Commonwealth; and that the Governor be entrusted with all these and other powers, incident to the offices of captain general and commander-in chief and admiral, to be exercised agreeably to the rules and regulations of the Constitution, and the laws of the land, and not otherwise."

EXTRACTS FROM THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

"The Congress shall have power—to define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the laws of nations.

CHRISTIAN NON-RESISTANCE.

the non-resistants are right, as to the fundamental, military and penal character of the government, the objector declares they are positively wrong in refusing to participate in the government till these things are expunged. He wishes to know how, or by whom, we expect these evils to be eradicated, if we will neither hold office, vote nor bring actions at law. He bids us stay in the government to reform it; and tells us we frustrate our own aims by non-participation.

This will pass current with the mass of people for sound common sense; but I shall show it to be more specious than substantial. If our scruples related solely to minor details and incidental defects in the existing governments, the objector's reasoning would be conclusive. For we do not exact absolute perfection, either theoretical or practical, in constitutions of government, as a condition of our participation in them. We can readily conceive of a radically Christian government with minor errors and defects in its details, and certainly with incidental abuses of administration arising out of human imperfection. In such governments we could conscientiously participate, and should feel bound to do so for the purpose of purifying them entirely; if possible, from errors and abuses.

But the governments now under notice are radically, fundamentally ANTI-CHRISTIAN. "The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint." Military and injurious penal power is their very life blood—the stamina of their existence. They are as repugnant to non-resistance, as pride is to humility, wrath to meekness, vengeance to forgiveness, death to life, destruction to salvation.

These Constitutions have the double character of

CHRISTIAN NON-RESISTANCE.

"To declare war; grant letters of marque and reprisal; and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

"To raise and support armies.

"To provide and maintain a navy.

"To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections and invasions.

"To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, &c.

"The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into actual service.

"His oath shall be:—I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States; and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.

"This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the SUPREME LAW of the land."

These extracts ought to make it clear to every man's apprehension that our State and National Constitutions authorize, provide for and sanction war, preparations for war and all the abominations incident to or consequent upon the murderous military system. The objector has no ground to stand on here.

WHY NOT PARTICIPATE IN ORDER TO REFORM?

But to come to the second part of the objection. If

CHRISTIAN NON-RESISTANCE.

declarations and covenants. They declare what is to be considered truth and duty, and are a solemn mutual covenant of the people with each other, as to what may or shall be done in their name. They are written out with great clearness and precision, so that no one may misunderstand them. When a man assents to them, or swears to support them, or acknowledges himself a party to the compact established by them, they become to all intents and purposes declarations of what he regards as truth and duty, and a pledge on his part that he will faithfully co-operate in carrying them into full effect. If they do not declare his sentiments, he makes himself a liar by endorsing, subscribing or assenting to them. If he does not honestly mean to co-operate in giving them practical efficacy, he perjures himself by solemnly engaging to support the compact.

CANNOT LIE AND COMMIT PERJURY

Am I advised to lie and commit perjury in order to reform an anti-Christian government? If I accept any office of destination, I must swear or affirm to support the Constitution: not in parts, but entire. In fact, I cannot vote, without either actually taking such oath or affirmation, or at least virtually acknowledging myself to be under the highest obligations of allegiance. Government in this country is vested in the voters. They are leagued together by their common declaration of sentiments and mutual covenant—the Constitution—to conduct the government in a certain way, and to maintain its authority by military force. It seems to have been universally taken for granted that military force would be indispensable.

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INJURIOUS FORCE NOT ESSENTIAL TO GOVERNMENT.

I shall now be told by the opposer that I am a Utopian, a dreamer, a chimerist, to imagine any such thing as a government without a war power in the last resort—without the power of deadly compulsion to suppress individual crime and mobocratic violence. That such a government would be a body without a soul—a house without a foundation—a powerless non-resistant abstraction; a something which can never have existence on earth, at least so long as human imperfection remains. I know that this is the common opinion respecting government. But it is false, the spawn of ignorance—a sheer delusion. A little reflection will show how utterly groundless it is. It derives all its plausibility from the exhibitions of past and remaining barbarism. Because men have been barbarous, and their laws and penalties barbarous, it is taken for granted that they *can not* be otherwise; just as the African, in the center of the Torrid Zone, assumed that there could be no such thing as ice because he had never seen any; and just as all ignorant people assume that nothing can exist unlike what has come under their own observation.

Suppose one should confidently assert that there could be no such thing as a man, actually living and transacting business among mankind, without a military chapeau on his head, a sword dangling by his side or a musket over his shoulder, or at least pistols or bowie knife about his person; that no man could live in the world without either *actually* fighting, or *threat-*

ening to fight, or at least *being armed* for a fight. Who would not see the absurdity of the assertion? The man and the man's means of preserving his life do not necessarily belong together. The Christian non-resistant is as much of a man as your sword and dagger character, and much less of a *brute*; and the former stands a much better chance of long life, civil treatment and substantial happiness in the world, than the latter. Suppose some one should assert that there could be no such thing as a family or good family government, without guns and dogs to defend them against marauders, and plenty of *switch-sticks* to wear up over the children's backs. Would it show any thing more than the ignorance and low moral development of the asserter? Suppose another should affirm that there can be no such thing as a church of Christ without the *Inquisition* and *auto da fe*? Men of intelligence, reflection and Christianized moral feeling, know the contrary.

UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES THE COUNTRY MIGHT HAVE A NON-RESISTANT GOVERNMENT.

Let us have two-thirds of the people of the United States (including that portion who *are*, or would be *thought*, Christians, philanthropists, people of intelligence and orderly citizens) once firmly committed to non-resistance, as explained and illustrated in this work, with even a large share of imperfection still lingering about them, and the government might triumphantly dispense with its army, navy, militia, capital punishment, and all manner of *injurious* inflictions. Under the light necessary to effect so general a change of public sentiment, a considerable portion of the people would have reconstructed neighborhood society by vol-

134

untary association, in such a manner as nearly to do away intemperance, idleness, debauchery, miseducation, poverty and brutality, and to insure the requisite inducements, means and opportunities for great self-improvement and social usefulness. The consequence would be that very few poor creatures would remain without a strong moral guardianship of wise and true friends to look after their welfare. Wholesome cure would be applied with vast success to the ignorant and vicious, and at the same time powerful preventives beyond estimation applied to the new-born generation. Under such circumstances, suppose a truly Christian government to administer the general affairs of the several states and of the nation. How little would they have to do, how well might they perform that little, and how trifling would be the burdens of it either to officers or people? It would hardly require *hundreds of millions* of dollars to carry such a government through a single year. They would not expend eighty per cent. of all their receipts on ships of war, forts, arsenals, troops, &c., &c. If they expended half this sum on the reformation of the few remaining vicious, the right education of youth, and the encouragement of virtue among the whole people, their work would be cut short in righteousness. If here and there a disorderly individual broke over the bounds of decency, the whole force of renovated public sentiment would surround and press in upon him like the waters of the ocean, and slight *winjurious* force would prevent personal outrage in the most extreme cases. And every day the causes of such extreme cases would be undergoing the process of annihilation. Meantime England, and the other great nations, between whom and ourselves there is such a frequent and increasing familiar-

ity of intercourse, would vie with ours, not which should have the strongest army and navy, and be able to do the most mischief, but which should lead off in the glorious work of reforming, improving and blessing the human race. Patriotism would then no longer strut in regimentals, recount its ruffian exploits, and provoke quarrels with fellow men for the crime of having been born over sea or on the other side a mountain or river. It would glory in superior justice, forbearance, meekness, forgiveness—*charity*. O glorious era, I see thee coming to smile on my country and the world. Thou art advancing in silent majesty on the remote verge of the blue horizon. Clouds of dust intervene between thee and the uncouth present. They conceal thee from the gaze of the boisterous and bustling multitude. The prophets even can but dimly discern thy beautiful outline. But thou art drawing nearer. Angels are thy heralds. The morning stars are singing together in thy train, and the sons of God shout for joy. In due time the heaven shall kiss the earth in thy presence, and the earth shall be restored to the bliss of heaven!

135

5. Die Bewegung der Abolitionisten

Ihrer Sache verpflichtete Pazifisten führten die organisierte Bewegung der Sklavereigegner von ihrer ersten Stunde an. Die Quäker begannen mit der ersten Antisklaverei-Gesellschaft 1780 und ihre Bemühungen ergaben beizeiten die Verabschiedung von Emanzipationsgesetzen in den Nordstaaten.

William Lloyd Garrison, Pazifist und einer der radikalsten frühen Gegner der Sklaverei²⁹⁾, gründete die New England Antislavery Society 1832 und, ein Jahr später, war er einer der Gründer der American Anti-Slavery Society. Mitglieder beider Organisationen erklärten ihre feste Entschlossenheit, der Gewalt der Sklaverei ein Ende zu setzen, ohne selbst zum Mittel der Gewalt zu greifen. Tatsächlich überprüften die frühen Abolitionisten im Sinne Garrisons, schwarz wie weiß, Mann wie Frau, immer wieder ihre praktische Fähigkeit, Unrecht zu empfangen ohne dabei zu vergelten ...

Abolitionisten und Schwarze bekämpften den Rassismus mit der Methode des Boykotts. Boykotte von Sklavenprodukten wurden im Norden so populär, daß mehrere Läden eröffnet wurden, die nur Waren freier Arbeiter führten. Abolitionisten boykottierten auch Kirchen, die nicht nachhaltig genug der Sklaverei entgegengesetzt waren. Einzelne Geistliche gaben ihre Kanzel auf oder weigerten sich, Gemeinschaft mit Sklavenhaltern anzuerkennen. Deswegen spalteten sich einige Denominationen auf nationaler Ebene. Die Methodisten zum Beispiel teilten sich 1846, als sich gegen die Sklaverei erklärte Mitglieder zur Wesleyan Methodist Church bildeten. In einem Boykott, der 11 Jahre andauerte, zogen schwarze Eltern ihre Kinder in Boston von segregierten Schulen zurück. Die Eltern begründeten dies damit, daß "Trennung vom Rest der Gemeinde jenen großen Tag der Versöhnung aufschiebt, der sicher kommen wird." Als ein Ergebnis ihrer Aktion und Beharrlichkeit wurde Boston 1855 die erste größere Stadt in den Vereinigten Staaten, die im öffentlichen Erziehungswesen die Integration begann.

Um den rassistischen status quo herauszufordern, waren schwarze und einige weiße Abolitionisten schon damals Pioniere in einer Anzahl deutlicher und bewußt gewaltfreier Aktionen wie sit-ins, eat-ins und walk-alongs. Schwarze saßen in den weißen Abteilungen von Eisenbahnwaggons, warteten auf Bedienung an weißen Tischen und versuchten, Dampfschifffahrten zu integrieren. Schwarze und Weiße gingen über die Straße, Arm in Arm, Mann und Frau, oder sie setzten sich, um gemeinsam zu essen. Oft brachten diese Aktionen den Praktikern gewalttätige Repressionen ein und gewöhnlich behaupteten sie ihr Nicht-Widerstehen.

Frederick Douglass, ein entflohener Sklave und alsbald eine überragende Gestalt unter den Schwarzen dank seiner zuverlässigen Abolitionistenarbeit, nahm bei einer ganzen Menge dieser direkten Aktionen teil. Nachdem er sich mit Garrison 1841 zusammentat, praktizierte Douglass über Jahre hinweg das Nicht-Widerstehen und steckte mehr als einmal, im Verlauf der Versuche, Vorurteile und Sklaverei abzubauen, Schläge ein, ohne Vergeltung zu üben.

Die schwarzen Führer verstanden, daß Gewalt nichts als die Probleme des weißen Hasses verstärken als sie lösen würde. 1846 opponierte Douglass gegen den Krieg als einem Mittel des Emanzipationskampfes und fügte hinzu: "Würde ich gefragt, ob ich meine Emanzipation durch das Vergießen eines einzigen Tropfen Blutes erreichen wollte, wäre meine Antwort negativ."

1849, als er das Recht des Schwarzen auf Revolte (Aufstand) bekräftigte, fuhr er fort zu erklären, daß die "einzige gut begründete Hoffnung des Sklaven auf Emanzipation das Ingangsetzen moralischer Kraft sei."

Sojourner Truth, eine frühere Sklavin und weithin anerkannte Abolitionistin, erhob ihre Stimme in Opposition zum Gebrauch der Gewalt, um Emanzipation zu bewirken, und sie bestand darauf, daß nur eine Änderung im Herzen auf seiten der Weißen dauernde Freiheit sichern würde.

Mehrere Ereignisse in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts machten es für Abolitionisten zunehmend schwierig, ihren Standpunkt, nicht zu widerstehen, durchzuhalten. Die bemerkenswertesten dieser Ereignisse waren der Mord an dem Geistlichen Elijah Lovejoy, die Verabschiedung des "Fugitive Slave Act" und John Browns Aufstand.

Der Geistliche Elijah Lovejoy, ein führender weißer Abolitionist, wurde 1837 getötet, während er seine Druckerpresse mit Gewehren verteidigte. Die Bewegung der Abolitionisten als Ganzes spaltete sich in der anschließenden Debatte, ob sich Abolitionisten mit Gewehren verteidigen sollten.

Der Flügel um Garrison hielt an der Position fest, daß Abolitionisten gelobt hatten, gegen Gewalt anzugehen, auch im Falle der Selbstverteidigung.

Der "Fugitive Slave Act" von 1850 begünstigte die Sklavhalter so gravierend und erhöhte die Gefahr selbst für freie Schwarze im Norden so sehr, daß die Schwarzen begannen, sich zu bewaffnen. Frederick Douglass gab seine Haltung des Nicht-Widerstehens auf und unterstützte die sich Bewaffnenden, aber die Anhänger Garrisons erklärten das Gesetz für null und nichtig und organisierten Menschen, die Sklavensjäger rundherum verfolgten und währenddessen den Zweck ihres Geschäftes verdeutlichten und ihnen auch anders in die Quere kamen.

1859 führte John Brown einen bewaffneten Versuch an, um einen Sklavenaufstand zu unterstützen, eine Aktion, die die "Non-Resisters" stark herausforderte, weil sie großen Respekt für den Mut und die prinzipienfeste Entschlossenheit John Browns aufbrachten. Bei einer Versammlung, die der Hinrichtung Browns gedachte, bekräftigte Garrison seine persönliche Verpflichtung zum Nicht-Widerstehen, begrüßte aber, daß jene, die an die Macht bewaffneter Gewalt glaubten, ihre Waffen benutzten, um die Unterdrückung der Sklaverei zu beenden.

Doch eine Anzahl von 'Non-Resisters' blieb in ihrer absoluten Ablehnung von Gewalt als einem lebensfördernden Mittel beharrlich. In einer Antwort auf John Browns Aufstand schrieb Charles K. Whipple "The Non-Resistance Principle: With Particular Application to the Help of Slaves by Abolitionists"³⁰ (1860). In dieser Arbeit behauptete Whipple, daß des Sklaven "erste Pflicht mit gutem Willen dem Sklavhalter gegenüber sei, aufs äußerste zu verweigern, auch nur einen Augenblick länger Sklave zu sein. ... Ruhige, immerwährende Unterwerfung unter die Versklavung ist Komplizenschaft mit dem Sklavhalter." Whipple fuhr fort, über die demzufolgende korrespondierende Pflicht der Abolitionisten auszuführen:

"If also it be necessary ... to seize and put under restraint, by uninjurious means, the persons of any slaveholders, until the departure of the slaves is safely effected, this would be perfectly right, for it is only what the government ought long since to have done. A slaveholder is a public nuisance; a person eminently dangerous to the community; and if the government does not do its duty in restraining him, any person who has the power may properly use all uninjurious means to do it."

Ein Jahr vor der Veröffentlichung von Whipples Arbeit argumentierte Adin Ballou gegen jene, die Sklavenaufstände unterstützen wollten, indem er sagte: "(Wenn die Sklaven durch einen gewalttätigen Aufstand befreit würden) ... was soll man mit ihnen die nächsten hundert Jahre anfangen? ... Wie sollen sie angestellt werden, zur Freiheit erzogen und in gut geordneten Gemeinschaften organisiert? Und vor allem, wie soll diese Arbeit vollendet werden mit der großen Masse Weißer im Land voller Schrecken, Abscheu und Rachegefühlen ihnen gegenüber?"

Nach dem Bürgerkrieg lebten die meisten Schwarzen weiterhin im Süden, und sie hatten weiterhin die Feindseligkeiten der Weißen zu ertragen, die den Ku Klux Klan einrichteten, Kastrationen, Lynchjustiz, Wahlsteuer, Analphabetentests und das Farnpachtwesen verankerten, um die Schwarzen an der gleichberechtigten Teilnahme an der Gesellschaft zu hindern.

Nach der Ratifikation des 14. und 15. Zusatzes zur Verfassung fanden Schwarze, daß die von Weißen per Gesetz garantierten Rechte prekär wären, solange ihre weißen Landsleute unverändert blieben oder, noch schlimmer, in ihrer Unfähigkeit verhärteten, Schwarze als Menschen zu sehen.

Anmerkungen

- 1) Die folgenden Ausführungen basieren auf Cooney/Michalowski: *The Power of the People. Active Nonviolence in the United States*, Culver City 1977, S. 23-27 und 28-31.
- 2) Dazu ausführlich: Brock, Peter: *Pacifism in the United States, From the Colonial Era to the First World War*, Princeton/New Jersey 1968, S. 559-584 und 585-615.
- 3) Vgl. Peter Brock (1968), ebd. S. 652-666.
- 4) u. 5) Ebd. S. 449 ff.
- 6) Mac Donald, Clyde Winfield, Jr.: *The Massachusetts Peace Society 1815-1828: A Study in Evangelical Reform*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Maine, 1973.
- 7) Cook, Blanche, Charles Chatfield and Sandi Cooper (Hrsg.): *The First American Peace Movement*, New York 1971; mit Schriften von David Low Dodge, James Mott und Noah Worcester; und Ware, Henry, Jr.: *Memoirs of the Rev. Noah Worcester*, Boston 1844.
- 8) Dodge, David Low: *War Inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ*, ed. by Edwin D. Mead, Boston 1905.
- 9) Ausführlich bei Peter Brock (1968), a.a.O., S. 482 ff.
- 10) Ladd, William: *The Essays of Philanthropos on Peace and War (1827)*, New York 1971; und Hemmenway, John: *The Apostle of Peace. Memoir of William Ladd*, Boston 1872, New York 1972.
- 11) Wright, Henry Clarke: *Declaration of Radical Peace Principles*, Boston 1866.
- 12) Sokolow, Jayme A.: "Revivalism and Radicalism: William Lloyd Garrison, Henry Clarke Wright and the Ideology of Nonresistance." (Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1972); und Crosby, Ernest: *Garrison the Non-Resistant*, Chicago 1905 und New York 1972.
- 13) Beckwith, George C.: *The Peace Manual, or War and Its Remedies (1847)*, New York 1971.
- 14) Garrison, William Lloyd: *Selections from the Writings and Speeches of William Lloyd Garrison*, New York 1969; und Villard, Fanny Garrison: *William Lloyd Garrison on Non-Resistance*, New York 1924; außerdem Briefe von ihm in: Taylor, Clare: *British and American Abolitionists, An Episode in Transatlantic Understanding*, Edinburgh 1974, v.a.S. 107 ff. (Letter to Joseph Pease, 3.8.1840).
- 15) Cromwell, Otelia: *Lucretia Mott*, New York 1971.
- 16) Lerner, Gerda: *The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina: Rebels against Slavery*, Boston 1967.

- 17) Child, Lydia Maria: Letters of Lydia Maria Child, Boston 1883.
- 18) Ballou, Adin: Autobiography of Adin Ballou, ed. by William S. Heywood, Lowell/Mass. 1896; und Ballou, Adin: Practical Christian Socialism: A Conversational Exposition of the True System of Human Society, New York 1854.
- 19) Leo Tolstoi gab ganze Passagen aus Ballous Schriften
- 20) in seinem Werk "Das Reich Gottes ist inwendig in Euch" wieder und übersetzte Ballou auf diese Weise ins Russische und Deutsche. Die englische Fassung "The Kingdom of God is Within You" las Gandhi bereits in Südafrika und wurde somit in seiner Konzeption von Satyagraha (Festhalten an der Wahrheit) und aktivem, gewaltfreiem Widerstand von Ballous Gedanken nachhaltig beeinflußt;
Leo N. Tolstoi: Das Reich Gottes ist inwendig in Euch oder das Christentum als eine neue Lebensauffassung, nicht als eine mystische Lehre, 1. Band, Jena 1911, S. 16-32.
- 21) Whipple, Charles K.: Evils of the Revolutionary War, Boston 1839; und Non-Resistance Applied to the Internal Defense of a Community, Boston 1860; außerdem eine ausführliche Wiedergabe seiner Positionen in Peter Brock (1968), a.a.O., S. 585 und 597 ff.
- 22) Diese Kurzbiographie basiert auf der Übersetzung einer Rezension von Ammon Hennacy von dem Band: William Lloyd Garrison and the Humanitarian Reformers, by Russel B. Nye, Boston 1955, erschienen in "The Catholic Worker", Juli-August 1955, S. 4.
- 23) Im oben erwähnten Band Tolstois (S. 8 ff.) gibt der russische Sozialethiker die "Declaration of Sentiments" (Boston 1838) unter folgendem Titel wieder: "Verkündigung der Grundsätze, welche die Mitglieder der Gesellschaft zur Begründung des allgemeinen Friedens unter den Menschen angenommen haben."
- 24) Ballou, Adin: History of the Hopedale Community from its Inception to its Virtual Submergence in the Hopedale Parish, ed. by William S. Heywood, Lowell/Mass. 1897.
- 25) Ballou, Adin: Christian Non-Resistance in All Its Important Bearings. Illustrated and Defended, ed. by William S. Heywood, Philadelphia 1846, New York 1972.
- 27) Die ausführliche Wiedergabe des Briefwechsels wie auch das abschließende Zitat ist Peter Brock (1968), a.a.O., S. 613 f. entnommen und - leicht gekürzt - übersetzt worden.
- 28) Peter Brock (1968), a.a.O., S. 615, Anmerkung 64 dieses Kapitels in Brocks Buch ist zu entnehmen, daß die Korrespondenz von Ballou und Tolstoi veröffentlicht ist in: Lewis G. Wilson (Hrsg.): "The Christian Doctrine of Non-Resistance", The Arena III, No. 13 (Dezember 1890), S. 4-7.

- 29) Dieser Abschnitt ist Cooney/Michalowski (1977), a.a.O. S. 28-31, entnommen wie auch die zahlreichen Literaturhinweise in diesen Anmerkungen (S. 216 ff.).
- 30) Whipple, Charles King: The Non-Resistance Principle: With Particular Application to the Help of Slaves by Abolitionists, Boston 1860 sowie die Wiedergabe dieser Schrift bei Peter Brock (1968), a.a.O., S. 611 f.

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- ders.: Non-Resistance Applied to the International Defense of a Community, Boston 1860
- ders.: The Non-Resistance Principle with particular application to the help of slaves by abolitionists, Boston 1860

III. Henry David Thoreaus Beitrag zum "revolutionären Pazifismus"
- Ziviler Ungehorsam als Widerstand gegen die Regierung,
und der Weg, der nach 'Walden' führt ...

CHRISTIAN BARTOLF

1. Thoreaus Bildungsweg

Schulmeister, Privatdozent, Landvermesser, Gärtner, Bleistiftfabrikant, Verfasser von Essays und Gedichten und - nicht zu vergessen - eines mit 20 Jahren begonnenen und bis zu seinem Lebensende geführten Hauptwerkes: The Journal of Henry David Thoreau - "... The Germans say, 'es ist alles wahr wodurch du besser wirst'".¹⁾

Henry David Thoreau wurde am 12. Juli 1817 in ein florierendes Concord geboren, welches Schauplatz eines der entscheidenden Befreiungskämpfe im Massachusetts des amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskrieges gewesen war. Die fehlende Prosperität der mütterlich dominierten Familie ermöglichten es dem zweitältesten Sohn Henry, dessen Großvater um 1750 aus der Kanalinsel Jersey einwanderte und in Boston ein Vermögen verdient hatte, was Henrys Vater John wieder verlor, trotzdem, nach seiner Privatschulzeit am Harvard College zu studieren (von 1835-1837), um auf dem privaten Gymnasium von Concord, der "Academy", eine Lehrerstelle anzunehmen.

Walter E. Richartz, der Herausgeber der deutschsprachigen Übersetzungen Thoreaus im Diogenes-Verlag, Zürich, berichtet darüber: "Die Direktion war darüber befremdet, daß Thoreau keinen Gebrauch von der körperlichen Züchtigung machte, die man im Interesse der Disziplin für unentbehrlich hielt. Man rügte ihn deshalb. Seine Reaktion war charakteristisch: er ließ ein halbes Dutzend Schüler vortreten, verabreichte jedem einen Klaps mit dem Lineal und kündigte die Stellung."²⁾

Gemeinsam mit seinem Bruder John lehrte er Griechisch, Latein, höhere Mathematik - doch vor allem die Beobachtung der Naturvorgänge, "Sachunterricht durch Objekter-

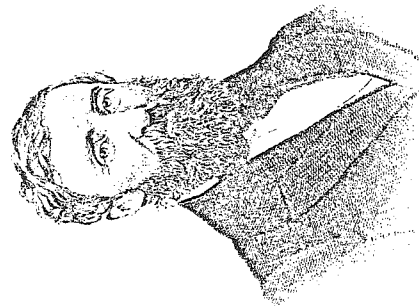
kundung".³⁾ So ist Thoreaus pädagogischer Ansatz "zunächst individuelle, antiinstitutionelle Selbsterziehung",⁴⁾ Erziehung an der Natur selbst und Bildung der Erwachsenen, der seine Vorträge im "Lyceum", der Erwachsenenbildungsstätte Concorde, wie auch seine Essays und Artikel dienen sollten.

Als Henrys Bruder John 1841 an Wundstarrkrampf starb, hatten die Brüder wegen einer frühen Tuberkulose Johns nicht nur bereits ihre Privatschule aufgegeben. Zudem fiel Henry in eine tiefe, lähmende Depression. Als Sekretär, Gärtner und Handwerker bei seinem Freund Ralph Waldo Emerson machte der "grüne Henry" einen praktischen Neuanfang, was zu jenem Experiment führte, das Thoreau 1854 als "Walden, or: Life in the Woods"⁵⁾ beschrieben und veröffentlicht hatte. Emerson hatte 1844 ein Waldgrundstück am Nordufer von Walden Pond, unweit von Concord, gekauft, in dessen Nähe Thoreau eine Blockhütte baute und bewohnte, um ein Landgrundstück für einen Garten urbar zu machen und sich auf zwei volle Jahre zurückzuziehen. Die präzise Beobachtung der natürlichen Umwelt und der zivilisatorischen Auswirkungen auf sie konnte Thoreau vier Kilometer von Concord entfernt zum Ausgangspunkt für ein relativ abgeschiedenes Leben nehmen, das durch gelegentliche Spaziergänge in die Stadt unterbrochen wurde. Bei einem von diesen Spaziergängen wurde er 1846 ins Gefängnis gebracht, weil er vier Jahre lang die Wahlsteuer nicht bezahlt hatte und nach einem Tag Zellaufenthalt - vermutlich von seiner Tante Maria - gegen Kautionsauf freien Fuß gesetzt. Die prinzipiellen Gründe, die Thoreau für diese Nacht ins Gefängnis brachten - denn die Kautionswurde gegen seinen Willen bezahlt, im Gegenteil: der ihn verhaftende Freund und Bürgermeister Sam Staples erbot sich, ihm die Summe bei Zahlungsunfähigkeit vorzustrecken - diese Prinzipien legte Thoreau in seinem Essay "The Resistance to Civil Government", später "(On the Duty of) Civil Disobedience"⁶⁾ dar, der zunächst als einer von Thoreaus ab 1834 regelmäßig gehaltenen Vorträgen im "Lyceum" entworfen worden war und erst 1849 abgedruckt wurde.

DOKUMENT 7

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

I HEARTILY accept the motto, — "That government is best which governs least;" and I should like to see it acted up to more rapidly and systematically. Carried out, it finally amounts to this, which also I believe, — "That government is best which governs not at all;" and when men are prepared for it, that will be the kind of government which they will have. Government is at best but an expedient; but most governments are usually, and all governments are sometimes, inexpedient. The objections which have been brought against a standing army, and they are many and weighty, and deserve to prevail, may also at last be brought against a standing government. The standing army is only an arm of the standing government. The government itself, which is only the mode which the people have chosen to execute their will, is equally liable to be abused and perverted before the people can act through it. Witness the present Mexican war, the work of comparatively a few individuals using



Henry D. Thoreau

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

the standing government as their tool; for, in the outset, the people would not have consented to this measure.

This American government, — what is it but a tradition, though a recent one, endeavoring to transmit itself unimpaired to posterity, but each instant losing some of its integrity? It has not the vitality and force of a single living man; for a single man can bend it to his will. It is a sort of wooden gun to the people themselves. But it is not the less necessary for this; for the people must have some complicated machinery or other, and hear its din, to satisfy that idea of government which they have. Governments show thus how successfully men can be imposed on, even impose on themselves, for their own advantage. It is excellent, we must all allow. Yet this government never of itself furthered any enterprise, but by the alacrity with which it got out of its way. *It* does not keep the country free. *It* does not settle the West. *It* does not educate. The character inherent in the American people has done all that has been accomplished; and it would have done somewhat more, if the government had not sometimes got in its way. For government is an expedient by which men would fain succeed in letting one another alone; and, as has been said, when it is most expedient, the governed are

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

most let alone by it. Trade and commerce, if they were not made of India-rubber, would never manage to bounce over the obstacles which legislators are continually putting in their way; and, if one were to judge these men wholly by the effects of their actions and not partly by their intentions, they would deserve to be classed and punished with those mischievous persons who put obstructions on the railroads.

But, to speak practically and as a citizen, unlike those who call themselves no-government men, I ask for, not at once no government, but *at once* a better government. Let every man make known what kind of government would command his respect, and that will be one step toward obtaining it.

After all, the practical reason why, when the power is once in the hands of the people, a majority are permitted, and for a long period continue, to rule is not because they are most likely to be in the right, nor because this seems fairest to the minority, but because they are physically the strongest. But a government in which the majority rule in all cases cannot be based on justice, even as far as men understand it. Can there not be a government in which majorities do not virtually decide right and wrong, but conscience? — in which majorities decide only those questions to which the rule

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

martyrs, reformers in the great sense, and *men*, serve the state with their consciences also, and so necessarily resist it for the most part; and they are commonly treated as enemies by it. A wise man will only be useful as a man, and will not submit to be "clay," and "stop a hole to keep the wind away," but leave that office to his dust at least:—

"I am too high-born to be propertied,
To be a secondary at control,
Or useful serving-man and instrument
To any sovereign state throughout the world."

He who gives himself entirely to his fellow-men appears to them useless and selfish; but he who gives himself partially to them is pronounced a benefactor and philanthropist.

How does it become a man to behave toward this American government to-day? I answer, that he cannot without disgrace be associated with it. I cannot for an instant recognize that political organization as *my* government which is the *slave's* government also.

All men recognize the right of revolution; that is, the right to refuse allegiance to, and to resist, the government, when its tyranny or its inefficiency are great and unendurable. But almost all say that such is not the case now. But such was the case, they think, in the Revolution of '75. If one were to tell me that this

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

was a bad government because it taxed certain foreign commodities brought to its ports, it is most probable that I should not make an ado about it, for I can do without them. All machines have their friction; and possibly this does enough good to counterbalance the evil. At any rate, it is a great evil to make a stir about it. But when the friction comes to have its machine, and oppression and robbery are organized, I say, let us not have such a machine any longer. In other words, when a sixth of the population of a nation which has undertaken to be the refuge of liberty are slaves, and a whole country is unjustly overrun and conquered by a foreign army, and subjected to military law, I think that it is not too soon for honest men to rebel and revolutionize. What makes this duty the more urgent is the fact that the country so overrun is not our own, but ours is the invading army.

Paley, a common authority with many on moral questions, in his chapter on the "Duty of Submission to Civil Government," resolves all civil obligation into expediency; and he proceeds to say, "that so long as the interest of the whole society requires it, that is, so long as the established government cannot be resisted or changed without public inconvenience, it is the will of God that the established government

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

have it to regret. At most, they give only a cheap vote, and a feeble countenance and God-speed, to the right, as it goes by them. There are nine hundred and ninety-nine patrons of virtue to one virtuous man. But it is easier to deal with the real possessor of a thing than with the temporary guardian of it.

All voting is a sort of gaming, like checkers or backgammon, with a slight moral tinge to it, a playing with right and wrong, with moral questions; and betting naturally accompanies it. The character of the voters is not staked. I cast my vote, perchance, as I think right; but I am not vitally concerned that that right should prevail. I am willing to leave it to the majority. Its obligation, therefore, never exceeds that of expediency. Even voting *for the right* is *doing* nothing for it. It is only expressing to men feebly your desire that it should prevail. A wise man will not leave the right to the mercy of chance, nor wish it to prevail through the power of the majority. There is but little virtue in the action of masses of men. When the majority shall at length vote for the abolition of slavery, it will be because they are indifferent to slavery, or because there is but little slavery left to be abolished by their vote. *They* will then be the only slaves. Only *his* vote can hasten the abolition of slavery who asserts his own freedom by his vote.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

I hear of a convention to be held at Baltimore, or elsewhere, for the selection of a candidate for the Presidency, made up chiefly of editors, and men who are politicians by profession; but I think, what is it to any independent, intelligent, and respectable man what decision they may come to? Shall we not have the advantage of his wisdom and honesty, nevertheless? Can we not count upon some independent votes? Are there not many individuals in the country who do not attend conventions? But no: I find that the respectable man, so called, has immediately drifted from his position, and despairs of his country, when his country has more reason to despair of him. He forthwith adopts one of the candidates thus selected as the only *available* one, thus proving that he is himself *available* for any purposes of the demagogue. His vote is of no more worth than that of any unprincipled foreigner or hiring native, who may have been bought. O for a man who is a *man*, and, as my neighbor says, has a bone in his back which you cannot pass your hand through! Our statistics are at fault: the population has been returned too large. How many *men* are there to a square thousand miles in this country? Hardly one. Does not America offer any inducement for men to settle here? The American has dwindled into an

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

themselves and the state, — and refuse to pay their quota into its treasury? Do not they stand in the same relation to the state that the state does to the Union? And have not the same reasons prevented the state from resisting the Union which have prevented them from resisting the state?

How can a man be satisfied to entertain an opinion merely, and enjoy *it*? Is there any enjoyment in it, if his opinion is that he is aggrieved? If you are cheated out of a single dollar by your neighbor, you do not rest satisfied with knowing that you are cheated, or with saying that you are cheated, or even with petitioning him to pay you your due; but you take effectual steps at once to obtain the full amount, and see that you are never cheated again. Action from principle, the perception and the performance of right, changes things and relations; it is essentially revolutionary, and does not consist wholly with anything which was. It not only divides states and churches, it divides families; ay, it divides the *individual*, separating the diabolical in him from the divine.

Unjust laws exist: shall we be content to obey them, or shall we endeavor to amend them, and obey them until we have succeeded, or shall we transgress them at once? Men generally, under such a government as this, think that they

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

ought to wait until they have persuaded the majority to alter them. They think that, if they should resist, the remedy would be worse than the evil. But it is the fault of the government itself that the remedy *is* worse than the evil. *It* makes it worse. Why is it not more apt to anticipate and provide for reform? Why does it not cherish its wise minority? Why does it cry and resist before it is hurt? Why does it not encourage its citizens to be on the alert to point out its faults, and *do* better than it would have them? Why does it always crucify Christ, and excommunicate Copernicus and Luther, and pronounce Washington and Franklin rebels?

One would think, that a deliberate and practical denial of its authority was the only offense never contemplated by government; else, why has it not assigned its definite, its suitable and proportionate penalty? If a man who has no property refuses but once to earn nine shillings for the state, he is put in prison for a period unlimited by any law that I know, and determined only by the discretion of those who placed him there; but if he should steal ninety times nine shillings from the state, he is soon permitted to go at large again.

If the injustice is part of the necessary friction of the machine of government, let it go,

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

voluntarily chosen to be an agent of the government. How shall he ever know well what he is and does as an officer of the government, or as a man, until he is obliged to consider whether he shall treat me, his neighbor, for whom he has respect, as a neighbor and well-disposed man, or as a maniac and disturber of the peace, and see if he can get over this obstruction to his neighborliness without a ruler and more impetuous thought or speech corresponding with his action. I know this well, that if one thousand, if one hundred, if ten men whom I could name, — if ten *honest* men only, — ay, if *one HONEST* man, in this State of Massachusetts, *ceasing to hold slaves*, were actually to withdraw from this copartnership, and be locked up in the county jail therefor, it would be the abolition of slavery in America. For it matters not how small the beginning may seem to be: what is once well done is done forever. But we love better to talk about it: that we say is our mission. Reform keeps many scores of newspapers in its service, but not one man. If my esteemed neighbor, the State's ambassador, who will devote his days to the settlement of the question of human rights in the Council Chamber, instead of being threatened with the prisons of Carolina, were to sit down the prisoner of Massachusetts, that State which is so anxious

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

to foist the sin of slavery upon her sister, — though at present she can discover only an act of inhospitality to be the ground of a quarrel with her, — the Legislature would not wholly waive the subject the following winter.

Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also a prison. The proper place to-day, the only place which Massachusetts has provided for her freer and less desponding spirits, is in her prisons, to be put out and locked out of the State by her own act, as they have already put themselves out by their principles. It is there that the fugitive slave, and the Mexican prisoner on parole, and the Indian come to plead the wrongs of his race should find them; on that separate, but more free and honorable ground, where the State places those who are not *with* her, but *against* her, — the only house in a slave State in which a free man can abide with honor. If any think that their influence would be lost there, and their voices no longer afflict the ear of the State, that they would not be as an enemy within its walls, they do not know by how much truth is stronger than error, nor how much more eloquently and effectively he can combat injustice who has experienced a little in his own person. Cast your whole vote, not a strip of paper merely, but your whole influence. A

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

and which he has made current and valuable, that is, *if you are men of the State*, and gladly enjoy the advantages of Caesar's government, then pay him back some of his own when he demands it. "Render therefore to Caesar that which is Caesar's, and to God those things which are God's,"—leaving them no wiser than before as to which was which; for they did not wish to know.

When I converse with the freest of my neighbors, I perceive that, whatever they may say about the magnitude and seriousness of the question, and their regard for the public tranquillity, the long and the short of the matter is, that they cannot spare the protection of the existing government, and they dread the consequences to their property and families of disobedience to it. For my own part, I should not like to think that I ever rely on the protection of the State. But, if I deny the authority of the State when it presents its tax-bill, it will soon take and waste all my property, and so harass me and my children without end. This is lurid. This makes it impossible for a man to live honestly, and at the same time comfortably, in outward respects. It will not be worth the while to accumulate property; that would be sure to go again. You must hire or squat somewhere, and raise but a small crop, and eat

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

that soon. You must live within yourself, and depend upon yourself always tucked up and ready for a start, and not have many affairs. A man may grow rich in Turkey even, if he will be in all respects a good subject of the Turkish government. Confucius said: "If a state is governed by the principles of reason, poverty and misery are subjects of shame; if a state is not governed by the principles of reason, riches and honors are the subjects of shame." No: until I want the protection of Massachusetts to be extended to me in some distant Southern port, where my liberty is endangered, or until I am bent solely on building up an estate at home by peaceful enterprise, I can afford to refuse allegiance to Massachusetts, and her right to my property and life. It costs me less in every sense to incur the penalty of disobedience to the State than it would to obey. I should feel as if I were worth less in that case.

Some years ago, the State met me in behalf of the Church, and commanded me to pay a certain sum toward the support of a clergyman whose preaching my father attended, but never I myself. "Pay," it said, "or be locked up in the jail." I declined to pay. But, unfortunately, another man saw fit to pay it. I did not see why the schoolmaster should be taxed to

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

lost all my remaining respect for it, and pitied it.

Thus the State never intentionally confronts a man's sense, intellectual or moral, but only his body, his senses. It is not armed with superior wit or honesty, but with superior physical strength. I was not born to be forced. I will breathe after my own fashion. Let us see who is the strongest. What force has a multitude? They only can force me who obey a higher law than I. They force me to become like themselves. I do not hear of *men* being *forced* to live this way or that by masses of men. What sort of life were that to live? When I meet a government which says to me, "Your money or your life," why should I be in haste to give it my money? It may be in a great strait, and not know what to do: I cannot help that. It must help itself; do as I do. It is not worth the while to snivel about it. I am not responsible for the successful working of the machinery of society. I am not the son of the engineer. I perceive that, when an acorn and a chestnut fall side by side, the one does not remain inert to make way for the other, but both obey their own laws, and spring and grow and flourish as best they can, till one, perchance, overshadows and destroys the other. If a plant cannot live according to its nature, it dies; and so a man.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

The night in prison was novel and interesting enough. The prisoners in their shirt-sleeves were enjoying a chat and the evening air in the doorway, when I entered. But the jailer said, "Come, boys, it is time to lock up;" and so they dispersed, and I heard the sound of their steps returning into the hollow apartments. My room-mate was introduced to me by the jailer as "a first-rate fellow and a clever man." When the door was locked, he showed me where to hang my hat, and how he managed matters there. The rooms were whitewashed once a month; and this one, at least, was the whitest, most simply furnished, and probably the neatest apartment in the town. He naturally wanted to know where I came from, and what brought me there; and, when I had told him, I asked him in my turn how he came there, presuming him to be an honest man, of course; and, as the world goes, I believe he was. "Why," said he, "they accuse me of burning a barn; but I never did it." As near as I could discover, he had probably gone to bed in a barn when drunk, and smoked his pipe there; and so a barn was burnt. He had the reputation of being a clever man, had been there some three months waiting for his trial to come on, and would have to wait as much longer; but he was quite domesticated and con-

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

ceive that great changes had taken place on the common, such as he observed who went in a youth and emerged a tottering and gray-headed man; and yet a change had to my eyes come over the scene,—the town, and State, and country,—greater than any that mere time could effect. I saw yet more distinctly the State in which I lived. I saw to what extent the people among whom I lived could be trusted as good neighbors and friends; that their friendship was for summer weather only; that they did not greatly propose to do right; that they were a distinct race from me by their prejudices and superstitions, as the Chinamen and Malays are; that in their sacrifices to humanity they ran no risks, not even to their property; that after all they were not so noble but they treated the thief as he had treated them, and hoped, by a certain outward observance and a few prayers, and by walking in a particular straight though useless path from time to time, to save their souls. This may be to judge my neighbors harshly; for I believe that many of them are not aware that they have such an institution as the jail in their village.

It was formerly the custom in our village, when a poor debtor came out of jail, for his acquaintances to salute him, looking through their fingers, which were crossed to represent

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

the grating of a jail window, "How do ye do?" My neighbors did not thus salute me, but first looked at me, and then at one another, as if I had returned from a long journey. I was put into jail as I was going to the shoemaker's to get a shoe which was mended. When I was let out the next morning, I proceeded to finish my errand, and, having put on my mended shoe, joined a huckleberry party, who were impatient to put themselves under my conduct; and in half an hour,—for the horse was soon tackled,—was in the midst of a huckleberry field, on one of our highest hills, two miles off, and then the State was nowhere to be seen.

This is the whole history of "My Prisons."

I have never declined paying the highway tax, because I am as desirous of being a good neighbor as I am of being a bad subject; and as for supporting schools, I am doing my part to educate my fellow-countrymen now. It is for no particular item in the tax-bill that I refuse to pay it. I simply wish to refuse allegiance to the State, to withdraw and stand aloof from it effectually. I do not care to trace the course of my dollar, if I could, till it buys a man or a musket to shoot one with,—the dollar is innocent,—but I am concerned to trace the effects of my allegiance. In fact, I quietly

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

resisting this and a purely brute or natural force, that I can resist this with some effect; but I cannot expect, like Orpheus, to change the nature of the rocks and trees and beasts.

I do not wish to quarrel with any man or nation. I do not wish to split hairs, to make fine distinctions, or set myself up as better than my neighbors. I seek rather, I may say, even an excuse for conforming to the laws of the land. I am but too ready to conform to them. Indeed, I have reason to suspect myself on this head; and each year, as the tax-gatherer comes round, I find myself disposed to review the acts and position of the general and State governments, and the spirit of the people, to discover a pretext for conformity.

"We must affect our country as our parents,
And if at any time we alienate
Our love or industry from doing it honor,
We must respect effects and teach the soul
Matter of conscience and religion,
And not desire of rule or benefit."

I believe that the State will soon be able to take all my work of this sort out of my hands, and then I shall be no better a patriot than my fellow-countrymen. Seen from a lower point of view, the Constitution, with all its faults, is very good; the law and the courts are very respectable; even this State and this American government are, in many respects, very admira-

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

ble, and rare things, to be thankful for, such as a great many have described them; but seen from a point of view a little higher, they are what I have described them; seen from a higher still, and the highest, who shall say what they are, or that they are worth looking at or thinking of at all?

However, the government does not concern me much, and I shall bestow the fewest possible thoughts on it. It is not many moments that I live under a government, even in this world. If a man is thought-free, fancy-free, imagination-free, that which *is not* never for a long time appearing *to be* to him, unwise rulers or reformers cannot fatally interrupt him.

I know that most men think differently from myself; but those whose lives are by profession devoted to the study of these or kindred subjects content me as little as any. Statesmen and legislators, standing so completely within the institution, never distinctly and nakedly behold it. They speak of moving society, but have no resting-place without it. They may be men of a certain experience and discrimination, and have no doubt invented ingenious and even useful systems, for which we sincerely thank them; but all their wit and usefulness lie within certain not very wide limits. They are wont to forget that the world is not governed by policy

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

They who know of no purer sources of truth, who have traced up its stream no higher, stand, and wisely stand, by the Bible and the Constitution, and drink at it there with reverence and humility; but they who behold where it comes trickling into this lake or that pool, gird up their loins once more, and continue their pilgrimage toward its fountain-head.

No man with a genius for legislation has appeared in America. They are rare in the history of the world. There are orators, politicians, and eloquent men, by the thousand; but the speaker has not yet opened his mouth to speak who is capable of settling the much-vexed questions of the day. We love eloquence for its own sake, and not for any truth which it may utter, or any heroism it may inspire. Our legislators have not yet learned the comparative value of free-trade and of freedom, of union, and of rectitude, to a nation. They have no genius or talent for comparatively humble questions of taxation and finance, commerce and manufactures and agriculture. If we were left solely to the worldly wit of legislators in Congress for our guidance, uncorrected by the reasonable experience and the effectual complaints of the people, America would not long retain her rank among the nations. For eighteen hundred years, though perchance I have no right

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

to say it, the New Testament has been written; yet where is the legislator who has wisdom and practical talent enough to avail himself of the light which it sheds on the science of legislation?

The authority of government, even such as I am willing to submit to, — for I will cheerfully obey those who know and can do better than I, and in many things even those who neither know nor can do so well, — is still an impure one: to be strictly just, it must have the sanction and consent of the governed. It can have no pure right over my person and property but what I concede to it. The progress from an absolute to a limited monarchy, from a limited monarchy to a democracy, is a progress toward a true respect for the individual. Even the Chinese philosopher was wise enough to regard the individual as the basis of the empire. Is a democracy, such as we know it, the last improvement possible in government? Is it not possible to take a step further towards recognizing and organizing the rights of man? There will never be a really free and enlightened State until the State comes to recognize the individual as a higher and independent power, from which all its own power and authority are derived, and treats him accordingly. I please myself with imagining a State at last which

2. Transzendentalismus

In einer Zeit frühsozialistischer, von Robert Owen und Charles Fourier inspirierter Farmexperimente⁷⁾, von 1830 an etwa, sproß die gegen den amerikanischen Pragmatismus gerichtete Schule des Transzendentalismus in den Neuenlandstaaten zu einer in der nachfolgenden Phase der Industrialisierung nicht mehr eingeholten Blüte heran. Charles Fourier (1772-1832), der die alten Staaten auflösen und durch autarke Klein-Kollektive - sogenannte 'Phalangen' - ersetzen wollte, regte nicht weniger als 41 solcher Gemeinden an, unter denen außer der von Adin Ballou gegründeten Hopedale-Kommune (1841-1856) bei Concord, Massachusetts, die Fruitlands-Farm (1844/45) einem Kibbutz-ähnlichen Genossenschaftsmodell gleichkamen. An dem Experiment der Brooks-Farm, Institute of Agriculture and Education in der Nähe von Boston (1841-1847) beteiligten sich Bronson Alcott, der Reformpädagoge, Theodore Parker⁸⁾, der transzendentalistische Philosoph, Margaret Fuller⁹⁾, die frühe Frauenrechtlerin und spätere Herausgeberin der Intellektuellenzeitschrift Dial und ein so bekannter Schriftsteller wie Nathaniel Hawthorne, der in seinem Roman "The Blithedale Romance" (1852) ein anschauliches Bild der Kommunarden vermittelte. In der praktischen Vorbereitung utopischer Kolonien wurden u.a. von Josiah Warren, Grundlagen für einen philosophisch begründeten Anarchismus gelegt, dessen Prinzip der Verweigerung aller staatsbürgerlichen Pflichten am konsequentesten dort vorgelebt, in jenen praktischen, kommunitären Projekten.

In der Zeit einer verbreiteten Glaubenskrise, der Gründung neuer Konfessionen und Abspaltung der Unitarier von der Presbyterianischen Hauptkirche (1825) begannen angesehene Kirchenmänner wie Ralph Waldo Emerson und Theodore Parker, ihre Bindungen zur Kirche ganz zu lösen. In solch einer Zeit auch politisch gegen die Idee einer unteilbaren Nation gerichteter separatistischer Tendenzen entwickelte sich Concord zu einem neuen geistigen Mittelpunkt: Emerson (1803-1882)¹⁰⁾, Alcott (1799-1888)¹¹⁾, der Dichter Hawthorne, Margaret Fuller, der Dichter und Naturidealist

Ellery Channing - ein jeder ein Vertreter einer neuen Aufbruchstimmung auf allen gesellschaftlichen und geistigen Gebieten, auch in örtlicher Nähe dicht beieinander wohnend.

Die Transzendentalisten gingen entgegen der pragmatischen Auffassung vom instrumentellen Zweck der Erkenntnis davon aus, daß sich hinter den sinnlich wahrnehmbaren Gegenständen die wahre Welt verberge, die es zu erkennen gelte. So bleibt zu verstehen, daß sie philosophische Einflüsse von Sokrates bis Kant zur Grundlage einer spezifisch amerikanischen, idealistischen Philosophie machten und - was sich in Emersons Schriften¹²⁾, vor allem seinen Essays, niederschlägt - naturphilosophische Beiträge mit gesellschaftskritischen verbanden. "The law will never make men free; it is men who have got to make the law free. They are the lovers of law and order who observe the law when the government breaks it."¹³⁾ "Will mankind never learn that policy is not morality - that it never secures any moral right, but considers merely what is expedient? chooses the available candidate - who is invariably the Devil - and what right have this constituents to be surprised, because the Devil does not behave like an angel of light? What is wanted is men, not of policy, but of probity - who recognize the higher law than the Constitution, or the decision of the majority."¹⁴⁾

Thoreaus transzendentalistischer Beitrag bestand neben seinen allzu wenig beachteten naturphilosophischen Schriften eben in jener Infragestellung menschlicher Politik und unmenschlicher Justiz, deren Folgen in Thoreaus Gefolge jede "durch geistige Impulse genährte" Existenz - von Walt Whitman¹⁵⁾ bis Allen Ginsberg, von Scott Nearing¹⁶⁾ bis Martin Luther King jr., von B.F. Skinner¹⁷⁾ bis Joan Baez, die Thoreau "kennenlernten"¹⁸⁾ - praktisch zu überwinden trachteten. Die transzendentalistischen Einflüsse Thoreaus waren nun eben jene auf einer von fernöstlicher Philosophie inspirierten Einsicht und einem gegenwartsbe-

zogenen Leben fundierte transzendente Sichtweise, die anerkannt: "Nur der Tag bricht an, für den wir wach sind. Noch mancher Tag harret des Anbruchs. Die Sonne ist nur ein Morgenstern." 19)



Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862)

DOCUMENT
8

LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE

At a lyceum, not long since, I felt that the lecturer had chosen a theme too foreign to himself, and so failed to interest me as much as he might have done. He described things not in or near to his heart, but toward his extremities and superficialities. There was, in this sense, no truly central or centralizing thought in the lecture. I would have had him deal with his privatest experience, as the poet does. The greatest compliment that was ever paid me was when one asked me what *I thought*, and attended to my answer. I am surprised, as well as delighted, when this happens, it is such a rare use he would make of me, as if he were acquainted with the tool. Commonly, if men want anything of me, it is only to know how many acres I make of their land, — since I am a surveyor, — or, at most, what trivial news I have burdened myself with. They never will go to law for my meat; they prefer the shell. A man once came a considerable distance to ask me to lecture on Slavery; but on conversing with him, I found that he and his clique expected seven



HENRY DAVID THOREAU
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LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE

eighths of the lecture to be theirs, and only one eighth mine; so I declined. I take it for granted, when I am invited to lecture anywhere, — for I have had a little experience in that business, — that there is a desire to hear what *I think* on some subject, though I may be the greatest fool in the country, — and not that I should say pleasant things merely, or such as the audience will assent to; and I resolve, accordingly, that I will give them a strong dose of myself. They have sent for me, and engaged to pay for me, and I am determined that they shall have me, though I bore them beyond all precedent.

So now I would say something similar to you, my readers. Since *you* are my readers, and I have not been much of a traveler, I will not talk about people a thousand miles off, but come as near home as I can. As the time is short, I will leave out all the flattery, and retain all the criticism.

Let us consider the way in which we spend our lives.

This world is a place of business. What an infinite hustle! I am awaked almost every night by the panting of the locomotive. It interrupts my dreams. There is no sabbath. It would be glorious to see mankind at leisure for once. It is nothing but work, work, work. I cannot easily buy a blank-book to write

LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE

thoughts in; they are commonly ruled for dollars and cents. An Irishman, seeing me making a minute in the fields, took it for granted that I was calculating my wages. If a man was tossed out of a window when an infant, and so made a cripple for life, or scared out of his wits by the Indians, it is regretted chiefly because he was thus incapacitated for — business! I think that there is nothing, not even crime, more opposed to poetry, to philosophy, ay, to life itself, than this incessant business.

There is a coarse and boisterous money-making fellow in the outskirts of our town, who is going to build a bank-wall under the hill along the edge of his meadow. The powers have put this into his head to keep him out of mischief, and he wishes me to spend three weeks digging there with him. The result will be that he will perhaps get some more money to hoard, and leave for his heirs to spend foolishly. If I do this, most will commend me as an industrious and hard-working man; but if I choose to devote myself to certain labors which yield more real profit, though but little money, they may be inclined to look on me as an idler. Nevertheless, as I do not need the police of meaningless labor to regulate me, and do not see anything absolutely praiseworthy in this fellow's undertaking any more than in many

LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE

an enterprise of our own or foreign governments, however amusing it may be to him or them, I prefer to finish my education at a different school.

If a man walk in the woods for love of them half of each day, he is in danger of being regarded as a loafer; but if he spends his whole day as a speculator, shearing off those woods and making earth bald before her time, he is esteemed an industrious and enterprising citizen. As if a town had no interest in its forests but to cut them down!

Most men would feel insulted if it were proposed to employ them in throwing stones over a wall, and then in throwing them back, merely that they might earn their wages. But many are no more worthily employed now. For instance: just after sunrise, one summer morning, I noticed one of my neighbors walking beside his team, which was slowly drawing a heavy hewn stone swung under the axle, surrounded by an atmosphere of industry, — his day's work begun, — his brow commenced to sweat, — a reproach to all sluggards and idlers, — pausing abreast the shoulders of his oxen, and half turning round with a flourish of his merciful whip, while they gained their length on him. And I thought, Such is the labor which the American Congress exists to protect, — honest, manly toil,

LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE

—honest as the day is long, — that makes his bread taste sweet, and keeps society sweet, — which all men respect and have consecrated; one of the sacred band, doing the needful but irksome drudgery. Indeed, I felt a slight reproach, because I observed this from a window, and was not abroad and stirring about a similar business. The day went by, and at evening I passed the yard of another neighbor, who keeps many servants, and spends much money foolishly, while he adds nothing to the common stock, and there I saw the stone of the morning lying beside a whimsical structure intended to adorn this Lord Timothy Dexter's premises, and the dignity forthwith departed from the teamster's labor, in my eyes. In my opinion, the sun was made to light worthier toil than this. I may add that his employer has since run off, in debt to a good part of the town, and, after passing through Chancery, has settled somewhere else, there to become once more a patron of the arts.

The ways by which you may get money almost without exception lead downward. To have done anything by which you earned money *merely* is to have been truly idle or worse. If the laborer gets no more than the wages which his employer pays him, he is cheated, he cheats himself. If you would get money as a writer

LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE

or lecturer, you must be popular, which is to go down perpendicularly. Those services which the community will most readily pay for, it is most disagreeable to render. You are paid for being something less than a man. The State does not commonly reward a genius any more wisely. Even the poet-laureate would rather not have to celebrate the accidents of royalty. He must be bribed with a pipe of wine; and perhaps another poet is called away from his muse to gauge that very pipe. As for my own business, even that kind of surveying which I could do with most satisfaction my employers do not want. They would prefer that I should do my work coarsely and not too well, ay, not well enough. When I observe that there are different ways of surveying, my employer commonly asks which will give him the most land, not which is most correct. I once invented a rule for measuring cord-wood, and tried to introduce it in Boston; but the measurer there told me that the sellers did not wish to have their wood measured correctly, — that he was already too accurate for them, and therefore they commonly got their wood measured in Charlestown before crossing the bridge.

The aim of the laborer should be, not to get his living, to get "a good job," but to perform

LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE

well a certain work; and, even in a pecuniary sense, it would be economy for a town to pay its laborers so well that they would not feel that they were working for low ends, as for a livelihood merely, but for scientific, or even moral ends. Do not hire a man who does your work for money, but him who does it for love of it.

It is remarkable that there are few men so well employed, so much to their minds, but that a little money or fame would commonly buy them off from their present pursuit. I see advertisements for *active* young men, as if activity were the whole of a young man's capital. Yet I have been surprised when one has with confidence proposed to me, a grown man, to embark in some enterprise of his, as if I had absolutely nothing to do, my life having been a complete failure hitherto. What a doubtful compliment this to pay me! As if he had met me halfway across the ocean beating up against the wind, but bound nowhere, and proposed to me to go along with him! If I did, what do you think the underwriters would say? No, no! I am not without employment at this stage of the voyage. To tell the truth, I saw an advertisement for able-bodied seamen, when I was a boy, sauntering in my native port, and as soon as I came of age I embarked.

The community has no bribe that will tempt

LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE

a wise man. You may raise money enough to tunnel a mountain, but you cannot raise money enough to hire a man who is minding *his own* business. An efficient and valuable man does what he can, whether the community pay him for it or not. The inefficient offer their inefficiency to the highest bidder, and are forever expecting to be put into office. One would suppose that they were rarely disappointed.

Perhaps I am more than usually jealous with respect to my freedom. I feel that my connection with and obligation to society are still very slight and transient. Those slight labors which afford me a livelihood, and by which it is allowed that I am to some extent serviceable to my contemporaries, are as yet commonly a pleasure to me, and I am not often reminded that they are a necessity. So far I am successful. But I foresee that if my wants should be much increased, the labor required to supply them would become a drudgery. If I should sell both my forenoons and afternoons to society, as most appear to do, I am sure that for me there would be nothing left worth living for. I trust that I shall never thus sell my birthright for a mess of pottage. I wish to suggest that a man may be very industrious, and yet not spend his time well. There is no more fatal blunderer than he who consumes the greater part of his

LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE

life getting his living. All great enterprises are self-supporting. The poet, for instance, must sustain his body by his poetry, as a steam planing-mill feeds its boilers with the shavings it makes. You must get your living by loving. But as it is said of the merchants that ninety-seven in a hundred fail, so the life of men generally, tried by this standard, is a failure, and bankruptcy may be surely prophesied.

Merely to come into the world the heir of a fortune is not to be born, but to be still-born, rather. To be supported by the charity of friends, or a government-pension, — provided you continue to breathe, — by whatever fine synonyms you describe these relations, is to go into the almshouse. On Sundays the poor debtor goes to church to take an account of stock, and finds, of course, that his outgoes have been greater than his income. In the Catholic Church, especially, they go into Chancery, make a clean confession, give up all, and think to start again. Thus men will lie on their backs, talking about the fall of man, and never make an effort to get up.

As for the comparative demand which men make on life, it is an important difference between two, that the one is satisfied with a level success, that his marks can all be hit by point-blank shots, but the other, however low and

LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE

unsuccessful his life may be, constantly elevates his aim, though at a very slight angle to the horizon. I should much rather be the last man, — though, as the Orientals say, "Greatness doth not approach him who is forever looking down; and all those who are looking high are growing poor."

It is remarkable that there is little or nothing to be remembered written on the subject of getting a living; how to make getting a living not merely honest and honorable, but altogether inviting and glorious; for if *getting* a living is not so, then living is not. One would think, from looking at literature, that this question had never disturbed a solitary individual's musings. Is it that men are too much disgusted with their experience to speak of it? The lesson of value which money teaches, which the Author of the Universe has taken so much pains to teach us, we are inclined to skip altogether. As for the means of living, it is wonderful how indifferent men of all classes are about it, even reformers, so called, — whether they inherit, or earn, or steal it. I think that Society has done nothing for us in this respect, or at least has undone what she has done. Cold and hunger seem more friendly to my nature than those methods which men have adopted and advise to ward them off.

LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE

The title *wise* is, for the most part, falsely applied. How can one be a wise man, if he does not know any better how to live than other men? — if he is only more cunning and intellectually subtle? Does Wisdom work in a treadmill? or does she teach how to succeed *by her example*? Is there any such thing as wisdom not applied to life? Is she merely the miller who grinds the finest logic? It is pertinent to ask if Plato got his *living* in a better way or more successfully than his contemporaries, — or did he succumb to the difficulties of life like other men? Did he seem to prevail over some of them merely by indifference, or by assuming grand airs? or find it easier to live, because his aunt remembered him in her will? The ways in which most men get their living, that is, live, are mere make-shifts, and a shirking of the real business of life, — chiefly because they do not know, but partly because they do not mean, any better.

The rush to California, for instance, and the attitude, not merely of merchants, but of philosophers and prophets, so called, in relation to it, reflect the greatest disgrace on mankind. That so many are ready to live by luck, and so get the means of commanding the labor of others less lucky, without contributing any value to society! And that is called enterprise! I

LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE

know of no more startling development of the immorality of trade, and all the common modes of getting a living. The philosophy and poetry and religion of such a mankind are not worth the dust of a puff-ball. The hog that gets his living by rooting, stirring up the soil so, would be ashamed of such company. If I could command the wealth of all the worlds by lifting my finger, I would not pay *such* a price for it. Even Mahomet knew that God did not make this world in jest. It makes God to be a money-eyed gentleman who scatters a handful of pennies in order to see mankind scramble for them. The world's raffle! A subsistence in the domains of Nature a thing to be raffled for! What a comment, what a satire, on our institutions! The conclusion will be, that mankind will hang itself upon a tree. And have all the precepts in all the Bibles taught men only this? and is the last and most admirable invention of the human race only an improved muck-rake? Is this the ground on which Orientals and Occidentals meet? Did God direct us so to get our living, digging where we never planted, — and He would, perchance, reward us with lumps of gold?

God gave the righteous man a certificate entitling him to food and raiment, but the unrighteous man found a facsimile of the same in

LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE

God's coffers, and appropriated it, and obtained food and raiment like the former. It is one of the most extensive systems of counterfeiting that the world has seen. I did not know that mankind were suffering for want of gold. I have seen a little of it. I know that it is very malleable, but not so malleable as wit. A grain of gold will gild a great surface, but not so much as a grain of wisdom.

The gold-digger in the ravines of the mountains is as much a gambler as his fellow in the saloons of San Francisco. What difference does it make whether you shake dirt or shake dice? If you win, society is the loser. The gold-digger is the enemy of the honest laborer, whatever checks and compensations there may be. It is not enough to tell me that you worked hard to get your gold. So does the Devil work hard. The way of transgressors may be hard in many respects. The humblest observer who goes to the mines sees and says that gold-digging is of the character of a lottery; the gold thus obtained is not the same thing with the wages of honest toil. But, practically, he forgets what he has seen, for he has seen only the fact, not the principle, and goes into trade there, that is, buys a ticket in what commonly proves another lottery, where the fact is not so obvious.

LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE

After reading Howitt's account of the Australian gold-diggings one evening, I had in my mind's eye, all night, the numerous valleys, with their streams, all cut up with foul pits, from ten to one hundred feet deep, and half a dozen feet across, as close as they can be dug, and partly filled with water, — the locality to which men furiously rush to probe for their fortunes, — uncertain where they shall break ground, — not knowing but the gold is under their camp itself, — sometimes digging one hundred and sixty feet before they strike the vein, or then missing it by a foot, — turned into demons, and regardless of each others' rights, in their thirst for riches, — whole valleys, for thirty miles, suddenly honeycombed by the pits of the miners, so that even hundreds are drowned in them, — standing in water, and covered with mud and clay, they work night and day, dying of exposure and disease. Having read this, and partly forgotten it, I was thinking, accidentally, of my own unsatisfactory life, doing as others do; and with that vision of the diggings still before me, I asked myself why *I* might not be washing some gold daily, though it were only the finest particles, — why *I* might not sink a shaft down to the gold within me, and work that mine. *There is a Ballarat, a Bendigo for you, — what though*

LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE

cradles or his toms. He is not confined to a claim twelve feet square, as at Ballarat, but may mine anywhere, and wash the whole wide world in his tom.

Howitt says of the man who found the great nugget which weighed twenty-eight pounds, at the Bendigo diggings in Australia: "He soon began to drink; got a horse, and rode all about, generally at full gallop, and, when he met people, called out to inquire if they knew who he was, and then kindly informed them that he was 'the bloody wretch that had found the nugget.' At last he rode full speed against a tree, and nearly knocked his brains out." I think, however, there was no danger of that, for he had already knocked his brains out against the nugget. Howitt adds, "He is a hopelessly ruined man." But he is a type of the class. They are all fast men. Hear some of the names of the places where they dig: "Jackass Flat," — "Sheep's-Head Gully," — "Murderer's Bar," etc. Is there no satire in these names? Let them carry their ill-gotten wealth where they will, I am thinking it will still be "Jackass Flat," if not "Murderer's Bar," where they live.

The last resource of our energy has been the robbing of graveyards on the Isthmus of Darien, an enterprise which appears to be but in its

LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE

it were a sulky-gully? At any rate, I might pursue some path, however solitary and narrow and crooked, in which I could walk with love and reverence. Wherever a man separates from the multitude, and goes his own way in this mood, there indeed is a fork in the road, though ordinary travelers may see only a gap in the paling. His solitary path across-lots will turn out the *higher way* of the two.

Men rush to California and Australia as if the true gold were to be found in that direction; but that is to go to the very opposite extreme to where it lies. They go prospecting farther and farther away from the true lead, and are most unfortunate when they think themselves most successful. Is not our *native* soil auriferous? Does not a stream from the golden mountains flow through our native valley? and has not this for more than geologic ages been bringing down the shining particles and forming the nuggets for us? Yet, strange to tell, if a digger steal away, prospecting for this true gold, into the unexplored solitudes around us, there is no danger that any will dog his steps, and endeavor to supplant him. He may claim and undermine the whole valley even, both the cultivated and the uncultivated portions, his whole life long in peace, for no one will ever dispute his claim. They will not mind his

LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE

infancy; for, according to late accounts, an act has passed its second reading in the legislature of New Granada, regulating this kind of mining; and a correspondent of the "Tribune" writes: "In the dry season, when the weather will permit of the country being properly prospected, no doubt other rich *quacas* [that is, graveyards] will be found." To emigrants he says: "Do not come before December; take the Isthmus route in preference to the Boca del Toro one; bring no useless baggage, and do not cumber yourself with a tent; but a good pair of blankets will be necessary; a pick, shovel, and axe of good material will be almost all that is required;" advice which might have been taken from the "Burker's Guide." And he concludes with this line in Italics and small capitals: "*If you are doing well at home, STAY THERE,*" which may fairly be interpreted to mean, "If you are getting a good living by robbing graveyards at home, stay there."

But why go to California for a text? She is the child of New England, bred at her own school and church.

It is remarkable that among all the preachers there are so few moral teachers. The prophets are employed in excusing the ways of men. Most reverend seniors, the *illuminati* of the age, tell me, with a gracious, reminiscent smile,

betwixt an aspiration and a shudder, not to be too tender about these things, — to lump all that, that is, make a lump of gold of it. The highest advice I have heard on these subjects was groveling. The burden of it was, — It is not worth your while to undertake to reform the world in this particular. Do not ask how your bread is buttered; it will make you sick, if you do, — and the like. A man had better starve at once than lose his innocence in the process of getting his bread. If within the sophisticated man there is not an unsophisticated one, then he is but one of the Devil's angels. As we grow old, we live more coarsely, we relax a little in our disciplines, and, to some extent, cease to obey our finest instincts. But we should be fastidious to the extreme of sanity, disregarding the gibes of those who are more unfortunate than ourselves.

In our science and philosophy, even, there is commonly no true and absolute account of things. The spirit of sect and bigotry has planted its hoof amid the stars. You have only to discuss the problem, whether the stars are inhabited or not, in order to discover it. Why must we dash the heavens as well as the earth? It was an unfortunate discovery that Dr. Kane was a Mason, and that Sir John Franklin was another. But it was a more cruel suggestion

that possibly that was the reason why the former went in search of the latter. There is not a popular magazine in this country that would dare to print a child's thought on important subjects without comment. It must be submitted to the D. D.'s. I would it were the chickadee-dees.

You come from attending the funeral of mankind to attend to a natural phenomenon. A little thought is sexton to all the world.

I hardly know an *intellectual* man, even, who is so broad and truly liberal that you can think aloud in his society. Most with whom you endeavor to talk soon come to a stand against some institution in which they appear to hold stock, — that is, some particular, not universal, way of viewing things. They will continually thrust their own low roof, with its narrow skylight, between you and the sky, when it is the unobstructed heavens you would view. Get out of the way with your cobwebs, wash your windows, I say! In some lycenms they tell me that they have voted to exclude the subject of religion. But how do I know what their religion is, and when I am near to or far from it? I have walked into such an arena and done my best to make a clean breast of what religion I have experienced, and the audience never suspected what I was about. The lecture was as

harmless as moonshine to them. Whereas, if I had read to them the biography of the greatest scamps in history, they might have thought that I had written the lives of the deacons of their church. Ordinarily, the inquiry is, Where did you come from? or, Where are you going? That was a more pertinent question which I overheard one of my auditors put to another once, — "What does he lecture for?" It made me quake in my shoes.

To speak impartially, the best men that I know are not serene, a world in themselves. For the most part, they dwell in forms, and flatter and study effect only more finely than the rest. We select granite for the underpinning of our houses and barns; we build fences of stone; but we do not ourselves rest on an underpinning of granitic truth, the lowest primitive rock. Our sills are rotten. What stuff is the man made of who is not coexistent in our thought with the purest and subtlest truth? I often accuse my finest acquaintances of an immense frivolity; for, while there are manners and compliments we do not meet, we do not teach one another the lessons of honesty and sincerity that the brutes do, or of steadiness and solidity that the rocks do. The fault is commonly mutual, however; for we do not habitually demand any more of each other.

That excitement about Kossuth, consider how characteristic, but superficial, it was! — only another kind of politics or dancing. Men were making speeches to him all over the country, but each expressed only the thought, or the want of thought, of the multitude. No man stood on truth. They were merely banded together, as usual one leaning on another, and all together on nothing; as the Hindoos made the world rest on an elephant, the elephant on a tortoise, and the tortoise on a serpent, and had nothing to put under the serpent. For all fruit of that stir we have the Kossuth hat.

Just so hollow and ineffectual, for the most part, is our ordinary conversation. Surface meets surface. When our life ceases to be inward and private, conversation degenerates into mere gossip. We rarely meet a man who can tell us any news which he has not read in a newspaper, or been told by his neighbor; and, for the most part, the only difference between us and our fellow is that he has seen the newspaper, or been out to tea, and we have not. In proportion as our inward life fails, we go more constantly and desperately to the post-office. You may depend on it, that the poor fellow who walks away with the greatest number of letters proud of his extensive correspondence has not heard from himself this long while.

I do not know but it is too much to read one newspaper a week. I have tried it recently, and for so long it seems to me that I have not dwelt in my native region. The sun, the clouds, the snow, the trees say not so much to me. You cannot serve two masters. It requires more than a day's devotion to know and to possess the wealth of a day.

We may well be ashamed to tell what things we have read or heard in our day. I do not know why my news should be so trivial, — considering what one's dreams and expectations are, why the developments should be so paltry. The news we hear, for the most part, is not news to our genius. It is the stalest repetition. You are often tempted to ask why such stress is laid on a particular experience which you have had, — that, after twenty-five years, you should meet Hobbins, Registrar of Deeds, again on the sidewalk. Have you not budged an inch, then? Such is the daily news. Its facts appear to float in the atmosphere, insignificant as the sporules of fungi, and impinging on some neglected *thallus*, or surface of our minds, which affords a basis for them, and hence a parasitic growth. We should wash ourselves clean of such news. Of what consequence, through our planet explode, if there is no character involved in the explosion? In health we

have not the least curiosity about such events. We do not live for idle amusement. I would not run round a corner to see the world blow up.

All summer, and far into the autumn, perchance, you unconsciously went by the newspapers and the news, and now you find it was because the morning and the evening were full of news to you. Your walks were full of incidents. You attended, not to the affairs of Europe, but to your own affairs in Massachusetts fields. If you chance to live and move and have your being in that thin stratum in which the events that make the news transpire, — thinner than the paper on which it is printed, — then these things will fill the world for you; but if you soar above or dive below that plane, you cannot remember nor be reminded of them. Really to see the sun rise or go down every day, so to relate ourselves to a universal fact, would preserve us sane forever. Nations! What are nations? Tartars, and Huns, and Chinamen! Like insects, they swarm. The historian strives in vain to make them memorable. It is for want of a man that there are so many men. It is individuals that populate the world. Any man thinking may say with the Spirit of Lodin, —

"I look down from my height on nations,
And they become ashes before me; —

Calm is my dwelling in the clouds;
Pleasant are the great fields of my rest."

Pray, let us live without being drawn by dogs, Esquimaux-fashion, tearing over hill and dale, and biting each other's ears.

Not without a slight shudder at the danger, I often perceive how near I had come to admitting into my mind the details of some trivial affair, — the news of the street; and I am astonished to observe how willing men are to lumber their minds with such rubbish, — to permit idle rumors and incidents of the most insignificant kind to intrude on ground which should be sacred to thought. Shall the mind be a public arena, where the affairs of the street and the gossip of the tea-table chiefly are discussed? Or shall it be a quarter of heaven itself, — an hypæthral temple, consecrated to the service of the gods? I find it so difficult to dispose of the few facts which to me are significant, that I hesitate to burden my attention with those which are insignificant, which only a divine mind could illustrate. Such is, for the most part, the news in newspapers and conversation. It is important to preserve the mind's chastity in this respect. Think of admitting the details of a single case of the criminal court into our thoughts, to stalk profanely through their very *sanctum sanctorum* for an hour, ay,

for many hours! to make a very bar-room of the mind's inmost apartment, as if for so long the dust of the street had occupied us, — the very street itself, with all its travel, its bustle, and filth, had passed through our thoughts' shrine! Would it not be an intellectual and moral suicide? When I have been compelled to sit spectator and auditor in a court room for some hours, and have seen my neighbors, who were not compelled, stealing in from time to time, and tiptoeing about with washed hands and faces, it has appeared to my mind's eye, that, when they took off their hats, their ears suddenly expanded into vast hoppers for sound, between which even their narrow heads were crowded. Like the vanes of windmills, they caught the broad but shallow stream of sound, which, after a few titillating gyrations in their coggy brains, passed out the other side. I wondered if, when they got home, they were as careful to wash their ears as before their hands and faces. It has seemed to me, at such a time, that the auditors and the witnesses, the jury and the counsel, the judge and the criminal at the bar, — if I may presume him guilty before he is convicted, — were all equally criminal, and a thunderbolt might be expected to descend and consume them all together.

By all kinds of traps and signboards, threat-

LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE

ening the extreme penalty of the divine law, exclude such trespassers from the only ground which can be sacred to you. It is so hard to forget what it is worse than useless to remember! If I am to be a thoroughfare, I prefer that it be of the mountain-brooks, the Parnasian streams, and not the town-sewers. There is inspiration, that gossip which comes to the ear of the attentive mind from the courts of heaven. There is the profane and stale revelation of the bar-room and the police court. The same ear is fitted to receive both communications. Only the character of the hearer determines to which it shall be open, and to which closed. I believe that the mind can be permanently profaned by the habit of attending to trivial things, so that all our thoughts shall be tinged with triviality. Our very intellect shall be macadamized, as it were, — its foundation broken into fragments for the wheels of travel to roll over; and if you would know what will make the most durable pavement, surpassing rolled stones, spruce blocks, and asphaltum, you have only to look into some of our minds which have been subjected to this treatment so long.

If we have thus desecrated ourselves, — as who has not? — the remedy will be by wariness and devotion to reconsecrate ourselves, and

make once more a fane of the mind. We should treat our minds, that is, ourselves, as innocent and ingenuous children, whose guardians we are, and be careful what objects and what subjects we thrust on their attention. Read not the Times. Read the Eternities. Conventionalities are at length as bad as impurities. Even the facts of science may dust the mind by their dryness, unless they are in a sense effaced each morning, or rather rendered fertile by the dews of fresh and living truth. Knowledge does not come to us by details, but in flashes of light from heaven. Yes, every thought that passes through the mind helps to wear and tear it, and to deepen the ruts, which, as in the streets of Pompeii, evince how much it has been used. How many things there are concerning which we might well deliberate whether we had better know them, — had better let their peddling-carts be driven, even at the slowest trot or walk, over that bridge of glorious span by which we trust to pass at last from the farthest brink of time to the nearest shore of eternity! Have we no culture, no refinement, — but skill only to live coarsely and serve the Devil? — to acquire a little worldly wealth, or fame, or liberty, and make a false show with it, as if we were all husk and shell, with no tender and living kernel to us? Shall our in-

- 184 -

LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE

stitutions be like those chestnut-burs which contain abortive nuts, perfect only to prick the fingers?

America is said to be the arena on which the battle of freedom is to be fought; but surely it cannot be freedom in a merely political sense that is meant. Even if we grant that the American has freed himself from a political tyrant, he is still the slave of an economical and moral tyrant. Now that the republic — the *res-publica* — has been settled, it is time to look after the *res-privata*, — the private state, — to see, as the Roman senate charged its consuls, "*ne quid res-PRIVATA detrimenti caperet*," that the *private* state receive no detriment.

Do we call this the land of the free? What is it to be free from King George and continue the slaves of King Prejudice? What is it to be born free and not to live free? What is the value of any political freedom, but as a means to moral freedom? Is it a freedom to be slaves, or a freedom to be free, of which we boast? We are a nation of politicians, concerned about the outmost defenses only of freedom. It is our children's children who may perchance be really free. We tax ourselves unjustly. There is a part of us which is not represented. It is taxation without representation. We quarter troops, we quarter fools and cattle of all sorts

LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE

upon ourselves. We quarter our gross bodies on our poor souls, till the former eat up all the latter's substance.

With respect to a true culture and manhood, we are essentially provincial still, not metropolitan, — mere Jonathans. We are provincial, because we do not find at home our standards; because we do not worship truth, but the reflection of truth; because we are warped and narrowed by an exclusive devotion to trade and commerce and manufactures and agriculture and the like, which are but means, and not the end.

So is the English Parliament provincial. Mere country-bumpkins, they betray themselves; when any more important question arises for them to settle, the Irish question, for instance, — the English question why did I not say? Their natures are subdued to what they work in. Their "good breeding" respects only secondary objects. The finest manners in the world are awkwardness and fatuity when contrasted with a finer intelligence. They appear but as the fashions of past days, — mere courtliness, knee-buckles and small-clothes, out of date. It is the vice, but not the excellence of manners, that they are continually being deserted by the character; they are cast-off clothes or shells, claiming the respect which belonged to the living creature. You are presented with

- 185 -

the shells instead of the meat, and it is no excuse generally, that, in the case of some fishes, the shells are of more worth than the meat. The man who thrusts his manners upon me does as if he were to insist on introducing me to his cabinet of curiosities, when I wished to see himself. It was not in this sense that the poet Decker called Christ "the first true gentleman that ever breathed." I repeat that in this sense the most splendid court in Christendom is provincial, having authority to consult about Transalpine interests only, and not the affairs of Rome. A prætor or proconsul would suffice to settle the questions which absorb the attention of the English Parliament and the American Congress.

Government and legislation! these I thought were respectable professions. We have heard of heaven-born Numas, Lyeurguses, and Solons, in the history of the world, whose names at least may stand for ideal legislators; but think of legislating to regulate the breeding of slaves, or the exportation of tobacco! What have divine legislators to do with the exportation or the importation of tobacco? what humane ones with the breeding of slaves? Suppose you were to submit the question to any son of God, — and has He no children in the nineteenth century? is it a family which is extinct? — in what

condition would you get it again? What shall a State like Virginia say for itself at the last day, in which these have been the principal, the staple productions? What ground is there for patriotism in such a State? I derive my facts from statistical tables which the States themselves have published.

A commerce that whitens every sea in quest of nuts and raisins, and makes slaves of its sailors for this purpose! I saw, the other day, a vessel which had been wrecked, and many lives lost, and her cargo of rags, juniper-berries, and bitter almonds were strewn along the shore. It seemed hardly worth the while to tempt the dangers of the sea between Leghorn and New York for the sake of a cargo of juniper-berries and bitter almonds. America sending to the Old World for her bitters! Is not the sea-brine, is not shipwreck, bitter enough to make the cup of life go down here? Yet such, to a great extent, is our boasted commerce; and there are those who style themselves statesmen and philosophers who are so blind as to think that progress and civilization depend on precisely this kind of interchange and activity, — the activity of flies about a molasses-hogshead. Very well, observes one, if men were oysters. And very well, answer I, if men were mosquitoes.

Lieutenant Herndon, whom our Government sent to explore the Amazon, and, it is said, to extend the area of slavery, observed that there was wanting there "an industrious and active population, who know what the comforts of life are, and who have artificial wants to draw out the great resources of the country." But what are the "artificial wants" to be encouraged? Not the love of luxuries, like the tobacco and slaves of, I believe, his native Virginia, nor the ice and granite and other material wealth of our native New England; nor are "the great resources of a country" that fertility or barrenness of soil which produces these. The chief want, in every State that I have been into, was a high and earnest purpose in its inhabitants. This alone draws out "the great resources" of Nature, and at last taxes her beyond her resources; for man naturally dies out of her. When we want culture more than potatoes, and illumination more than sugar-plums, then the great resources of a world are taxed and drawn out, and the result, or staple production, is, not slaves, nor operatives, but men, — those rare fruits called heroes, saints, poets, philosophers, and redeemers.

In short, as a snow-drift is formed where there is a lull in the wind, so, one would say, where there is a lull of truth, an institution

springs up. But the truth blows right on over it, nevertheless, and at length blows it down.

What is called politics is comparatively something so superficial and inhuman, that practically I have never fairly recognized that it concerns me at all. The newspapers, I perceive, devote some of their columns specially to politics or government without charge; and this, one would say, is all that saves it; but as I love literature and to some extent the truth also, I never read those columns at any rate. I do not wish to blunt my sense of right so much. I have not got to answer for having read a single President's Message. A strange age of the world this, when empires, kingdoms, and republics come a-begging to a private man's door, and utter their complaints at his elbow! I cannot take up a newspaper but I find that some wretched government or other, hard pushed, and on its last legs, is interceding with me, the reader, to vote for it, — more importunate than an Italian beggar; and if I have a mind to look at its certificate, made, perchance, by some benevolent merchant's clerk, or the skipper that brought it over, for it cannot speak a word of English itself, I shall probably read of the eruption of some Vesuvius, or the overflowing of some Po, true or forged, which brought it into this condition. I do not

LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE

hesitate, in such a case, to suggest work, or the almshouse; or why not keep its castle in silence, as I do commonly? The poor President, what with preserving his popularity and doing his duty, is completely bewildered. The newspapers are the ruling power. Any other government is reduced to a few matines at Fort Independence. If a man neglects to read the Daily Times, government will go down on its knees to him, for this is the only treason in these days.

Those things which now most engage the attention of men, as politics and the daily routine, are, it is true, vital functions of human society, but should be unconsciously performed, like the corresponding functions of the physical body. They are *infra-human*, a kind of vegetation. I sometimes awake to a half-consciousness of them going on about me, as a man may become conscious of some of the processes of digestion in a morbid state, and so have the dyspepsia, as it is called. It is as if a thinker submitted himself to be rasped by the great gizzard of creation. Politics is, as it were, the gizzard of society, full of grit and gravel, and the two political parties are its two opposite halves, -- sometimes split into quarters, it may be, which grind on each other. Not only individuals, but states, have thus a confirmed dys-

LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE

pepsia, which expresses itself, you can imagine by what sort of eloquence. Thus our life is not altogether a forgetting, but also, alas! to a great extent, a remembering, of that which we should never have been conscious of, certainly not in our waking hours. Why should we not meet, not always as dyspeptics, to tell our bad dreams, but sometimes as euseptics, to congratulate each other on the ever-glorious morning? I do not make an exorbitant demand, surely.

3. Thoreaus Staatskritik und John Brown

Als "Phillipika gegen das Geschäftsleben"²⁰⁾ bezeichnet Walter E. Richartz Thoreaus Essay "Leben ohne Prinzipien"²¹⁾ ("Life without Principles"), ebenfalls zunächst 1854 als Vortrag an mehreren Orten Neuenglands gehalten. Doch viel eher waren diese Essays (zusammen mit "Über die Pflicht zum Ungehorsam gegen den Staat") politikkritische Aufsätze, die auch Thoreaus spätere leidenschaftliche Parteinahme für den hingerichteten John Brown und für die Abschaffung der Sklaverei zu verstehen vorbereiteten. In den letzten Jahren seines kurzen Lebens - Thoreau starb am 2. Mai 1862 an Tuberkulose im Alter von 44 Jahren - engagierte sich Thoreau als Abolitionist, obgleich er sich nie als Mitglied in eine der gegründeten 'Societies' einschrieb. Am 4. Juli 1854, neun Jahre nach Beginn seines Walden-Experiments, hielt er zum Unabhängigkeitstag den Vortrag zur "Sklaverei in Massachusetts", nach welchem William Lloyd Garrison öffentlich ein Exemplar der amerikanischen Verfassung als Protest gegen jenes Gesetz verbrannte, das *de iure* die Sklaverei legalisierte. Thoreau schrieb in dem im Abolitionistenblatt drei Wochen später abgedruckten Essay damals: "I wish my countrymen to consider, that whatever the human law may be, neither an individual nor a nation can ever commit the least act of justice to pay the penalty for it. A government which deliberately enacts injustice, and persists in it, will at length even become the laughing stock of the world."²²⁾ - "Whoever can discern truth has received his commission from a higher source than the chiefest justice in the world who can discern only law. He finds himself constituted judge of the judge. Strange that it should be necessary to state such simple truth."²³⁾ - "In important moral and vital questions, like this, it is just as impertinent to ask whether it is profitable or not. They persist in being the servants of the worst

of men, and not the servants of humanity. The question is, not whether you or your grandfather seventy years ago did not enter into an agreement to serve the Devil, and that service is not accordingly now due, but whether you will not now, for once and at last, serve God, - in spite of your own past recreancy, or that of your ancestor -, by obeying that eternal and only just CONSTITUTION which He, and not any Jefferson or Adams, has written in your being."²⁴⁾

Und so vermag Thoreau eine Verbindungslinie zu ziehen, ausgehend vom Leser und dem imaginierten Bildungsbürger über Walden Pond und die Schönheit der Natur zur radikalen Staatskritik: "Suppose you have a small library, with pictures to adorn the walls - a garden laid out around -, and contemplate scientific and literary pursuits, and discover all at once that your villa, with all its contents, is located in hell, and that the justice of the peace has a cloven foot and a forken tail - do not these things suddenly lose their value in your eyes?"²⁵⁾ - "I walk toward one of our ponds; but what signifies the beauty of nature when men are base? We walk to lakes to see our serenity reflected in them; when we are not serene, we go not to them. Who can be serene in a country where both the rulers and the ruled are without principle? The remembrance of my country spoils my walk. My thoughts are murder to the State, and involuntarily go plotting against her."²⁶⁾

Thoreaus Bekanntschaft mit John Brown, dem aktiven Abolitionisten aus Kansas, der in Guerilla-Aktionen gegen Sklavenhalter vorging neben seiner Vortragstätigkeit in den Nordstaaten und der Mitarbeit in der Fluchthelfer-Organisation für schwarze Sklaven mit dem Decknamen "underground railroad", führten in den Jahren 1857 bis 1859 zu drei der umstrittensten und entscheidendsten Essays Thoreaus, die dem Pazifismus des zivilen Ungehorsams, die radikale Entscheidungsfähigkeit in der Aktion und damit revolutionären Impetus verliehen. In seinem Vortrag "A Plea for Captain John Brown" hatte Thoreau schon unzweideutig zur aktiven Unterstützung

des Rebellen aufgefordert: "When a government puts forth its strength on the side of injustice as ours to maintain slavery and kill the liberators of the slave, it reveals itself a merely brute force, or worse, a demoniacal force. It is the head of the Plug-Uglies. It is more manifest than ever that tyranny rules."²⁷⁾ - "We talk about a representative government; but what a monster of a government is that where the noblest faculties of the mind, and the whole heart, are not represented. A semi-human tiger or ox, stalking over the earth, with its heart taken out and the top of its brain shot away. Heroes have fought well on their stumps when their legs were shot off, but I never heard of any good done by such a government as that. The only government that I recognize - and it matters not how few are at the head of it, or how small its army - is that power that establishes justice in the land, never that which establishes injustice. What shall we think of a government to which all the truly brave and just men in the land are enemies, standing between it and those whom it oppresses? A government that pretends to be Christian and crucifies a million Christs every day!"²⁸⁾

Thoreaus eindeutige Stellungnahme auf Seiten John Browns wurde oft mißverstanden als Widerspruch, immanent in Thoreaus Denken, zu seinem ökologischen Pazifismus, der die Bedeutung des Politischen im herkömmlichen Sinne zu einem 'unbewußten Verdauungsvorgang' herabschwellen lassen wollte. Doch wenn sich Thoreau auf John Browns Seite schlug im Kampf gegen legalisiertes Unrecht, so leuchtet allein in dieser Haltung die Widersprüchlichkeit jenes Systems auf (welches von der Sklaverei zur expansionistischen Kriegsführung, von der Todesstrafe als Krönung der drohenden Strafjustiz als Vergeltungsapparat zu industriell motivierten Beutezügen gegen die Natur als technisch überlissetem Rohstoffmaterial für eine sich rasch universalisierende Waren- und damit Tauschwirtschaft, wie im "Goldrausch"... ,molochartige, raubbautreibende Züge trägt und), gegen das John Brown verzweifelt und letztlich ohnmächtig rebellierte: "It was his peculiar doctrine that a man has

a perfect right to interfere by force with the slaveholder, in order to rescue the slave. I agree with him. They who are continually shocked by slavery have some right to be shocked by the violent death of the slaveholder, but no others. Such will be more shocked by his life than by his death. I shall not be forward to think him mistaken in his method who quickest succeeds to liberate the slave. I speak for the slave when I say that I prefer the philanthropy of Captain Brown to that philanthropy which neither shoots me nor liberates me. At any rate, I do not think it is quite sane for one to spend his whole life in talking or writing about this matter, unless he is continuously inspired, and I have not done so. A man may have other affairs to attend to. I do not wish to kill nor to be killed, but I can foresee circumstances in which both these things would be by me unavoidable ..."²⁹⁾

Im Herbst 1859 besetzte John Brown mit einer Gruppe von Weißen und Schwarzen ein staatliches Waffenarsenal bei "Harper's Ferry" in Virginia. Die Freischärler wurden von herbeigeeilten Militärs umstellt und niedergemacht. Brown selbst wurde gefangengenommen und vor Gericht gestellt. Man henkte ihn am 2. Dezember 1859, nachdem er seine Sache noch einmal in einem eindrucksvollen Plädoyer öffentlich manifestiert hatte. John Browns Hinrichtung traf Thoreau wie nur der Tod seines Bruders zuvor. Durch Vortrag und Essay meldete sich Thoreau wieder zu Wort; im Juli 1860 erschien im "Liberator" "The Last Days of John Brown": "Men have been hung in the South before attempting to rescue slaves, and the North was not much stirred by it. Whence, then, this wonderful difference? We were not so sure of their devotion to principle. We made a subtle distinction, forgot human laws, and did homage to an idea. The North, I mean the living North, was suddenly all transcendental. It went behind the human law, it went behind the apparent failure, and recognized eternal justice and glory. Commonly, men live according to a formula, and are satisfied if the order of law is observed, but in this instance they, to some extent, returned to original per-

ceptions, and there was a slight revival of old religion. They saw that what was called order was confusion, what was called justice, injustice, and that the best was deemed the worst. This attitude suggested a more intelligent and generous spirit than that which actuated our forefathers, and the possibility, in the course of ages, of a revolution on behalf of another and an oppressed people."³⁰⁾

4. Thoreaus Transzendentalismus

"I would remind my countrymen that they are to be men first, and Americans only at a late and convenient hour. No matter how valuable law may be to protect your property, even to keep soul and body together, if it do not keep you and humanity together."³¹⁾

Thoreaus Idealbeschreibung eines Transzendentalisten fällt somit nicht grundlos zusammen mit einer im Plädoyer von 1859 enthaltenen Charakterisierung John Browns: "A man of rare common sense and directness of speech, as of action; a transcendentalist above all, a man of ideas and principles - that was what distinguished him. Not yielding to a whim or transient impulse, but carrying out the purpose of a life. I noticed that he did not overstate anything, but spoke within bounds."³²⁾

So nimmt es nicht wunder, daß das die Ziel-Mittel-Relation ins Bild fassende Gleichnis von der Saat und dem Baum³³⁾, welches Gandhi in seiner zivilisationskritischen Schrift "Hind Swaraj" oder "Indian Home Rule" als Weg zu einer vollständigen Unabhängigkeit (purna swaraj) aufzeigte, deutlich Thoreaus Schrift nachempfunden wurde: "Such do not know that like the seed is the fruit, and that, in the moral world, when good seed is planted, good fruit is inevitable, and does not depend on our watering and cultivating, that when you plant, or bury, a hero in his field, a crop of heroes is sure to spring up. This is a seed of such force and vitality, that it does not ask our leave to germinate."³⁴⁾

"Wahrheit als Inspiration und (sittlicher) Ernst als Reiner der Sätze"³⁵⁾, der erfrischend klaren Sprache waren Thoreau zufolge kardinale Prinzipien, Licht des Leitsterns einer Pilgerfahrt zu einer notwendigen Neu-Geburt.

"The fact is I am a mystic, a transcendentalist, and a natural philosopher to boot. Now I think of it, I should have told them at once that I was a transcendentalist"³⁶⁾, bekennt Thoreau mit 36 Jahren. Der nachfolgende Satz bedeutet jedoch den fehlenden Zugang zu Thoreaus Gedanken von seiten seiner Zeitgenossen: "That would have been the shortest way of telling them that they would not understand my explanation."³⁷⁾ "Gott hinter den Sternen zu erkennen"³⁸⁾, so wie er über seine Jugend berichtet, die süße Einsamkeit in der Waldlandschaft als realisierende Vision seiner Jugendzeit und der Weg, der nach Walden führt - alle diese Wesenszüge dessen, der nur "Muße zum wirklichen Leben" sucht, bestechen den Thoreau-Leser wie "seine humane Sprach-Unmittelbarkeit"³⁹⁾.

So erscheinen die letzten Zeilen einer leidenschaftlichen Kritik an J.A. Etzlers Schrift über die Möglichkeiten künftiger und heute vollzogener Mechanisierung und Industrialisierung zur 'Bändigung der Naturkräfte'^{40a)} wie eine in unser Jahrhundert hineingeschriebene Quintessenz einer transzendental inspirierten Humanökologie, Antizipation einer neuen Politik: "Love is the wind, the tide, the waves, the sunshine. Its power is incalculable; it is many horse-power. It never ceases, it never slacks; it can move the globe without a resting place; it can warm without fire; it can feed without meat; it can clothe without garments; it can shelter without roof; it can make a paradise within which will dispense with a paradise without. But though the wisest men in all ages have labored to publish this force, and every human heart is, sooner or later, more or less, made to feel it, yet how little is actually applied to social ends. True, it is the motive-power of all successful social machinery; but, as in physics, we have made the elements do only a little drudgery for us, steam to take the place of a few horses,

wind of a few oars, water of a few cranks and handmills; as the mechanical forces have not yet been generously and largely applied to make the physical world answer to the ideal, so the power of love has been but meanly and sparingly applied as yet. It has patented only such machines as the almshouse, the hospital, and the Bible Society, while its infinite wind is still blowing, and blowing these very structures, too from time to time. Still less are we accumulating its power, and preparing to act with greater energy at a future time. Shall we not contribute our shares to this enterprise, then?"^{40b)}

Anmerkungen

- 1) The Writings of Henry David Thoreau: Journal, Vol. I, 1837-1846, ed. by Bradford Torrey, New York 1906, (1968 repr.), S. 3.
- 2) Henry David Thoreau: Über die Pflicht zum Ungehorsam gegen den Staat und andere Essays, Zürich 1967 und 1973, darin: Walter E. Richartz (Hrsg.): Über Henry David Thoreau, S. 74.
- 3) Rüdiger C. Schlicht: Die pädagogischen Ansätze amerikanischer Transzendentalisten: Erziehungswissenschaftliche Studien zu Amos Bronson Alcott, Ralph Waldo Emerson und Henry David Thoreau 1830-1840, Frankfurt M./Bern/Las Vegas 1977, S. 235.
- 4) Schlicht (1977), ebd. S. 233-247; aufschlußreich ist hierbei Schlichts Wiedergabe der sozialen Züge des individualistisch wirkenden Thoreau als Pädagogen ...
- 5) Thoreau, Henry David: Walden: Or Life in the Woods, Boston 1854.
- 6) Thoreau, Henry David: The Resistance to Civil Government, in: Aesthetic Papers, Boston 1849 (ed. by Elizabeth Peabody), und Thoreau Henry, David: Miscellanies Writings X, Cambridge, Mass. 1863, 1866; Boston and New York 1900, S. 131-170 unter dem Titel "Civil Disobedience"; später: On the Duty of Civil Disobedience, s. Richartz in: Thoreau (1977), a.a.O., S. 76.
- 7) Holloway, Mark: Heavens on Earth: Utopian Communities in America, 1680-1880, London 1951; und zum Hintergrund: Bestor, Arthur E.: Backwoods Utopias: The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Community Socialism in America, 1663-1829, Philadelphia 1950.
- 8) Cook, Blanche, Charles Chatfield and Sandi Cooper (Hrsg.): Sermons on War by Theodore Parker (1863), New York 1971.
- 9) Flexner, Eleanor: Century of Struggle: The Women's Rights Movement in the United States, Cambridge 1968.
- 10) Vor allem Huggard, William Allen: Emerson and the Problem of War and Peace, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Iowa 1938; aber vor allem die Essays von Emerson, Ralph Waldo: Nature, Boston 1836, auf Deutsch: Die Sonne segnet die Welt. Ausgewählte Essays und Vorträge in einem Band, herausgegeben von Maria Kühn, Leipzig, o.J.; außerdem Schlicht (1977), a.a.O., S. 102-171.
- 11) Schlicht (1977), a.a.O., S. 59-101.
- 12) Emerson, Ralph Waldo: Kreise, in: Emerson (Leipzig, o.J.), a.a.O., S. 75 f.: "Es gibt verschiedene Stufen des Idealismus. Zuerst lernen wir schulgemäß mit ihm zu spielen, wie der Magnet einst Spielzeug war. Dann sehen wir im Überschwang der Jugend und Poesie, daß er Wahrheit sein kann, daß er Wahrheit ist in Lichtblitzen und Bruchstücken. Dann

- wird sein Antlitz ernst und erhaben, und wir sehen, daß er Wahrheit sein muß. Er zeigt sich uns jetzt als sittliche und praktische Forderung. Wir erfahren, daß Gott ist; daß er in mir ist, und daß alle Dinge nur Schatten von ihm sind ... Eine neue Bildungsstufe würde alsbald das ganze System menschlicher Arbeit und Bestrebungen umwälzen." S. auch Cameron, Kenneth W.: The Influence of German Transcendental Kant, aus Cameron: Young Emerson's Transcendental Vision, Hartford, Conn. 1971
- 13) Thoreau, Henry David: Slavery in Massachusetts, in Miscellanies Writings X, Cambridge, Mass. 1863, 1866, Boston and New York 1900, S. 181.
 - 14) Thoreau, ebd., S. 190.
 - 15) Obwohl Walt Whitman mit Thoreau nicht wesentlich in direktem Kontakt stand, sei zum Vergleich mit Thoreaus politik-kritischen Aufsätzen empfohlen: "Democratic Vistas", in: Walt Whitman: Leaves of Grass" (1) and "Democratic Vistas", London 1914², S. 299-359. Außerdem: "For You, O Democracy", ebd., S. 99 f.
 - 16) Nearing, Scott and Helen: Living the Good Life: How to Live Sanely and Simply in a Troubled World, New York 1970. Nearing, Scott: The Making of a Radical: A Political Autobiography, New York 1972, und: War: Organized Destruction and Mass Murder by Civilized Nations (1931), New York 1971, siehe auch: Whitfield, Stephen J.: Scott Nearing: Apostle of American Radicalism, New York 1974.
 - 17) B.F. Skinner schrieb einen Band "Walden Two" (zu Deutsch: Futurum Zwei), der Thoreaus Experiment auf behavioristischer Basis für die Lebensbedingungen im 20. Jahrhundert zu aktualisieren versuchte.
 - 18) In ihrem Fernsehbericht "Der grüne Henry. Henry David Thoreau und unsere Zeit" (gesendet im Zweiten Deutschen Fernsehen 1985), stellt Jutta Szostak, die Autorin, u.a. Allen Ginsberg, Joan Baez und Martin Luther King jr. mit ihren Protestaktionen in den 60er Jahren in eine Traditionslinie mit Thoreaus "Zivilem Ungehorsam". S. King, Martin Luther: Freiheit, Kassel 1964, S. 67. King las Thoreaus Aufsatz zum ersten Mal 1944 mit 15 Jahren zu Beginn seines Studiums und kam so zum ersten Mal mit der Theorie vom gewaltlosen Widerstand in Berührung.
 - 19) Thoreau, Henry David: Walden oder Leben in den Wäldern, Zürich 1979, S. 323 (Schlußworte).
 - 20) Richartz (1967 und 1973), a.a.O., S. 76.
 - 21) Thoreau, Henry David: Life without Principles; erstmalig abgedruckt und veröffentlicht in: The Atlantic Monthly, 12 (1863), S. 484-495.
 - 22) Thoreau, Henry David: Slavery in Massachusetts (S. 171-196), a.a.O., S. 178 f.

- 23) Ebd., S. 181 f.
- 24) Ebd., S. 189.
- 25) Ebd., S. 193.
- 26) Ebd., S. 195.
- 27) Thoreau, Henry David: A Plea für Captain John Brown (S. 197-236), a.a.O., S. 222.
- 28) Ebd., S. 223.
- 29) Ebd., S. 228
- 30) Thoreau, Henry David: The Last Days of John Brown (S.237-248), a.a.O., S. 239 f.
- 31) Slavery in Massachusetts, a.a.O., S. 187.
- 32) A Plea for Captain John Brown, a.a.O., S. 202 f.
- 33) "Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule", by M.K. Gandhi, Ahmedabad 1938, S. 71: "The means may be likened to a seed, the end to a tree; and there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree." Zu Thoreaus Einfluß auf Gandhi vor allem Hendrick, George: The Influence of Thoreau's 'Civil Disobedience on Gandhi's Satyagraha, New England Quarterly, XXIX, No. 4 (December 1956), S. 462-471; zitiert nach Brock (1968), a.a.O. S. 530, Anm. 60.
Hoblitzelle, Harrison: The War Against War in the Nineteenth Century: A Study of the Western Backgrounds of Gandhian Thought (Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1959).
- 34) A Plea for Captain Brown, a.a.O., S. 208 f.
- 35) Ebd., S. 220.
- 36) u. 37) s. Anm. 1: The Journal, Vol. V, S. 4; zitiert nach Schlicht (1977), S. 172.
- 38) Emerson, Edward Waldo: Henry David Thoreau as Remembered by a Young Friend (Boston and New York 1917; repr. Concord/Mass. 1968); zitiert nach: Schlicht (1977), a.a.O., S. 176.
- 39) Richartz, in: Thoreau (1967 und 1973), a.a.O., S. 82 f.
- 40a) Thoreaus Essay "Paradise (to be) Regained" bezieht sich auf "The Paradise within the Reach of All Men, without Labor, by Powers of Nature and Machinery. An Address to all intelligent Men. In Two Parts." By J.A. Etzler. Part First. Second English Edition, London 1842, S. 55 ff.
- 40b) Thoreaus Kritik trägt den Titel "Paradise (to be) Regained", a.a.O., S. 38-69, wovon dieses Schlußwort auf den Seiten 68 und 69 zu finden ist.

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IV. Die "Würde des passiven Widerstandes" (Elihu Burritt)
und der Beitrag des philosophischen Anarchismus
CHRISTIAN BARTOLF

1. Die "League of Universal Brotherhood"

Die "League of Universal Brotherhood"¹⁾, 1847 von Elihu Burritt gegründet, war die erste säkulare pazifistische Organisation, welche direkt die Unterstützung "gemeiner" Arbeiter suchte. Über dies hinaus wurde Burritts Liga die erste säkulare pazifistische Organisation, die internationale Bedeutung gewann. Sie hatte Zweige in den Vereinigten Staaten und Großbritannien und trug ihre Erziehungsarbeit nach Holland, Deutschland, Frankreich und Italien. Als Grobschmied von Beruf, bildete sich Burritt zu einer Kenntnis von ungefähr 40 Sprachen. Eines Tages, während er Geographie studierte, wurde er von der wechselseitigen Bedingtheit der Klimazonen der Erde in seiner Einsicht bestärkt. Dieses, unterstützt durch die Verwandtschaft von Sprachen, die er vergleichen konnte, gab ihm Einsicht in die Einheit und Wechselseitigkeit alles Bestehenden. Als ein praktisches Ergebnis dieser Studien befürwortete er die sozialistische Idee und widmete sich der Beendigung wechselseitigen Abschlachtens von Arbeiters, wenn Regierungen Krieg erklärten.

Burritt begann seine Organisationsarbeit, indem er der American Peace Society 1843 beitrug, und schon bald wurde er einer der führenden Aktivposten. Er diente dem Ausführenden Ausschuss und verlegte die Zeitung "Advocate of Peace" (wobei er ihrem Namen zufügte: "... and Brotherhood"). 1846 gelang es dem Geistlichen George C. Beckwith, der die Opposition gegen die Radikalen 1838 angeführt hatte, die Verfassung der American Peace Society zu ändern und effektiv die prinzipiellen Standpunkte zu schwächen. Beckwith hatte die konservative Mehrheit zu solchen Veränderungen bewegt, daß die Mitgliedschaft für Menschen attraktiver wurde, welche international geführten Angriffskriegen etwas entgegensetzen wollten, jedoch nicht notwendigerweise auch gegen Ver-

teidigungskriege und die Todesstrafe eingestellt waren. Burritt und mehrere andere, einschließlich Samuel Coues²⁾, der damalige Vorsitzende der Gesellschaft, gaben ihre Sitze im Ausführenden Ausschuss auf, obwohl sie nicht ihre Mitgliedschaft in der Gesellschaft aufgaben. In ihrem diesen Schritt begründenden Brief betonten sie ihre Überzeugung, daß kein Anwachsen der Mitgliederzahl die Aufgabe fundamentaler Prinzipien kompensieren könnte, vor allem jenes Prinzips, daß menschliches Leben heilig und unverletzlich sei.

Die "League of Universal Brotherhood" bot jenen eine Organisation, welche die volle pazifistische Position aufrechterhalten wollten, die von der American Peace Society aufgegeben worden war. Zusätzlich zu ihrer Propaganda gegen Kriegsunterstützung oder gar -beteiligung, förderte die Liga in wachsendem Maße Bemühungen um internationale Verständigung. Mitglieder führten ausgedehnte Pressekampagnen für niedrige Postgebühren ins europäische Ausland durch und Kampagnen für nachsichtigeres Einwanderungsgesetze. Sie ermutigten Gemeinden, Partnerschaftbeziehungen mit fremden Gemeinden aufzunehmen und Austauschprogramme einzurichten, wodurch Menschen für eine gewisse Zeit in einem anderen Land leben könnten. Mitglieder der Liga organisierten ebenfalls internationale Friedenskonferenzen.

Burritt begründete das erste Friedensgelübde. Mit Hilfe der Liga-Bemühungen in den Vereinigten Staaten und in England unterzeichneten über 50.000 Menschen diese Stellungnahme: "Believing war to be inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, and destructive to the best interests of mankind, I do hereby pledge myself never to enlist or enter into any army or navy, or to yield any voluntary support or sanction to the preparation for or prosecution of any war, by whomsoever, for whatsoever proposed, declared, or waged. And I do hereby associate myself with all persons, of whatever country, condition, or color, who have signed, or shall hereafter sign this pledge, in a "League of Universal Brother-

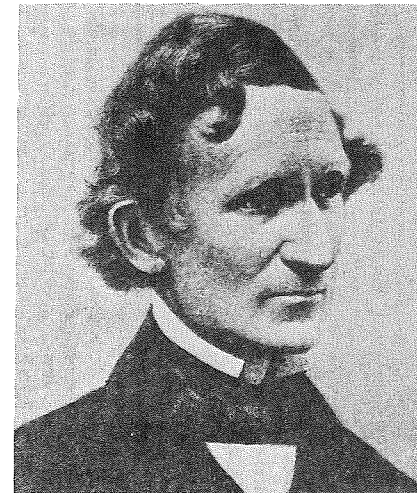
hood"; whose object shall be to employ all legitimate and moral means for the abolition of all war, and all spirit, and all the manifestation of war, throughout the world; for the abolition of all restrictions upon international correspondence and friendly intercourse, and of whatever else tends to make enemies of nations, or prevents their fusion into one peaceful brotherhood; for the abolition of all institutions and customs which do not recognize the image of God and a human brother in every man of whatever clime, color, or condition of humanity.³⁾

Die Bestrebungen der Liga gingen über die Abschaffung jedes Krieges weit hinaus. Burritt schrieb die Ziele der Liga 1846: "Its operations and influence will not be confined to the work of mere abolition (i.e. of war); as if nothing more were requisite for the symmetrical development of society, or the universal growth of human happiness, than the axe be laid to the root of existing evils. It will seek to build up, as well as to pull down ... Long after nations shall have been taught to war no more, long after the mere iron fetters shall have been stricken from the limbs of every last slave, and every visible yoke shall have been broken, and every formal bastille of oppression levelled with the ground, there will be a work for the League."⁴⁾

1857 hatte sich die "League of Universal Brotherhood" als separate Organisation erschöpft. Der britische Zweig schloß sich der London Peace Society an und der US-Zweig verschmolz wieder mit der American Peace Society. Die Liga wurde primär deswegen geschwächt, weil Menschen es einfacher fanden, das Gelübde zu unterzeichnen, als es einzuhalten, insbesondere angesichts des Krimkrieges in Europa und der bald darauffolgenden Entwicklung hin zum Bürgerkrieg in den Vereinigten Staaten. Burritt wurde nach dem Ende der Liga weiterhin als einer der führenden aktiven Pazifisten anerkannt, besonders weil er einer der wenigen war, der eine abso-

lute Entsagung jeder bewaffneten Gewalt gegenüber in der Zeit des Bürgerkrieges behauptete.

Die Liga ist als die erste säkulare Friedensorganisation bedeutend, die Friedensgedanken direkt der allgemeinen Bevölkerung zugänglich machte. Die Arbeiter und Farmer, bei weitem die überragende Mehrheit der Mitglieder also, ließen das Gelübde unter dem Landadel zirkulieren und sammelten dafür Unterschriften. Burritts "Olive Leaves" (Olivenblätter), kurze Stellungnahmen zu Friedensfragen, wurden auf beiden Seiten des Atlantiks in gewöhnlichen Zeitungen gedruckt und von Zehntausenden in allen Lebensstellungen gelesen. In der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts war Burritts Name ein Begriff in jedem Haushalt, und die Arbeit der Liga wurde oft bei weitem eher wahrgenommen als die Arbeit der American Peace Society. Die Liga ist also bedeutend, weil sie mehr ausrichtete, als den negativen Kriegsfall zu vergegenwärtigen - sie betonte nachdrücklich eine positive Philosophie der Friedensaktion.



Elihu Burritt (1810-1879)

THOUGHTS AND THINGS

DOCUMENT 9

AT

HOME AND ABROAD.

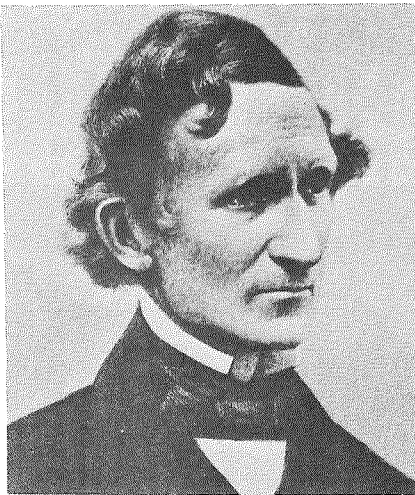
BY

ELIHU BURRITT.

AUTHOR OF "SPARKS FROM THE ANVIL," ETC.

WITH A MEMOIR.

BY MARY HOWITT.



ELIHU BURRITT
J. C. Buttre/Library of Congress

*Yours Fraternally -
Elihu Burritt*

BOSTON:
PHILLIPS, SAMPSON, AND COMPANY,
NEW YORK: J. C. DERBY.
1854.

THE ADVENT AND ERA OF PEACE.

THE ADVENT AND ERA OF PEACE.

There seems to be a sentiment abroad, a latent thought, which is slowly permeating the mind of the most depressed classes of the people, going down into the lowest lanes of life, into the mines, fields, and factories — a thought that whispers its bright prophecies by night in the ear of dejected labor, and sometimes gives even the slave a song in the burning hours of his unrequited toil — a simultaneous sentiment of popular faith, that

"There is a good time coming;
Wait a little longer."

However vague and varying may be these spontaneous hopes of the people; however importunately they may press upon the unrevealed things of the future, there is in almost every community, an impression bearing the seal of Christian faith, that we are gradually and surely approaching one of the grand realities in the destiny of humanity, which were foreseen and predicted by

THE ADVENT AND ERA OF PEACE.

the inspired seers of other ages. Blessed be our eyes that are permitted to contemplate that reality from the clearer perspective of these latter years; but blessed and thrice honored of God were the eyes of those holy men, who were permitted to see it across a dark and surging sea of time. Perhaps we may not live to enter upon the full fruition of that reality; but the eyes that shall see it in its beauty, the lips that shall hail its glorious appearing, the hearts that shall embrace it in all the compass of its joy, will attest that it was not a fortuitous condition into which humanity stumbled in the felicitous explorations of its genius, but that it was a condition prepared for mankind before the foundations of the earth, and predicted by men who received from God the life and light of those principles whose power was to regenerate the world. However bright be our visions, however fertile and fervid be our conceptions of this coming day of better things for mankind, our faith will not outrun that of the inspired prophets of old. They saw the same glorious day. Its life, light, joy, and peace were revealed to their eyes, and they grouped them together in living images, full of beauty. Whatever that day may bring to the human race, they who shall go up and possess its goodly realities, will confess that they were all embraced in the condition described by those holy men, "When the wolf and the lamb shall lie down together; when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither learn war any more; when they shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks; when your officers shall be peace, and your exactors righteousness; and there shall be an abundance of peace so long as the sun or moon endureth." — Here we have a full and glowing description of that new era whose dawning light seems even now to streak the horizon of humanity. The advent of that day is not a new-born illusion of modern fancy; it is not the dreamy speculation

of a poetical imagination. It is a future reality, secured, to the world by the unwavering verities of the Word of God.

But we have not only the inspired prediction of this coming day, and the cheering tokens of its approach, but we have principles given us, full of life-giving immortality and power, which must make the advent of that day inevitable. And these principles are not the offspring of new-born theories; they are not the precarious dogmas of human opinion. They are principles old as eternity; they are the wisdom and power of God among men, for the pulling down of all the strongholds of War, Slavery, Oppression, Violence, and Wrong. "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; love your enemies; resist not evil, but overcome evil with good; they that take the sword shall perish by the sword." These, and the like of these, are principles of great antiquity. They have been spurned and ridiculed in all ages. They have been foolishness to the Greek, Jew, and Gentile, and a stumbling-block to thousands in Christian lands. Principalities and powers have warred against them, and sought to exterminate them from the earth; but they were mighty, immortal, and prevailed; and they will prevail, until all principalities and peoples shall bow to their divinity and power.

"God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth," is not a Greek apothegm, though uttered in the midst of Athens. It is not a maxim of human wisdom, or a new-coined motto of modern democracy. It is a great, everlasting and capital verity of divine revelation, which shall outlive the existence and memory of all unfriendly nationalities. If, in that coming day promised to mankind, "Holiness to the Lord" shall be written even on the bells of their horses, may we not believe that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men" shall be written upon all the banners of the peoples, before

which the bestial emblems of nationalities, that once led them forth to mutual slaughter, shall hang their heads for shame, if lifted in the air?

And the wheels of time, which are bringing in its glorious day will yield to the progressive impulse of human faith and instrumentalities! Unlike the incoming of that morning which greets the rising sun of our material world, the dawn and noon-tide light of this new era may be hastened by those who will co-work with God and the power of his great gospel of love, for this blessed consummation. The infant heart, whose whispered prayer of faith brings down from heaven the gift of one new thought of good to man — that heart in the tiny compass of its reflection, emits a ray of true millennial light.

THE POWER OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

THE full power revealed and prescribed in that simple and sublime precept of the Gospel, "*overcome evil with good*," has never been tested by any people, population, or community, in subduing the evils and enemies that beset and oppressed them, either from within or without. To put it into full operation, requires a capacity of good-will, of forgiveness of injuries, of abnegation of natural instincts, which the population of no town, or province, or state, has ever acquired. But, at long intervals, and a little more frequently of late, a case has occurred here and there, in which a considerable community has acquired the ability of sustaining for awhile the lowest, feeblest, manifestation of this power, or a condition of *passive resistance* to oppression, armed

THE POWER OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

with a force which could instantly crush any violent opposition, they might attempt to array against it. Within the last two or three years, several of these cases have transpired in different parts of the world. In one of these, a little English colony at the Cape of Good Hope, *passively*, but successfully, *resisted* the great Government of the British empire, backed with all its navies and armies, in its attempt to make the home of their small population a receptacle of criminals, crime, and convicts from England. Then, almost simultaneously with this successful experiment with the force of passive resistance, there comes the report of another, from the distant islands of the Pacific Ocean, tried under circumstances of more imminent peril and oppression, and crowned with more illustrious triumph. The weak little Government of the Sandwich Islands, in order to diminish the use and effect of intoxicating liquors among their people, imposed a heavy tax upon French brandy and wine. This irritated the French, and they sent thither a great ship of war to compel the government to remove the tax; and the captain gave them but a few hours to comply with the demand. But they absolutely refused to obey. Then they must take the consequences, and these would be terrible. The lady of the French consul — good, kind, compassionate woman — went with her husband from house to house, and entreated the foreign residents to take refuge on board the French ship, for the island was to be blown up, or sunk, to punish the wicked government for taxing French brandy, and making drunkenness a dearer luxury to the people! But not a single person accepted of the refuge. The government held fast to its resolution without wavering for a moment. The French commander landed with his marines in battle array. Men with lighted matches stood at the great cannons of the ship. The hour of vengeance had come. Poor little people! what will become of you now?

THE POWER OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

What will you do to defend yourselves against this resistless force? Do? do nothing but *endure*. "The King," says the report, "gave peremptory orders to his people to *oppose no resistance* to the Frenchmen. The gallant commander, therefore, landed his marines and took possession of the fort, custom-house, and some other Government buildings, *no resistance being offered*. All was still and peaceful in the streets, business going on as usual. Here they remained for some days; when, finding that the government would not accede at all to their demands, though they offered to leave the whole question to an umpire, the chivalrous Frenchmen went to work to dismantle the fort, and destroyed everything within its walls. After having finished this Vandal-like work, they marched off with flying colors." How full of illustration is this case of passive resistance! The simple, quiet force of *endurance* which the government opposed to the French, wet their powder and turned their bayonets to straw. Against this unexpected force the marines were powerless. They had no arms to contend with such an enemy. All their weapons, and discipline, and bravery, were fitted only to overcome brute force; and of this they found none, except its shadow in the fort and its equipments; and with great valor they fell upon this shadow, and mutilated it terribly, and then marched back with flying colors! So far was this invasion of bayonet-power from inducing a settlement to the advantage of the French, that the government even refused their offer to submit the question to arbitration, or to put the law at any hazard of modification, in face of all the brute force that France could marshal against it.

These are examples of the irresistible power of *passive resistance*, when opposed by a people to foreign enemies and oppression. But almost simultaneously with these, we have examples of this kind of resistance when arrayed against domestic oppression, or

the despotic acts of dynasties that have at their command vast military organizations, ready to do their will. The most striking of these is the case of Hesse Cassel. Here, the force of resistance has been tested for a longer period, and by a larger population than ever have illustrated this virtue before. The result has not yet transpired, nor can we conclude what it will be. We can hardly believe that it will be crowned with complete success; for we cannot believe that the Hessians will be able to *endure* unto the end which they seek. We fear they will lose their impregnable strength, by being seduced into a manifestation of brute force. But the teaching of their experiment, even up to this stage, will be invaluable to the people and the cause of popular freedom everywhere on the Continent of Europe. It has established the fact that despotism, backed by the mightiest armies, cannot serf or subdue a people or a population, or rob them of their rights, or barricade their way to rational freedom, if they can only acquire the capacity of a *passive resistance*, which the most aggravated oppression can never weary out. Up to this hour, the Hessians have manifested this capacity, and practised this virtue; and the bristling bayonets which virtually surrounded them have become as stubble. While they possess their souls in patience, and refrain from the slightest act of violence, the whole soldiery of the continent will be powerless against them. How full of glorious illustration and consequence is this spectacle! The eyes of despotism, like those of beasts of prey, are glaring upon them from every side, watching to spring upon them at a single bound, the first moment that they venture from their stronghold of *passive resistance*! What a sublime sight in the moral world! It is said that the poor peasants, and the poorest day-laborers in Cassel have signed a pledge to abstain from intoxicating drinks, and that they are watching over each other with the keenest vigilance, lest, in

an evil hour, some sudden act of oppression should make them mad, and they should fall from the grace of patience, and peril their country's all by a deed of violence! Contrast that discipline with the spirit and deeds of a brute-force revolution! How the people rise, rise, rise to the highest stature of moral being, under such a process of self-education! "Better is he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city." Yes; the Elector may take the city of Cassel, with 60,000 Austrian and Bavarian troops; but they will be to him as mere shadows, so long as the Hessians shall be able to rule their spirits after this fashion. The cause of popular freedom, progress, and prosperity has an immense interest at stake in the issue of this grand experiment with a force which the God of the poor and the oppressed has given to them in his great Gospel of love:—"I SAY UNTO YOU, RESIST NOT EVIL, BUT OVERCOME EVIL WITH GOOD."

THE DIGNITY OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

We have recently dwelt at some length upon the irresistible power of *passive resistance*, when opposed to oppression, either from home or from abroad, by any population or people, great or small. We contemplated its capacity as a force, which any community or country might employ successfully in repelling and disarming despotism, whatever amount of bayonet power it might have at its command. This was illustrated by the example of the little community at the Cape of Good Hope, in thwarting the attempt of the British Government to make their country a penal settlement; of the Sandwich islanders, in repelling the aggressions of the

THE DIGNITY OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

French; and of the people of Hesse Cassel, in resisting the despotism of a dynasty, threatening to trample their rights under the feet of foreign soldiery. But, it will be said, in these cases, the people "*made a virtue of necessity*." Passive resistance was all they could oppose to these acts of oppression. Very good. But, as it was effective to this end, would it have been less a *virtue*, if it had not been a *necessity*? If the king of the Sandwich Islands had at his command a standing army of 100,000 men, and a Gibraltar full of cannon, could he have more completely expelled, chastised, and humbled the French than he did, by putting them into the condition of pirates before the world, and by forcing them to fight the air, and then retreat to their ships from very shame at the result of their martial prowess? We can see many lips curl at this proposition. What! stand by with 100,000 armed men, and see a regiment of foreign soldiers land, to compel the Government to abrogate its laws, without opposing that physical force resistance organized at great expense for such an emergency! Would not "*endurance cease to be a virtue*" at such a point? Could passive resistance, friend Broadbrim, be compatible with a nation's dignity in such a case? Neighbor Firelock, thou thinkest these to be hard questions, and hard to be answered by human nature. And so they are; but religion, and even reason, can do it easily. But from what Scriptures comes that precept, "There is a point at which endurance ceases to be a virtue?" There is no divinity in the Scriptures from which that maxim is taken; they are human, in a very low manifestation of reason and experience. Christianity says, "*endure unto the end*; not to the end of your patience, but to the end of wrong, evil and oppression—to the goal, to the crown of your triumph and rejoicing. Now, neighbor Firelock, before we proceed to consider these hard questions, let us examine the maxim which thou hast quoted,

THE DIGNITY OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

as if it were from the New Testament,—"*There is a point at which endurance ceases to be a virtue*." Then what does it become, when it ceases to be a *virtue*?—a *crime*! Says the maxim, the endurance of wrong and oppression is really a virtue up to a certain point. From the starting, to this terminating point of patience, the greater the oppression, the more virtuous is its endurance. To this extent the virtue of patience is measured by the pressure of wrong which it sustains; but when it reaches this point, and confronts a severer trial, it becomes criminal in it not to give way and relinquish the struggle, although it possesses the capacity of enduring, unto the end, all the wrongs and outrages which oppression can oppose to its resistance. For the maxim speaks only of a contingency in which endurance ceases to be a *virtue*, not a *possibility*. Now, what would become of society and its moralities, if all the other virtues should follow the course prescribed to this? If men were to be taught, by maxims couched in a Bible *tourneure*, that "There is a point at which truth, temperance, or honesty ceases to be a *virtue*!—that there are trials and temptations to which it is virtuous to yield!—tests too severe for purity, probity, or any other grace, before which it is graceful to fall!" Surely, the evidence of such a false maxim must be rejected from the consideration of the question. Let us, then, look at the case of the Sandwich Islands, in the light of national independence, dignity and honor.

The Government had enacted a law, for the good of the people, which diminished the use and sale of French brandy and wines. The French attempted to compel the Government by violence, to repeal that law. It was a direct and aggravated attack upon the sovereignty of the Sandwich Island State. That attack was repelled and thwarted by the *passive resistance* of the Government and people. But that was the only resistance which they had in

their power to oppose to their assailants, it is urged. Grant it; but was it not as effective as would have been the broadsides of fifty ships of the line, if such a fleet had been at the command of the king? But, says another, passive resistance invites attack and insult, and repetition of outrage. Prove this, if you can, by any evidence drawn from history, or any argument from philosophy; prove it by the result of this very experiment. See if the French venture again to compel this little Government, by force, to repeal or modify one of its laws to their commercial advantage. But, if the Sandwich islanders had possessed an army of 100,000 men, would passive resistance, in such a case, have been compatible with their national dignity, even if it had been more efficient and successful than the strongest array of brute force? In this question comes the tug of the principle, in the minds of thousands, who can follow it to a certain length. The greatest dignity that a nation can acquire, is to be always in the right. Right is not only its highest dignity, but its moral power. This dignity and power combine to create in a nation's heart an indomitable will to maintain them. Now, passive resistance puts in force all the energies of this will, and raises the smallest nation to the foremost rank among the great powers of the earth. It defends its territory, its rights, its honors and dignity, by the sheer force of its will. It conquers and triumphs by its will. Did ever Alexander, Cæsar, Bonaparte, or Nicholas, more than this? On the other hand, brute-force resistance weakens the will of a nation — dethrones it from its first place and power — subordinates it to precarious contingencies — throws it headlong among the veriest hap-hazards of the battle-field — in a word, compromises its dignity, by pitting it against the blindest chances of success. The Sandwich islanders repelled the attack upon their rights, by the mere force of their will. Compatible with their dignity! Why, that will was the

THE PATRIOTISM OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

a virtue in any case; but that its inherent virtue always makes it a necessity. We now proceed to demonstrate its patriotism. We deem it due to the principles and advocates of peace, to rebut the charge that is often brought against them, that they are "the complacent allies of despotism — that they would stand by and see, without concern or remonstrance, communities, peoples, and nations manacled hand and foot, by tyrants; their rights, liberties, hopes, and aspirations, trodden out of existence by the iron heel of oppression." The imputation of cowardice, unmanly imbecility, a crouching, abject spirit, is involved in this charge. "What! would you have us lie down in the dust, and be trampled upon by these despotic powers and governments! Would you have us permit them to enslave us, and hold out our arms and feet to the fettering without a struggle or a murmur?" And then, having filled their bosoms to bursting with patriotic indignation at the course and disposition described interrogatively by these triumphant questions, they exclaim, "No! we would spill the last drop of our blood; — we would see our cities burned with fire; — we would perish with arms in our hands on the battle-field, or pine in exile in Siberia or Botany Bay, before we would tamely submit to be slaves! Liberty or death!" These are the most striking and usual terms of comparison in the vocabulary of martial patriotism. Frequently the sentiments they express take a figurative form more fearful still. We recollect one employed by the editor of an American journal, pending the Oregon controversy, to this effect: "Sooner than relinquish our just rights to the disputed territory, we would shed every drop of blood in the heart of the nation!" Mr. Borrow, agent of the Bible Society, records "a broken prayer for my native land, which, after my usual thanksgiving, I breathed forth to the Almighty, ere retiring to rest that Sunday night at Gibraltar;" a prayer for his native country which

embodiment and energy of their dignity; and they not only maintained, but elevated it, by the passive resistance which they opposed to their assailants. The French retreated before that dignity — the quiet dignity of right. They, too, had a will, when they left their ship-of-war, and drew up their forces on the shore, for the attack; but they had no dignity to sustain it, nor force to carry it into execution. But they hoped to acquire both, before they had marched twenty yards. How? from whom? From the Sandwich islanders themselves. They expected and intended to tempt the Government from its impregnable position of passive resistance; to descend from its dignity, or share it with them by ordering them to be fired upon. The discharge of a single musket, on the part of the islanders, would have transferred the transaction to the ground of a regular contest, in which right and wrong would be in equilibrium; in which the former relinquishes all its moral advantage over the latter, and hazards its all upon the even chances of a die, the result of which cannot be affected by any moral discriminations between the contending parties.

To conquer by the moral manifestation of the will, is to conquer like a God. To conquer by the manifestation of brute force, is to conquer like a beast. The dignity of passive resistance lies between these parallels.

THE PATRIOTISM OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

We have considered the power and dignity of passive resistance, when opposed to assaults from without, or oppression from within. We have tried to show that necessity does not make it

THE PATRIOTISM OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

contains this passage — "May'st thou sink, if thou dost sink, amidst blood and flame, with a mighty noise, causing more than one nation to participate in thy downfall!" And these are regarded as the outbursts of a patriotic feeling — of a love of country so intense that they would see it engulfed in fire and blood, and even the last vein of the nation's heart pierced, and its existence extinguished, rather than endure insult, injury, or oppression! They measure their attachment and devotion to their country and its institutions by the awful calamities which they would bring upon it, in defending its honor and rights. What a fearful antithesis of alternatives! How many peoples and nations have "sunk, amidst blood and flame, and with a mighty noise," in the abyss which yawns between these alternative conditions! How many patriots of this order have seen their country a smoking sea of ruin, without finding a bulrush ark in which to float "the immediate jewel of its soul" — the charter of its existence as a nation!

We wish no one to accept or share the responsibility of our convictions, or of the views we wish to express in reference to this aspect of the subject. If peace has its victories no less than war, it has its heroism and its patriotism. The men of peace can find no attribute, in the great Gospel principles of their faith, that can side with despotism, or wink with indifference at oppression. They are not cowards. They counsel no tame, unmanly submission to wrong; but to oppose to wrong a courage of the human will that shall never faint or waver at any extremity of endurance; — aye, to "resist unto blood," if it be unavoidable, — to give their own necks to the axe or to the halter, on the block or the scaffold, but never to shed themselves a single drop, or perpetrate a single act of malevolent injury on any human being, under the severest pressure of despotic rule. Peace has its heroism,

serene and dauntless, that neither trembles nor pales before the guillotine, the halter, or the knot. Peace has its patriotism; deep, earnest, unselfish, self-sacrificing, and sensitive,—a love of country that would bleed to the last vein, but never wound, for its rights, honor, and prosperity. Peace has its battle-fields; bloodless, but brave to a degree of heroic endurance of wrong and outrage to which martial courage could never attain. The patriotism of peace, like the first grace of Christianity, "is first pure, then peaceable;" pure from those intense emotions of selfishness which are generally the heart and soul of the patriotism of the warrior. The history of nations, from its first to its last chapter, is full of the examples of those who have gloried in dying for their country. These last years have produced multitudes of the like. This patriotic sentiment is popularized among the millions, and set to the music of the songs of labor; and the hardy, humble men of the sewers often cheer the hours of their toil by singing, *sotto voce*, the joy and the glory "*Mourir pour sa patrie.*" The leaders of the depressed peoples of Europe, who have struggled, again and again, to recover their freedom and independence by the sword, are loud in the profession of their readiness to die for their country, and thousands of their countrymen echo the same sentiment. But under what circumstances would you die for your nation's freedom? Would you mount the scaffold, and die for your country, as Jesus Christ died on the cross for the world, amid the scoffs and scorn, and cutting taunts of your own countrymen? How would your patriotism stand the test of such an ordeal? How would the military heroes of the world, who have acquired fame for dying on the battle-field for their country's good, have trembled and recoiled like cowards from such a scaffold! Tried by such a test, how often would the patriotism of the warrior be seen to be nothing more or better

THE ECONOMY OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

THE ECONOMY OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

HERE, for example, is a people that have been subjected to a foreign and despotic rule, which has become intolerable to them. They are penetrated with a sense of the wrong and outrage which are inflicted upon them. They arrive at the conclusion to wage a desperate struggle to shake off the yoke of their servitude, and to regain or acquire their freedom as a nation. Unanimity of will and purpose, a strong and common sentiment of the justice of their cause, the concentrated and enduring energy of the whole population, are indispensably requisite to give such a struggle a possibility of success. Now, then, what are their position and their prospects? What are their forces, and what are those of the despotic power with which they have to contend? They have the right and the will to defend it. The powerful Government that oppresses them has the wrong, and the military force on its side to maintain it. What, then, are the chances of the battle-field? In the trial by battle, right has not the slightest advantage over wrong. So the prime force of the oppressed people is virtually put *hors du combat* in the struggle; and their will falls to the ground powerless, with the weapons they lifted to sustain it. At the disastrous issue of brute force with their colossal oppressor, they fall, not half-way, but to a lower depth of depression than before. When they entered on the struggle, they felt the hazard of the fearful odds; they knew the issue would be doubtful; successful or discomfited, they expected to suffer great calamities; to sacrifice thousands of human lives; to consume the resources of the nation, and bring wailing, desolation, and ruin, to numberless homes. But so strong was the will of the people,

than an intense love of self, the eager ambition for a name that shall outlive the memory of the good!

THE PROTECTING POWER OF PEACE PRINCIPLES.

THE principles of peace, as a protection and defence, are equal to any enemy or emergency. They are a safe resort in "extreme cases." They carried William Penn through as an extreme case as any Christian nation can fear to get into. Armed with these divine principles—trusting to no Egyptian reeds of steel, no mailed arm of flesh—he came among the red savages, whose bare breasts had been scarred in their long and bloody wars with the puritans of New England, and the *Long Knives* of Maryland and Virginia. The memory of burnt wigwams, and the cry of their children as they were thrust into the flames on the bayonets of professing Christians were fresh in their hearts.—Among their painted chieftains, strode many a *Logan*, sombre, stern, with long-brooding revenge ranking in his bosom. Penn came among them from the land of their deadliest foes; he spoke their language, and his face was pale like theirs. But he came with peace in his eyes and peace on his lips. He took hold of their rough red hands, and called them brethren; and their strong hearts grew soft at his words. And there they sat down and held sweet counsel together. There they burnished the silver chain of friendship bright; for the music of the good man's voice was peace. And their old men called him father, and their children, and their children's children called him father. No oaths were used in that covenant of peace, and none were broken.

THE ECONOMY OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

that they tried "the hazard of the die" of battle, in face of these terrible and visible certainties. Now, then, let us suppose the same people, with the same deep sense of right, and the same unanimous will to maintain it, at the cost of any amount of suffering, shake off the yoke of the oppressor, and oppose to his power the mere moral or passive resistance of that will. Simultaneously, as at the declaration of war, every man, woman and child secedes from obedience to the despotic Government, and prepares for the consequences. No tri-colored banner is raised; no bodies of men are marched through the streets to the sound of martial music. The only battle-word of the nation is written on the doorposts of every house:—"No political change is worth a single crime, or a single drop of human blood!" The only soldiers employed are like the peasant-sentinels of Cassel, who watched over their fellows, lest oppression should make them mad, and, in a sudden trial of their patience, they might fall to an act or word of violence. Now what force can the despotic Government employ to subdue the will of that people, arrayed against it in this impregnable state of opposition? It has no moral force, that is clear; and every act of violence puts it more and more in the wrong; that is, increases its moral weakness, and the moral power and dignity of the other side. Its soldiery is powerless, because every breast in the nation is defenceless, and every man possesses his soul in quiet patience, and withholds his hand from the slightest act of violence. Its generals and officers can find no other field of glory or prowess than the scaffold, where they may superintend the hanging of a few leaders of the revolution, for exciting in the people a spirit of patience under oppression; for saying on the platform, or in the journals of the country—"Endure unto the end; but do violence to no man." How is this people to be subjugated? It cannot be hung, put in prison,

or transported, entire, or by sections. A dozen or two, in every considerable town, might be hung, hundreds imprisoned, and hundreds exiled. Thousands might be spoiled of their goods. But all this loss of life and treasure, and calamity of other species, would not equal the bloody casualties of a single battle. Not a farthing's expense is imposed upon them by their own Government or leaders to sustain this struggle. No agricultural laborer is called away from the plough, no mechanic from the loom or the anvil. Every soldier's post in the conflict is in his own field, workshop, or counting-room; and every man of the people, and every woman and child that can endure, is a soldier. In these long campaigns of patience, there is no individual subjected to the despotism of military rule, or to the inequalities of the camp. The heroes of this warfare are those who have best ruled their spirits under the sharpest trials. The veterans to be remembered and rewarded, when the crown of their freedom is attained, are such as have given to the people the most illustrious examples of endurance of wrong, of a patience which oppression could not tire, of a capacity to rule their own spirits under the pressure of the most stinging provocations. Could the dignity, power and courage of the human will be combined and presented in a sublimer manifestation, than in such a spectacle? Here patriotism puts off self, and walks serene in the pure white robe of its majesty. Here the steady bravery of the human heart looks gigantic despotism in the face with an eye that makes it cower in the midst of its Cossacks. National independence! 'tis more than gained and guaranteed; that people has conquered it by its will. Democracy! it is already established, with attributes of popular sovereignty which ally it to Omnipotence. Democracy! that term falls below the dignity of this people's prerogative and power, even while the faggot blazes, and the block drips with the blood of their pat-

riots and heroes, in every town and village of their land. The experience of ages has given a meaning to that word too gross and physical to describe the sovereignty and freedom of this self-governing people. With them it signifies not the brute force of the mass, not the capricious sway of its impulses, but "THE POWER OF GOD WITH MEN." With them it is true, for the first time in the history of humanity, "*vox populi est vox Dei*;" because the battle-word of their conflict and conquest is the sublime voice of His Gospel, "*Resist not evil, but overcome evil with good.*" Is there any man who aspires in his heart to see "*Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*," illustrated in the life and being of a republic? Here you have those conditions realized to the full. The armies of the aliens, the banded despots of the world, may encamp around such a nation; but they can no more withhold from it the freedom it has won by its capacity to enjoy it, than they can withhold the communion and friendship of the Holy Spirit from the individual soul that has worked out its own salvation with fear and trembling.

We do not believe that despotism, in any of its manifestations, has foes more decided and unwavering, or popular freedom and progress friends more earnest or efficient, than are the advocates of peace, on both sides of the Atlantic. For one, we trust that the last experiment to win liberty by the sword, to attain to the capacity and dignity of self-government, by unchaining and stimulating to frenzy the worst passions of the people, has been tried and found wanting. The fearful and sanguinary struggles of the last few years, we hope, will serve to this evidence, without a repetition of these terrible lessons. If there be any oppressed and aggrieved people, that are nourishing in their heart the determination to struggle again for the national being and freedom they have lost, there is only one way given under heaven

286

among men by which they may reach the consummation of their longings; and that is, *Passive Resistance.*

2. Der Beitrag des philosophischen Anarchismus

"Passive resistance," said Ferdinand Lassalle, with an obtuseness thoroughly German, "is the resistance which does not resist." Never was there a greater mistake. It is the only resistance which in these days of military discipline resists with any result. There is not a tyrant in the civilized world today who would not do anything in his power to precipitate a bloody revolution rather than see himself confronted by any large fraction of his subjects determined not to obey. An insurrection is easily quelled; but no army is willing or able to train its guns on inoffensive people who do not even gather in the streets but stay at home and stand back on their rights. Neither the ballot nor the bayonet is to play any great part in the coming struggle; passive resistance and, in emergencies⁺⁾ , the dynamite bomb in the hands of isolated individuals are the instruments by which the revolutionary force is destined to secure in the last great conflict the people's rights forever. (Zit. nach: Tucker, B., a.a.O., S. 413)

+) By "emergencies" something very serious is meant, such, for instance, as the absolute suppression of freedom of speech and of the press. ("The Power of Passive Resistance"; Liberty, October 4, 1884)

Während die Arbeiterbewegung nicht viel Unterstützung von Friedensorganisationen bekam - in der Phase nach dem Bürgerkrieg -, bekam sie von individuellen Pazifisten starke Hilfe, von denen einer Ezra Heywood war, ein früheres Mitglied der New England Non-Resistance Society. Weil er ein leidenschaftlicher Gegner der Sklaverei war, zog sich Heywood von der Bewegung der Abolitionisten zurück, als der Bürgerkrieg ausbrach. Während er weiterhin öffentlich die Sklaverei anprangerte, verdammt er über die gesamte Kriegsdauer hinweg das Mittel bewaffneter Auseinandersetzung zur Durchsetzung eines innenpolitischen Zieles und unter-

stützte damit die absolute Position, die von den Quäkern und den frühsozialistischen "Shakers"⁵⁾ bezogen wurde. Nach dem Krieg war er einer der Gründer der Universal Peace Union, die im Grunde eine Neuformierung der alten New England Non-Resistance Society war. 1865 gegründet, war sie kleiner als die American Peace Society und anfangs nicht ein solch fester Verband. Die Universal Peace Union⁶⁾ - aktiv bis 1914 - basierte auf der Überzeugung, daß menschliches Leben unverletzlich sei und weder von Regierungen noch von Individuen genommen werden dürfe. Im Gegensatz zur American Peace Society unterstützte die Universal Peace Union einseitige Abrüstung, unternahm mehrere Kampagnen auf seiten unterdrückter ethnischer Gruppen und sprach, wenn sie auch nicht viel dafür unternahm, über die "Emanzipation des Arbeiters". Heywood war ein geborener Anarchist, bekehrt von Josiah Warren und ein Lehrer von Benjamin Tucker, beide bedeutende, frühe amerikanische Anarchisten. Sie betrachteten die freie Assoziation der Individuen als die Quelle sozialer Energie und lehrten, daß stückwerkhaft politische Reformen niemals die fortdauernde wirtschaftliche Ordnung korrigieren könnten. Die Anarchisten drängten ihre Zeitgenossen darauf, ihre Unterstützung der bestehenden Ordnung zu versagen und zwangfreie Alternativen an deren Stelle aufzubauen wie Kooperativen und Landreformbestrebungen.

Benjamin Tucker war der exponierteste Vertreter des individualistischen oder philosophischen Anarchismus in den USA. Als Sohn unitarischer Eltern besuchte Tucker eine Quäker-Akademie in New Bedford, Massachusetts, und das Massachusetts Institut für Technologie (MIT). Er setzte sich für Prohibition ein, das Wahlrecht für Frauen und den acht-Stunden-Tag, noch bevor er 1872 eine für ihn entscheidende Begegnung mit Josiah Warren hatte. Danach gab er die "Radical Review" (1877/78) und "Liberty" (1881-1908) heraus und übersetz-

te Proudhons "Was ist Eigentum?", Bakunins "Gott und Staat" und "Was tun?" vom russischen Populisten Nikolaus Tschernishevsky.⁷⁾

Wie Burritt trat Tucker für "non-resistance" und "passive resistance" ein und wies auf die Irish Land League hin als erfolgreiches Beispiel für massiven gewaltfreien Kampf. Er verdamnte die Gewalt der "Haymarket" - Anarchisten, Garfields Attentäter Guiteau, und auch den Staat, der sie zum Tode verurteilte. Tucker sah den Staat nicht nur als unnötig an, sondern auch als von gefährlich "invasiver" Wirkung.

Nach 1910 wanderte er mit seiner Frau und seiner Tochter nach Frankreich und Monako aus, nach zwanzigjähriger Tätigkeit beim "Boston Globe" und nach wie vor darauf bestehend, daß das Wort Anarchie das geeignete wäre "as a philosophical term and the word Anarchist as the name of a philosophical sect were first appropriated in the sense of opposition to dominion, to authority and are held so by right of occupancy, which fact makes any other philosophical use of them improper and confusing."⁸⁾

INSTEAD OF A BOOK

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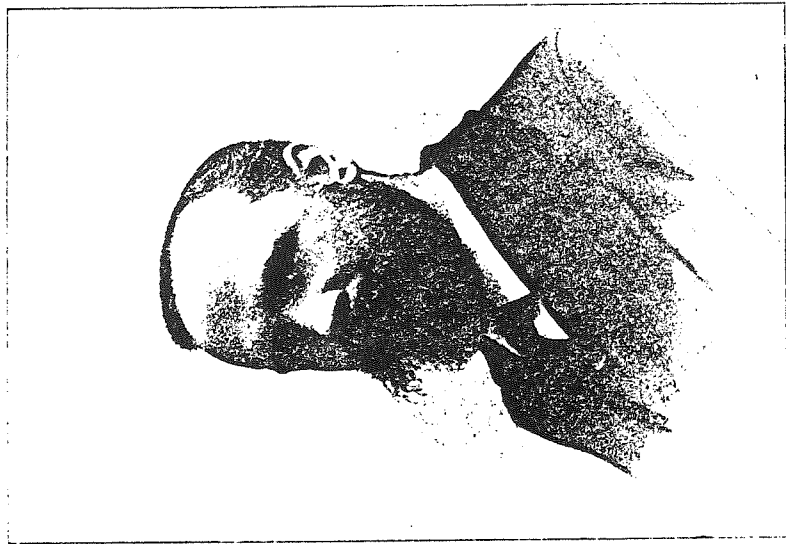
BY A MAN TOO BUSY TO WRITE ONE

A FRAGMENTARY EXPOSITION OF
PHILOSOPHICAL ANARCHISM

CULLED FROM THE WRITINGS OF
BENJ. R. TUCKER
Editor of Liberty

Liberty, Not the Daughter, but the Mother of Order.—PROUDHON

NEW YORK
BENJ. R. TUCKER, PUBLISHER
1893



Benj R Tucker

RELATION OF THE STATE TO THE INDIVIDUAL.*

[*Liberty*, November 15, 1890.]

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—Presumably the honor which you have done me in inviting me to address you to-day upon "The Relation of the State to the Individual" is due principally to the fact that circumstances have combined to make me somewhat conspicuous as an exponent of the theory of Modern Anarchism,—a theory which is coming to be more and more regarded as one of the few that are tenable as a basis of political and social life. In its name, then, I shall speak to you in discussing this question, which either underlies or closely touches almost every practical problem that confronts this generation. The future of the tariff, of taxation, of finance, of property, of woman, of marriage, of the family, of the suffrage, of education, of invention, of literature, of science, of the arts, of personal habits, of private character, of ethics, of religion, will be determined by the conclusion at which mankind shall arrive as to whether and how far the individual owes allegiance to the State.

Anarchism, in dealing with this subject, has found it necessary, first of all, to define its terms. Popular conceptions of the terminology of politics are incompatible with the rigorous exactness required in scientific investigation. To be sure, a departure from the popular use of language is accompanied by the risk of misconception by the multitude, who persistently ignore the new definitions; but, on the other hand, conformity thereto is attended by the still more deplorable alternative of confusion in the eyes of the competent, who would be justified in attributing inexactness of thought where there is inexactness of expression. Take the term "State," for instance, with which we are especially concerned to-day. It is a word

* An address delivered before the Unitarian Ministers' Institute, at the annual session held in Salem, Mass., October 14, 1890, at which addresses on the same subject were also delivered by Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, from the standpoint of Christian Socialism, and President E. Benjamin Andrews, of Brown University, from the standpoint of State regulation.

that is on every lip. But how many of those who use it have any idea of what they mean by it? And, of the few who have, how various are their conceptions! We designate by the term "State" institutions that embody absolutism in its extreme form and institutions that temper it with more or less liberality. We apply the word alike to institutions that do nothing but aggress and to institutions that, besides aggressing, to some extent protect and defend. But which is the State's essential function, aggression or defence, few seem to know or care. Some champions of the State evidently consider aggression its principle, although they disguise it alike from themselves and from the people under the term "administration," which they wish to extend in every possible direction. Others, on the contrary, consider defence its principle, and wish to limit it accordingly to the performance of police duties. Still others seem to think that it exists for both aggression and defence, combined in varying proportions according to the momentary interests, or maybe only whims, of those happening to control it. Brought face to face with these diverse views, the Anarchists, whose mission in the world is the abolition of aggression and all the evils that result therefrom, perceived that, to be understood, they must attach some definite and avowed significance to the terms which they are obliged to employ, and especially to the words "State" and "government." Seeking, then, the elements common to all the institutions to which the name "State" has been applied, they have found them two in number: first, aggression; second, the assumption of sole authority over a given area and all within it, exercised generally for the double purpose of more complete oppression of its subjects and extension of its boundaries. That this second element is common to all States, I think, will not be denied,—at least, I am not aware that any State has ever tolerated a rival State within its borders; and it seems plain that any State which should do so would thereby cease to be a State and to be considered as such by any. The exercise of authority over the same area by two States is a contradiction. That the first element, aggression, has been and is common to all States will probably be less generally admitted. Nevertheless, I shall not attempt to re-enforce here the conclusion of Spencer, which is gaining wider acceptance daily,—that the State had its origin in aggression, and has continued as an aggressive institution from its birth. Defence was an afterthought, prompted by necessity; and its introduction as a State function, though effected doubtless with a view to the strengthening of the State, was really and in principle the initiation of the State's destruction.

method of determining these is to apply some theory of ethics involving a basis of moral obligation. In this method the Anarchists have no confidence. The idea of moral obligation, of inherent rights and duties, they totally discard. They look upon all obligations, not as moral, but as social, and even then not really as obligations except as these have been consciously and voluntarily assumed. If a man makes an agreement with men, the latter may combine to hold him to his agreement; but, in the absence of such agreement, no man, so far as the Anarchists are aware, has made any agreement with God or with any other power of any order whatsoever. The Anarchists are not only utilitarians, but egoists in the farthest and fullest sense. So far as inherent right is concerned, might is its only measure. Any man, be his name Bill Sykes or Alexander Romanoff, and any set of men, whether the Chinese highbinders or the Congress of the United States, have the right, if they have the power, to kill or coerce other men and to make the entire world subservient to their ends. Society's right to enslave the individual and the individual's right to enslave society are unequal only because their powers are unequal. This position being subversive of all systems of religion and morality, of course I cannot expect to win immediate assent thereto from the audience which I am addressing to-day; nor does the time at my disposal allow me to sustain it by an elaborate, or even a summary, examination of the foundations of ethics. Those who desire a greater familiarity with this particular phase of the subject should read a profound German work, "*Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum*," written years ago by a comparatively unknown author, Dr. Caspar Schmidt, whose *nom de plume* was Max Stirner. Read only by a few scholars, the book is buried in obscurity, but is destined to a resurrection that perhaps will mark an epoch.

If this, then, were a question of right, it would be, according to the Anarchists, purely a question of strength. But, fortunately, it is not a question of right: it is a question of expediency, of knowledge, of science,—the science of living together, the science of society. The history of humanity has been largely one long and gradual discovery of the fact that the individual is the gainer by society exactly in proportion as society is free, and of the law that the condition of a permanent and harmonious society is the greatest amount of individual liberty compatible with equality of liberty. The average man of each new generation has said to himself more clearly and consciously than his predecessor: "My neighbor

Its growth in importance is but an evidence of the tendency of progress toward the abolition of the State. Taking this view of the matter, the Anarchists contend that defence is not an essential of the State, but that aggression is. Now what is aggression? Aggression is simply another name for government. Aggression, invasion, government, are interconvertible terms. The essence of government is control, or the attempt to control. He who attempts to control another is a governor, an aggressor, an invader; and the nature of such invasion is not changed, whether it is made by one man upon another man, after the manner of the ordinary criminal, or by one man upon all other men, after the manner of an absolute monarch, or by all other men upon one man, after the manner of a modern democracy. On the other hand, he who resists another's attempt to control is not an aggressor, an invader, a governor, but simply a defender, a protector; and the nature of such resistance is not changed whether it be offered by one man to another man, as when one repels a criminal's onslaught, or by one man to all other men, as when one declines to obey an oppressive law, or by all other men to one man, as when a subject people rises against a despot, or as when the members of a community voluntarily unite to restrain a criminal. This distinction between invasion and resistance, between government and defence, is vital. Without it there can be no valid philosophy of politics. Upon this distinction and the other considerations just outlined, the Anarchists frame the desired definitions. This, then, is the Anarchistic definition of government: the subjection of the non-invasive individual to an external will. And this is the Anarchistic definition of the State: the embodiment of the principle of invasion in an individual, or a band of individuals, assuming to act as representatives or masters of the entire people within a given area. As to the meaning of the remaining term in the subject under discussion, the word "individual," I think there is little difficulty. Putting aside the subtleties in which certain metaphysicians have indulged, one may use this word without danger of being misunderstood. Whether the definitions thus arrived at prove generally acceptable or not is a matter of minor consequence. I submit that they are reached scientifically, and serve the purpose of a clear conveyance of thought. The Anarchists, having by their adoption taken due care to be explicit, are entitled to have their ideas judged in the light of these definitions.

Now comes the question proper: What relations should exist between the State and the individual? The general

is not my enemy, but my friend, and I am his, if we would but mutually recognize the fact. We help each other to a better, fuller, happier living; and this service might be greatly increased if we would cease to restrict, hamper, and oppress each other. Why can we not agree to let each live his own life, neither of us transgressing the limit that separates our individualities?" It is by this reasoning that mankind is approaching the real social contract, which is not, as Rousseau thought, the origin of society, but rather the outcome of a long social experience, the fruit of its follies and disasters. It is obvious that this contract, this social law, developed to its perfection, excludes all aggression, all violation of equality of liberty, all invasion of every kind. Considering this contract in connection with the Anarchistic definition of the State, as the embodiment of the principle of invasion, we see that the State is antagonistic to society; and, society being essential to individual life and development, the conclusion leaps to the eyes that the relation of the State to the individual and of the individual to the State must be one of hostility, enduring till the State shall perish.

"But," it will be asked of the Anarchists at this point in the argument, "what shall be done with those individuals who undoubtedly will persist in violating the social law by invading their neighbors?" The Anarchists answer that the abolition of the State will leave in existence a defensive association, resting no longer on a compulsory but on a voluntary basis, which will restrain invaders by any means that may prove necessary. "But that is what we have now," is the rejoinder. "You really want, then, only a change of name?" Not so fast, please. Can it be soberly pretended for a moment that the State, even as it exists here in America, is purely a defensive institution? Surely not, save by those who see of the State only its most palpable manifestation,—the policeman on the street-corner. And one would not have to watch him very closely to see the error of this claim. Why, the very first act of the State, the compulsory assessment and collection of taxes, is itself an aggression, a violation of equal liberty, and, as such, vitiates every subsequent act, even those acts which would be purely defensive if paid for out of a treasury filled by voluntary contributions. How is it possible to sanction, under the law of equal liberty, the confiscation of a man's earnings to pay for protection which he has not sought and does not desire? And, if this is an outrage, what name shall we give to such confiscation when the victim is given, instead of bread, a stone, instead of protection, oppression? To force a man to pay for

the violation of his own liberty is indeed an addition of insult to injury. But that is exactly what the State is doing. Read the "Congressional Record"; follow the proceedings of the State legislatures; examine our statute-books; test each act separately by the law of equal liberty,—you will find that a good nine-tenths of existing legislation serves, not to enforce that fundamental social law, but either to prescribe the individual's personal habits, or, worse still, to create and sustain commercial, industrial, financial, and proprietary monopolies which deprive labor of a large part of the reward that it would receive in a perfectly free market. "To be governed," says Proudhon, "is to be watched, inspected, spied, directed, law-ridden, regulated, penned up, indoctrinated, preached at, checked, appraised, sized, censured, commanded, by beings who have neither title nor knowledge nor virtue. To be governed is to have every operation, every transaction, every movement noted, registered, counted, rated, stamped, measured, numbered, assessed, licensed, refused, authorized, indorsed, admonished, prevented, reformed, redressed, corrected. To be governed is, under pretext of public utility and in the name of the general interest, to be laid under contribution, drilled, fleeced, exploited, monopolized, extorted from, exhausted, hoaxed, robbed; then, upon the slightest resistance, at the first word of complaint, to be repressed, fined, vilified, annoyed, hunted down, pulled about, beaten, disarmed, bound, imprisoned, shot, mitrailleused, judged, condemned, banished, sacrificed, sold, betrayed, and, to crown all, ridiculed, derided, outraged, dishonored." And I am sure I do not need to point out to you the existing laws that correspond to and justify nearly every count in Proudhon's long indictment. How thoughtless, then, to assert that the existing political order is of a purely defensive character instead of the aggressive State which the Anarchists aim to abolish!

This leads to another consideration that bears powerfully upon the problem of the invasive individual, who is such a bugbear to the opponents of Anarchism. Is it not such treatment as has just been described that is largely responsible for his existence? I have heard or read somewhere of an inscription written for a certain charitable institution:

"This hospital a pious person built,
But first he made the poor wherewith to fill't."

And so, it seems to me, it is with our prisons. They are filled with criminals which our virtuous State has made what

they are by its iniquitous laws, its grinding monopolies, and the horrible social conditions that result from them. We enact many laws that manufacture criminals, and then a few that punish them. Is it too much to expect that the new social conditions which must follow the abolition of all interference with the production and distribution of wealth will in the end so change the habits and propensities of men that our jails and prisons, our policemen and our soldiers,—in a word, our whole machinery and outfit of defence,—will be superfluous? That, at least, is the Anarchists' belief. It sounds Utopian, but it really rests on severely economic grounds. To-day, however, time is lacking to explain the Anarchistic view of the dependence of usury, and therefore of poverty, upon monopolistic privilege, especially the banking privilege, and to show how an intelligent minority, educated in the principle of Anarchism and determined to exercise that right to ignore the State upon which Spencer, in his "Social Statics," so ably and admirably insists, might, by setting at defiance the National and State banking prohibitions, and establishing a Mutual Bank in competition with the existing monopolies, take the first and most important step in the abolition of usury and of the State. Simple as such a step would seem, from it all the rest would follow.

A half-hour is a very short time in which to discuss the relation of the State to the individual, and I must ask your pardon for the brevity of my dealing with a succession of considerations each of which needs an entire essay for its development. If I have outlined the argument intelligibly, I have accomplished all that I expected. But, in the hope of impressing the idea of the true social contract more vividly upon your minds, in conclusion I shall take the liberty of reading another page from Proudhon, to whom I am indebted for most of what I know, or think I know, upon this subject. Contrasting authority with free contract, he says, in his "General Idea of the Revolution of the Nineteenth Century":—

"Of the distance that separates these two régimes, we may judge by the difference in their styles.

"One of the most solemn moments in the evolution of the principle of authority is that of the promulgation of the Decalogue. The voice of the angel commands the People, prostrate at the foot of Sinai:—

"Thou shalt worship the Eternal, and only the Eternal.

"Thou shalt swear only by him.

"Thou shalt keep his holidays, and thou shalt pay his tithes.

"Thou shalt honor thy father and thy mother.

"Thou shalt not kill.

"Thou shalt not steal.

"Thou shalt not commit adultery.

"Thou shalt not bear false witness.

"Thou shalt not covet or calumniate.

"For the Eternal ordains it, and it is the Eternal who has made you what you are. The Eternal is alone sovereign, alone wise, alone worthy; the Eternal punishes and rewards. It is in the power of the Eternal to render you happy or unhappy at his will.

"All legislations have adopted this style; all, speaking to man, employ the sovereign formula. The Hebrew commands in the future, the Latin in the imperative, the Greek in the infinitive. The moderns do not otherwise. The tribune of the parliament-house is a Sinai as infallible and as terrible as that of Moses; whatever the law may be, from whatever lips it may come, it is sacred once it has been proclaimed by that prophetic trumpet, which with us is the majority.

"Thou shalt not assemble.

"Thou shalt not print.

"Thou shalt not read.

"Thou shalt respect thy representatives and thy officials, which the hazard of the ballot or the good pleasure of the State shall have given you.

"Thou shalt obey the laws which they in their wisdom shall have made.

"Thou shalt pay thy taxes faithfully.

"And thou shalt love the Government, thy Lord and thy God, with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind, because the Government knows better than thou what thou art, what thou art worth, what is good for thee, and because it has the power to chastise those who disobey its commandments, as well as to reward unto the fourth generation those who make themselves agreeable to it.

"With the Revolution it is quite different.

"The search for first causes and for final causes is eliminated from economic science as from the natural sciences.

"The idea of Progress replaces, in philosophy, that of the Absolute.

"Revolution succeeds Revelation.

"Reason, assisted by Experience, discloses to man the laws of Nature and Society; then it says to him:—

"These laws are those of necessity itself. No man has made them; no man imposes them upon you. They have been

gradually discovered, and I exist only to bear testimony to them.

"If you observe them, you will be just and good.

"If you violate them, you will be unjust and wicked.

"I offer you no other motive.

"Already, among your fellows, several have recognized that justice is better, for each and for all, than iniquity; and they have agreed with each other to mutually keep faith and right,—that is, to respect the rules of transaction which the nature of things indicates to them as alone capable of assuring them, in the largest measure, well-being, security, peace.

"Do you wish to adhere to their compact, to form a part of their society?

"Do you promise to respect the honor, the liberty, and the goods of your brothers?

"Do you promise never to appropriate, either by violence, or by fraud, or by usury, or by speculation, the product or the possession of another?

"Do you promise never to lie and deceive, either in justice, or in business, or in any of your transactions?

"You are free to accept or to refuse.

"If you refuse, you become a part of the society of savages. Outside of the communion of the human race, you become an object of suspicion. Nothing protects you. At the slightest insult, the first comer may lift his hand against you without incurring any other accusation than that of cruelty needlessly practised upon a brute.

"On the contrary, if you swear to the compact, you become a part of the society of free men. All your brothers enter into an engagement with you, promise you fidelity, friendship, aid, service, exchange. In case of infraction, on their part or on yours, through negligence, passion, or malice, you are responsible to each other for the damage as well as the scandal and the insecurity of which you have been the cause: this responsibility may extend, according to the gravity of the perjury or the repetitions of the offence, even to excommunication and to death.

"The law is clear, the sanction still more so. Three articles, which make but one,—that is the whole social contract. Instead of making oath to God and his prince, the citizen swears upon his conscience, before his brothers, and before Humanity. Between these two oaths there is the same difference as between slavery and liberty, faith and science, courts and justice, usury and labor, government and economy, non-existence and being, God and man."

3. Emma Goldman

wurde in Rußland geboren und lebte in St. Petersburg vom 13. Lebensjahr an, ein Jahr nach der Ermordung von Zar Alexander II. 1886 emigrierte sie in die USA, wo sie Arbeit in einer Kleiderfabrik für 2 1/2 Dollar Lohn pro Woche bekam. 1892 half sie Alexander Berkman bei seinem Versuch, Henry Clay Frick von der US-Stahlindustrie während des "Homestead Streik" in Pittsburgh zu ermorden. Doch später verwarf sie Gewalt als ein untaugliches Mittel, um soziale und wirtschaftliche Gerechtigkeit zu erlangen. Sie begann zu lehren, in zahlreichen klaren und eindringlichen Reden über die ökonomischen Ursachen der Armut, der Frauenbenachteiligung, über die politischen Forderungen der Frauenbewegung, daß Gewalt niemals ein Befreiungsmittel sein kann, obwohl sie verstand, wie die Menschen aus Verzweiflung zu diesem Mittel Zuflucht nahmen.

Weil Gewaltmonopolisierung jedoch ein grundlegender Charakterzug jedes Staates sei, zog Emma Goldman es vor, Gewalt als Mittel zur Überwindung des Staates nicht zu empfehlen, sondern betonte nachdrücklich die Notwendigkeit kollektiver Arbeitsverweigerung aus dem ausbeuterischen Sozialsystem und der Kriegsproduktion. Ohne Arbeiter oder Soldaten müsse das System selbst unvermeidlich kollabieren, und der Weg wäre geebnet für eine dezentralisierte Gesellschaftsordnung ohne Gewaltmonopol, in welcher die Menschen einen Rahmen für Arbeit ohne Zwang vorfinden und auf der Grundlage der Freiwilligkeit und der Basis objektiver Notwendigkeiten kooperieren könnten. 1917 organisierten Alexander Berkman und sie die Liga gegen die Wehrpflicht⁹⁾, um den Widerstand gegen den Ersten Weltkrieg zu unterstützen. Wegen "Konspiration gegen die Wehrerfassung" wurden sie zu 10.000 Dollar Strafe verurteilt und im Juni 1917 für zwei Jahre inhaftiert. Sofort nach ihrer Freilassung wurde Emma Goldman ins revolutionäre Rußland deportiert; ihre Desillusionierung mit dem revolutionären Experiment der Bolsche-

wiki ist in "My Disillusionment in Russia" (1923) und anderen Büchern dokumentiert und bezog sich vornehmlich auf die repressiven Maßnahmen eines in gesteigertem Maße zentralisierten bolschewistischen Staatsapparates.

Gegen Ende ihres Lebens schrieb sie am 29. Juni 1928 von St. Tropez aus an Alexander Berkman über das Recht auf revolutionäre Gegengewalt: "It is only Tolstoy's or Gandhi's position which would make it inconsistent to take up arms in defense of the revolution. I wish I could take their position. Emotionally I really do. I feel violence in whatever form never has and probably never will bring constructive results ..." ¹⁰⁾

Und in einem Brief an Henry Alsberg vom 24. März 1931 aus Nizza und in Kommentierung der indischen Satyagraha-Kampagnen Gandhis für vollständige Unabhängigkeit von den Briten über ihre Vorbehalte den Kampfmethoden Gandhis gegenüber: "It may be true that Gandhi hopes that after his people have achieved independence they will be able to develop to antistateism and individual freedom. If he should, I will find myself as mistaken as others have, for it is power which is the crux of the matter, whoever wields it." ¹¹⁾

Der folgende Essay, 1910 veröffentlicht, verdammt Gewalt indirekt in seiner Kritik am System der Strafjustiz. Aber der bedeutendste Beitrag des Anarchismus zur gewaltfreien Tradition eines tendenziell "revolutionären Pazifismus" war seine Lehre von der "direkten Aktion", die Emma Goldman hier darlegt.

Anarchism and Other Essays

EMMA GOLDMAN

With a new Introduction by RICHARD DRINNON



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- 226 -

ANARCHISM

WHAT IT REALLY STANDS FOR

ANARCHY.

Ever reviled, accursed, ne'er understood,
Thou art the grisly terror of our age.
"Wreck of all order," cry the multitude,
"Art thou, and war and murder's endless rage."
O, let them cry. To them that ne'er have striven
The truth that lies behind a word to find,
To them the word's right meaning was not given.
They shall continue blind among the blind.
But thou, O word, so clear, so strong, so pure,
Thou sayest all which I for goal have taken.
I give thee to the future! Thine secure
When each at least unto himself shall waken.
Comes it in sunshine? In the tempest's thrill?
I cannot tell—but it the earth shall see!
I am an Anarchist! Wherefore I will
Not rule, and also ruled I will not be!

JOHN HENRY MACKAY.

THE history of human growth and development is at the same time the history of the terrible struggle of every new idea heralding the approach of a brighter dawn. In its tenacious hold on tradition, the Old

- 227 -

has never hesitated to make use of the foulest and cruelest means to stay the advent of the New, in whatever form or period the latter may have asserted itself. Nor need we retrace our steps into the distant past to realize the enormity of opposition, difficulties, and hardships placed in the path of every progressive idea. The rack, the thumbscrew, and the knout are still with us; so are the convict's garb and the social wrath, all conspiring against the spirit that is serenely marching on.

Anarchism could not hope to escape the fate of all other ideas of innovation. Indeed, as the most revolutionary and uncompromising innovator, Anarchism must needs meet with the combined ignorance and venom of the world it aims to reconstruct.

To deal even remotely with all that is being said and done against Anarchism would necessitate the writing of a whole volume. I shall therefore meet only two of the principal objections. In so doing, I shall attempt to elucidate what Anarchism really stands for.

The strange phenomenon of the opposition to Anarchism is that it brings to light the relation between so-called intelligence and ignorance. And yet this is not so very strange when we consider the relativity of all things. The ignorant mass has in its favor that it makes no pretense of knowledge or tolerance. Acting, as it always does, by mere impulse, its reasons are like those of a child. "Why?" "Because." Yet the opposition of the uneducated to Anarchism deserves the same consideration as that of the intelligent man.

is ignorance; that its power of destruction is the very thing Anarchism is combating? Nor is he aware that Anarchism, whose roots, as it were, are part of nature's forces, destroys, not healthful tissue, but parasitic growths that feed on the life's essence of society. It is merely clearing the soil from weeds and sagebrush, that it may eventually bear healthy fruit.

Someone has said that it requires less mental effort to condemn than to think. The widespread mental indolence, so prevalent in society, proves this to be only too true. Rather than to go to the bottom of any given idea, to examine into its origin and meaning, most people will either condemn it altogether, or rely on some superficial or prejudicial definition of non-essentials.

Anarchism urges man to think, to investigate, to analyze every proposition; but that the brain capacity of the average reader be not taxed too much, I also shall begin with a definition, and then elaborate on the latter.

ANARCHISM:—The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

The new social order rests, of course, on the materialistic basis of life; but while all Anarchists agree that the main evil today is an economic one, they maintain that the solution of that evil can be brought about only through the consideration of every phase of life,—individual, as well as the collective; the internal, as well as the external phases.

What, then, are the objections? First, Anarchism is impractical, though a beautiful ideal. Second, Anarchism stands for violence and destruction, hence it must be repudiated as vile and dangerous. Both the intelligent man and the ignorant mass judge not from a thorough knowledge of the subject, but either from hearsay or false interpretation.

A practical scheme, says Oscar Wilde, is either one already in existence, or a scheme that could be carried out under the existing conditions; but it is exactly the existing conditions that one objects to, and any scheme that could accept these conditions is wrong and foolish. The true criterion of the practical, therefore, is not whether the latter can keep intact the wrong or foolish; rather is it whether the scheme has vitality enough to leave the stagnant waters of the old, and build, as well as sustain, new life. In the light of this conception, Anarchism is indeed practical. More than any other idea, it is helping to do away with the wrong and foolish; more than any other idea, it is building and sustaining new life.

The emotions of the ignorant man are continuously kept at a pitch by the most blood-curdling stories about Anarchism. Not a thing too outrageous to be employed against this philosophy and its exponents. Therefore Anarchism represents to the unthinking what the proverbial bad man does to the child,—a black monster bent on swallowing everything; in short, destruction and violence.

Destruction and violence! How is the ordinary man to know that the most violent element in society

A thorough perusal of the history of human development will disclose two elements in bitter conflict with each other; elements that are only now beginning to be understood, not as foreign to each other, but as closely related and truly harmonious, if only placed in proper environment: the individual and social instincts. The individual and society have waged a relentless and bloody battle for ages, each striving for supremacy, because each was blind to the value and importance of the other. The individual and social instincts,—the one a most potent factor for individual endeavor, for growth, aspiration, self-realization; the other an equally potent factor for mutual helpfulness and social well-being.

The explanation of the storm raging within the individual, and between him and his surroundings, is not far to seek. The primitive man, unable to understand his being, much less the unity of all life, felt himself absolutely dependent on blind, hidden forces ever ready to mock and taunt him. Out of that attitude grew the religious concepts of man as a mere speck of dust dependent on superior powers on high, who can only be appeased by complete surrender. All the early sagas rest on that idea, which continues to be the *Leitmotiv* of the biblical tales dealing with the relation of man to God, to the State, to society. Again and again the same motif, *man is nothing, the powers are everything*. Thus Jehovah would only endure man on condition of complete surrender. Man can have all the glories of the earth, but he must not become conscious of himself. The State, society, and moral laws all sing the same re-

frain: Man can have all the glories of the earth, but he must not become conscious of himself.

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. Anarchism is therefore the teacher of the unity of life; not merely in nature, but in man. There is no conflict between the individual and the social instincts, any more than there is between the heart and the lungs: the one the receptacle of a precious life essence, the other the repository of the element that keeps the essence pure and strong. The individual is the heart of society, conserving the essence of social life; society is the lungs which are distributing the element to keep the life essence—that is, the individual—pure and strong.

"The one thing of value in the world," says Emerson, "is the active soul; this every man contains within him. The soul active sees absolute truth and utters truth and creates." In other words, the individual instinct is the thing of value in the world. It is the true soul that sees and creates the truth alive, out of which is to come a still greater truth, the re-born social soul.

Anarchism is the great liberator of man from the phantoms that have held him captive; it is the arbiter and pacifier of the two forces for individual and social harmony. To accomplish that unity, Anarchism has declared war on the pernicious influences which have so far prevented the harmonious

blending of individual and social instincts, the individual and society.

Religion, the dominion of the human mind; Property, the dominion of human needs; and Government, the dominion of human conduct, represent the stronghold of man's enslavement and all the horrors it entails. Religion! How it dominates man's mind, how it humiliates and degrades his soul. God is everything, man is nothing, says religion. But out of that nothing God has created a kingdom so despotic, so tyrannical, so cruel, so terribly exacting that naught but gloom and tears and blood have ruled the world since gods began. Anarchism rouses man to rebellion against this black monster. Break your mental fetters, says Anarchism to man, for not until you think and judge for yourself will you get rid of the dominion of darkness, the greatest obstacle to all progress.

Property, the dominion of man's needs, the denial of the right to satisfy his needs. Time was when property claimed a divine right, when it came to man with the same refrain, even as religion, "Sacrifice! Abnegate! Submit!" The spirit of Anarchism has lifted man from his prostrate position. He now stands erect, with his face toward the light. He has learned to see the insatiable, devouring, devastating nature of property, and he is preparing to strike the monster dead.

"Property is robbery," said the great French Anarchist Proudhon. Yes, but without risk and danger to the robber. Monopolizing the accumulated efforts of man, property has robbed him of his birth-

right, and has turned him loose a pauper and an outcast. Property has not even the time-worn excuse that man does not create enough to satisfy all needs. The A B C student of economics knows that the productivity of labor within the last few decades far exceeds normal demand. But what are normal demands to an abnormal institution? The only demand that property recognizes is its own gluttonous appetite for greater wealth, because wealth means power; the power to subdue, to crush, to exploit, the power to enslave, to outrage, to degrade. America is particularly boastful of her great power, her enormous national wealth. Poor America, of what avail is all her wealth, if the individuals comprising the nation are wretchedly poor? If they live in squalor, in filth, in crime, with hope and joy gone, a homeless, soilless army of human prey.

It is generally conceded that unless the returns of any business venture exceed the cost, bankruptcy is inevitable. But those engaged in the business of producing wealth have not yet learned even this simple lesson. Every year the cost of production in human life is growing larger (50,000 killed, 100,000 wounded in America last year); the returns to the masses, who help to create wealth, are ever getting smaller. Yet America continues to be blind to the inevitable bankruptcy of our business of production. Nor is this the only crime of the latter. Still more fatal is the crime of turning the producer into a mere particle of a machine, with less will and decision than his master of steel and iron. Man is being robbed not merely of the products of his labor, but

of the power of free initiative, of originality, and the interest in, or desire for, the things he is making.

Real wealth consists in things of utility and beauty, in things that help to create strong, beautiful bodies and surroundings inspiring to live in. But if man is doomed to wind cotton around a spool, or dig coal, or build roads for thirty years of his life, there can be no talk of wealth. What he gives to the world is only gray and hideous things, reflecting a dull and hideous existence,—too weak to live, too cowardly to die. Strange to say, there are people who extol this deadening method of centralized production as the proudest achievement of our age. They fail utterly to realize that if we are to continue in machine subserviency, our slavery is more complete than was our bondage to the King. They do not want to know that centralization is not only the death-knell of liberty, but also of health and beauty, of art and science, all these being impossible in a clock-like, mechanical atmosphere.

Anarchism cannot but repudiate such a method of production: its goal is the freest possible expression of all the latent powers of the individual. Oscar Wilde defines a perfect personality as "one who develops under perfect conditions, who is not wounded, maimed, or in danger." A perfect personality, then, is only possible in a state of society where man is free to choose the mode of work, the conditions of work, and the freedom to work. One to whom the making of a table, the building of a house, or the tilling of the soil, is what the painting is to the artist and the discovery to the scientist,—the

result of inspiration, of intense longing, and deep interest in work as a creative force. That being the ideal of Anarchism, its economic arrangements must consist of voluntary productive and distributive associations, gradually developing into free communism, as the best means of producing with the least waste of human energy. Anarchism, however, also recognizes the right of the individual, or numbers 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 being possible only under complete individual and social freedom, Anarchism directs its forces against the third and greatest foe of all social equality; namely, the State, organized authority, or statutory law,—the dominion of human conduct.

Just as religion has fettered the human mind, and as property, or the monopoly of things, has subdued and stifled man's needs, so has the State enslaved his spirit, dictating every phase of conduct. "All government in essence," says Emerson, "is tyranny." 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.

Referring to the American government, the greatest American Anarchist, David Thoreau, said: "Government, what is it but a tradition, though a recent one, endeavoring to transmit itself unimpaired to posterity, but each instance losing its integrity; it has not the vitality and force of a single living man. Law never made man a whit more just; and by

means of their respect for it, even the well disposed are daily made agents of injustice."

Indeed, 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 offenses, while maintaining themselves by the greatest of all offenses, the annihilation of individual liberty. Thus Ouida is right when she maintains that "the State only aims at instilling those qualities in its public by which its demands are obeyed, and its exchequer is filled. Its highest attainment is the reduction of mankind to clockwork. In its atmosphere all those finer and more delicate liberties, which require treatment and spacious expansion, inevitably dry up and perish. The State requires a taxpaying machine in which there is no hitch, an exchequer in which there is never a deficit, and a public, monotonous, obedient, colorless, spiritless, moving humbly like a flock of sheep along a straight high road between two walls."

Yet even a flock of sheep would resist the chicanery of the State, if it were not for the corruptive, tyrannical, and oppressive methods it employs to serve its purposes. Therefore Bakunin repudiates the State as synonymous with the surrender of the liberty of the individual or small minorities,—the destruction of social relationship, the curtailment, or complete denial even, of life itself, for its own aggrandizement. The State is the altar of political freedom and, like the religious altar, it is maintained for the purpose of human sacrifice.

In fact, there is hardly a modern thinker who

does not agree that government, organized authority, or the State, is necessary *only* to maintain or protect property and monopoly. It has proven efficient in that function only.

Even George Bernard Shaw, who hopes for the miraculous from the State under Fabianism, nevertheless admits that "it is at present a huge machine for robbing and slave-driving of the poor by brute force." This being the case, it is hard to see why the clever prefacer wishes to uphold the State after poverty shall have ceased to exist.

Unfortunately there are still a number of people who continue in the fatal belief that government rests on natural laws, that it maintains social order and harmony, that it diminishes crime, and that it prevents the lazy man from fleecing his fellows. I shall therefore examine these contentions.

A natural law is that factor in man which asserts itself freely and spontaneously without any external force, in harmony with the requirements of nature. For instance, the demand for nutrition, for sex gratification, for light, air, and exercise, is a natural law. But its expression needs not the machinery of government, needs not the club, the gun, the handcuff, or the prison. To obey such laws, if we may call it obedience, requires only spontaneity and free opportunity. That governments do not maintain themselves through such harmonious factors is proven by the terrible array of violence, force, and coercion all governments use in order to live. Thus Blackstone is right when he says, "Human laws are invalid, because they are contrary to the laws of nature."

Unless it be the order of Warsaw after the slaughter of thousands of people, it is difficult to ascribe to governments any capacity for order or social harmony. Order derived through submission and maintained by terror is not much of a safe guaranty; yet that is the only "order" that governments have ever maintained. True social harmony grows naturally out of solidarity of interests. In a society where those who always work never have anything, while those who never work enjoy everything, solidarity of interests is non-existent; hence social harmony is but a myth. The only way organized authority meets this grave situation is by extending still greater privileges to those who have already monopolized the earth, and by still further enslaving the disinherited masses. Thus the entire arsenal of government—laws, police, soldiers, the courts, legislatures, prisons,—is strenuously engaged in "harmonizing" the most antagonistic elements in society.

The most absurd apology for authority and law is that they serve to diminish crime. Aside from the fact that the State is itself the greatest criminal, breaking every written and natural law, stealing in the form of taxes, killing in the form of war and capital punishment, it has come to an absolute standstill in coping with crime. It has failed utterly to destroy or even minimize the horrible scourge of its own creation.

Crime is naught but misdirected energy. So long as every institution of today, economic, political, social, and moral, conspires to misdirect human energy into wrong channels; so long as most people

are out of place doing the things they hate to do, living a life they loathe to live, crime will be inevitable, and all the laws on the statutes can only increase, but never do away with, crime. What does society, as it exists today, know of the process of despair, the poverty, the horrors, the fearful struggle the human soul must pass on its way to crime and degradation. Who that knows this terrible process can fail to see the truth in these words of Peter Kropotkin:

"Those who will hold the balance between the benefits thus attributed to law and punishment and the degrading effect of the latter on humanity; those who will estimate the torrent of depravity poured abroad in human society by the informer, favored by the Judge even, and paid for in clinking cash by governments, under the pretext of aiding to unmask crime; those who will go within prison walls and there see what human beings become when deprived of liberty, when subjected to the care of brutal keepers, to coarse, cruel words, to a thousand stinging, piercing humiliations, will agree with us that the entire apparatus of prison and punishment is an abomination which ought to be brought to an end."

The deterrent influence of law on the lazy man is too absurd to merit consideration. If society were only relieved of the waste and expense of keeping a lazy class, and the equally great expense of the paraphernalia of protection this lazy class requires, the social tables would contain an abundance for all, including even the occasional lazy

individual. Besides, it is well to consider that laziness results either from special privileges, or physical and mental abnormalities. Our present insane system of production fosters both, and the most astounding phenomenon is that people should want to work at all now. 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 a man should find in work both recreation and hope.

To achieve such an arrangement of life, government, with its unjust, arbitrary, repressive measures, must be done away with. At best it has but imposed one single mode of life upon all, without regard to individual and social variations and needs. In destroying government and statutory laws, Anarchism proposes to rescue the self-respect and independence of the individual from all restraint and invasion by authority. Only in freedom can man grow to his full stature. Only in freedom will he learn to think and move, and give the very best in him. Only in freedom will he realize the true force of the social bonds which knit men together, and which are the true foundation of a normal social life.

But what about human nature? Can it be changed? And if not, will it endure under Anarchism?

Poor human nature, what horrible crimes have been committed in thy name! Every fool, from king to policeman, from the flatheaded par-

son to the visionless dabbler in science, presumes to speak authoritatively of human nature. The greater the mental charlatan, the more definite his insistence on the wickedness and weaknesses of human nature. Yet, how can any one speak of it today, with every soul in a prison, with every heart fettered, wounded, and maimed?

John Burroughs has stated that experimental study of animals in captivity is absolutely useless. Their character, their habits, their appetites undergo a complete transformation when torn from their soil in field and forest. With human nature caged in a narrow space, whipped daily into submission, how can we speak of its potentialities?

Freedom, expansion, opportunity, and, above all, peace and repose, alone can teach us the real dominant factors of human nature and all its wonderful possibilities.

Anarchism, then, really stands for the liberation of the human mind from the dominion of religion; the liberation of the human body from the dominion of property; liberation from the shackles and restraint of government. Anarchism stands for a social order based on the free grouping of individuals for the purpose of producing real social wealth; an order that will guarantee to every human being free access to the earth and full enjoyment of the necessities of life, according to individual desires, tastes, and inclinations.

This is not a wild fancy or an aberration of the mind. It is the conclusion arrived at by hosts of intellectual men and women the world over; a con-

clusion resulting from the close and studious observation of the tendencies of modern society: individual liberty and economic equality, the twin forces for the birth of what is fine and true in man.

As to methods. Anarchism is not, as some may suppose, a theory of the future to be realized through divine inspiration. It is a living force in the affairs of our life, constantly creating new conditions. The methods of Anarchism therefore do not comprise an iron-clad program to be carried out under all circumstances. Methods must grow out of the economic needs of each place and clime, and of the intellectual and temperamental requirements of the individual. The serene, calm character of a Tolstoy will wish different methods for social reconstruction than the intense, overflowing personality of a Michael Bakunin or a Peter Kropotkin. Equally so it must be apparent that the economic and political needs of Russia will dictate more drastic measures than would England or America. Anarchism does not stand for military drill and uniformity; it does, however, stand for the spirit of revolt, in whatever form, against everything that hinders human growth. All Anarchists agree in that, as they also agree in their opposition to the political machinery as a means of bringing about the great social change.

"All voting," says Thoreau, "is a sort of gaming, like checkers, or backgammon, a playing with right and wrong; its obligation never exceeds that of expediency. Even voting for the right thing is doing nothing for it. A wise man will not leave

the right to the mercy of chance, nor wish it to prevail through the power of the majority." A close examination of the machinery of politics and its achievements will bear out the logic of Thoreau.

What does the history of parliamentarism show? Nothing but failure and defeat, not even a single reform to ameliorate the economic and social stress of the people. Laws have been passed and enactments made for the improvement and protection of labor. Thus it was proven only last year that Illinois, with the most rigid laws for mine protection, had the greatest mine disasters. In States where child labor laws prevail, child exploitation is at its highest, and though with us the workers enjoy full political opportunities, capitalism has reached the most brazen zenith.

Even were the workers able to have their own representatives, for which our good Socialist politicians are clamoring, what chances are there for their honesty and good faith? One has but to bear in mind the process of politics to realize that its path of good intentions is full of pitfalls: wire-pulling, intriguing, flattering, lying, cheating; in fact, chicanery of every description, whereby the political aspirant can achieve success. Added to that is a complete demoralization of character and conviction, until nothing is left that would make one hope for anything from such a human derelict. Time and time again the people were foolish enough to trust, believe, and support with their last farthing aspiring politicians, only to find themselves betrayed and cheated.

It may be claimed that men of integrity would not become corrupt in the political grinding mill. Perhaps not; but such men would be absolutely helpless to exert the slightest influence in behalf of labor, as indeed has been shown in numerous instances. The State is the economic master of its servants. Good men, if such there be, would either remain true to their political faith and lose their economic support, or they would cling to their economic master and be utterly unable to do the slightest good. The political arena leaves one no alternative, one must either be a dunce or a rogue.

The political superstition is still holding sway over the hearts and minds of the masses, but the true lovers of liberty will have no more to do with it. Instead, they believe with Stirner that man has as much liberty as he is willing to take. Anarchism therefore stands for direct action, the open defiance of, and resistance to, all laws and restrictions, economic, social, and moral. But defiance and resistance are illegal. Therein lies the salvation of man. Everything illegal necessitates integrity, self-reliance, and courage. In short, it calls for free, independent spirits, for "men who are men, and who have a bone in their backs which you cannot pass your hand through."

Universal suffrage itself owes its existence to direct action. If not for the spirit of rebellion, of the defiance on the part of the American revolutionary fathers, their posterity would still wear the King's coat. If not for the direct action of a John

Brown and his comrades, America would still trade in the flesh of the black man. True, the trade in white flesh is still going on; but that, too, will have to be abolished by direct action. Trade-unionism, the economic arena of the modern gladiator, owes its existence to direct action. It is but recently that law and government have attempted to crush the trade-union movement, and condemned the exponents of man's right to organize to prison as conspirators. Had they sought to assert their cause through begging, pleading, and compromise, trade-unionism would today be a negligible quantity. In France, in Spain, in Italy, in Russia, nay even in England (witness the growing rebellion of English labor unions), direct, revolutionary, economic action has become so strong a force in the battle for industrial liberty as to make the world realize the tremendous importance of labor's power. The General Strike, the supreme expression of the economic consciousness of the workers, was ridiculed in America but a short time ago. Today every great strike, in order to win, must realize the importance of the solidaric general protest.

Direct action, having proven effective along economic lines, is equally potent in the environment of the individual. There a hundred forces encroach upon his being, and only persistent resistance to them will finally set him free. Direct action against the authority in the shop, direct action against the authority of the law, direct action against the invasive, meddling authority of our moral code, is the logical, consistent method of Anarchism.

Will it not lead to a revolution? Indeed, it will. No real social change has ever come about without a revolution. People are either not familiar with their history, or they have not yet learned that revolution is but thought carried into action.

Anarchism, the great leaven of thought, is today permeating every phase of human endeavor. Science, art, literature, the drama, the effort for economic betterment, in fact every individual and social opposition to the existing disorder of things, is illumined by the spiritual light of Anarchism. It is the philosophy of the sovereignty of the individual. It is the theory of social harmony. It is the great, surging, living truth that is reconstructing the world, and that will usher in the Dawn.

Anmerkungen

- 1) Brock, Peter: *Pacifism in the United States*, Princeton/
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Emma Goldman (1869-1940)



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- 240 -

Anarchism and Other Essays

EMMA GOLDMAN

With a new Introduction by RICHARD DRINNON

PATRIOTISM

A MENACE TO LIBERTY

WHAT is patriotism? Is it love of one's birthplace, the place of childhood's recollections and hopes, dreams and aspirations? Is it the place where, in childlike naivety, we would watch the fleeting clouds, and wonder why we, too, could not run so swiftly? The place where we would count the milliard glittering stars, terror-stricken lest each one "an eye should be," piercing the very depths of our little souls? Is it the place where we would listen to the music of the birds, and long to have wings to fly, even as they, to distant lands? Or the place where we would sit at mother's knee, enraptured by wonderful tales of great deeds and conquests? In short, is it love for the spot, every inch representing dear and precious recollections of a happy, joyous, and playful childhood?

If that were patriotism, few American men of today could be called upon to be patriotic, since the place of play has been turned into factory, mill, and mine, while deafening sounds of machinery have replaced the music of the birds. Nor can we longer hear the tales of great deeds, for the stories our mothers tell today are but those of sorrow, tears, and grief.

ANARCHISM AND OTHER ESSAYS

What, then, is patriotism? "Patriotism, sir, is the last resort of scoundrels," said Dr. Johnson. Leo Tolstoy, the greatest anti-patriot of our times, defines patriotism as the principle that will justify the training of wholesale murderers; a trade that requires better equipment for the exercise of man-killing than the making of such necessities of life as shoes, clothing, and houses; a trade that guarantees better returns and greater glory than that of the average workingman.

Gustave Hervé, another great anti-patriot, justly calls patriotism a superstition—one far more injurious, brutal, and inhumane than religion. The superstition of religion originated in man's inability to explain natural phenomena. That is, when primitive man heard thunder or saw the lightning, he could not account for either, and therefore concluded that back of them must be a force greater than himself. Similarly he saw a supernatural force in the rain, and in the various other changes in nature. Patriotism, on the other hand, is a superstition artificially created and maintained through a network of lies and falsehoods; a superstition that robs man of his self-respect and dignity, and increases his arrogance and conceit.

Indeed, conceit, arrogance, and egotism are the essentials of patriotism. Let me illustrate. Patriotism assumes that our globe is divided into little spots, each one surrounded by an iron gate. Those who have had the fortune of being born on some particular spot, consider themselves better, nobler, grander, more intelligent than the living beings inhabiting any other spot. It is, therefore, the duty of everyone

- 241 -

living on that chosen spot to fight, kill, and die in the attempt to impose his superiority upon all the others.

The inhabitants of the other spots reason in like manner, of course, with the result that, from early infancy, the mind of the child is poisoned with blood-curdling stories about the Germans, the French, the Italians, Russians, etc. When the child has reached manhood, he is thoroughly saturated with the belief that he is chosen by the Lord himself to defend his country against the attack or invasion of any foreigner. It is for that purpose that we are clamoring for a greater army and navy, more battleships and ammunition. It is for that purpose that America has within a short time spent four hundred million dollars. Just think of it—four hundred million dollars taken from the produce of the people. For surely it is not the rich who contribute to patriotism. They are cosmopolitans, perfectly at home in every land. We in America know well the truth of this. Are not our rich Americans Frenchmen in France, Germans in Germany, or Englishmen in England? And do they not squander with cosmopolitan grace fortunes coined by American factory children and cotton slaves? Yes, theirs is the patriotism that will make it possible to send messages of condolence to a despot like the Russian Tsar, when any mishap befalls him, as President Roosevelt did in the name of his people, when Sergius was punished by the Russian revolutionists.

It is a patriotism that will assist the arch-murderer, Diaz, in destroying thousands of lives in Mexico, or that will even aid in arresting Mexican revolutionists on American soil and keep them incarcerated in

American prisons, without the slightest cause or reason.

But, then, patriotism is not for those who represent wealth and power. It is good enough for the people. It reminds one of the historic wisdom of Frederick the Great, the bosom friend of Voltaire, who said: "Religion is a fraud, but it must be maintained for the masses."

That patriotism is rather a costly institution, no one will doubt after considering the following statistics. The progressive increase of the expenditures for the leading armies and navies of the world during the last quarter of a century is a fact of such gravity as to startle every thoughtful student of economic problems. It may be briefly indicated by dividing the time from 1881 to 1905 into five-year periods, and noting the disbursements of several great nations for army and navy purposes during the first and last of those periods. From the first to the last of the periods noted the expenditures of Great Britain increased from \$2,101,848,936 to \$4,143,226,885, those of France from \$3,324,500,000 to \$3,455,109,900, those of Germany from \$725,000,200 to \$2,700,375,600, those of the United States from \$1,275,500,750 to \$2,650,900,450, those of Russia from \$1,900,975,500 to \$5,250,445,100, those of Italy from \$1,600,975,750 to \$1,755,500,100, and those of Japan from \$182,900,500 to \$700,925,475.

The military expenditures of each of the nations mentioned increased in each of the five-year periods under review. During the entire interval from 1881 to 1905 Great Britain's outlay for her army increased

fourfold, that of the United States was tripled, Russia's was doubled, that of Germany increased 35 per cent., that of France about 15 per cent., and that of Japan nearly 500 per cent. If we compare the expenditures of these nations upon their armies with their total expenditures for all the twenty-five years ending with 1905, the proportion rose as follows:

In Great Britain from 20 per cent. to 37; in the United States from 15 to 23; in France from 16 to 18; in Italy from 12 to 15; in Japan from 12 to 14. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that the proportion in Germany decreased from about 58 per cent. to 25, the decrease being due to the enormous increase in the imperial expenditures for other purposes, the fact being that the army expenditures for the period of 1901-5 were higher than for any five-year period preceding. Statistics show that the countries in which army expenditures are greatest, in proportion to the total national revenues, are Great Britain, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy, in the order named.

The showing as to the cost of great navies is equally impressive. During the twenty-five years ending with 1905 naval expenditures increased approximately as follows: Great Britain, 300 per cent.; France 60 per cent.; Germany 600 per cent.; the United States 525 per cent.; Russia 300 per cent.; Italy 250 per cent.; and Japan, 700 per cent. With the exception of Great Britain, the United States spends more for naval purposes than any other nation, and this expenditure bears also a larger proportion to the entire national disbursements than that of any other power. In the period 1881-5, the expenditure

for the United States navy was \$6.20 out of each \$100 appropriated for all national purposes; the amount rose to \$6.60 for the next five-year period, to \$8.10 for the next, to \$11.70 for the next, and to \$16.40 for 1901-5. It is morally certain that the outlay for the current period of five years will show a still further increase.

The rising cost of militarism may be still further illustrated by computing it as a per capita tax on population. From the first to the last of the five-year periods taken as the basis for the comparisons here given, it has risen as follows: In Great Britain, from \$18.47 to \$52.50; in France, from \$19.66 to \$23.62; in Germany, from \$10.17 to \$15.51; in the United States, from \$5.62 to \$13.64; in Russia, from \$6.14 to \$8.37; in Italy, from \$9.59 to \$11.24, and in Japan from 86 cents to \$3.11.

It is in connection with this rough estimate of cost per capita that the economic burden of militarism is most appreciable. The irresistible conclusion from available data is that the increase of expenditure for army and navy purposes is rapidly surpassing the growth of population in each of the countries considered in the present calculation. In other words, a continuation of the increased demands of militarism threatens each of those nations with a progressive exhaustion both of men and resources.

The awful waste that patriotism necessitates ought to be sufficient to cure the man of even average intelligence from this disease. Yet patriotism demands still more. The people are urged to be patriotic and for that luxury they pay, not only by supporting their

"defenders," but even by sacrificing their own children. Patriotism requires allegiance to the flag, which means obedience and readiness to kill father, mother, brother, sister.

The usual contention is that we need a standing army to protect the country from foreign invasion. Every intelligent man and woman knows, however, that this is a myth maintained to frighten and coerce the foolish. The governments of the world, knowing each other's interests, do not invade each other. They have learned that they can gain much more by international arbitration of disputes than by war and conquest. Indeed, as Carlyle said, "War is a quarrel between two thieves too cowardly to fight their own battle; therefore they take boys from one village and another village, stick them into uniforms, equip them with guns, and let them loose like wild beasts against each other."

It does not require much wisdom to trace every war back to a similar cause. Let us take our own Spanish-American war, supposedly a great and patriotic event in the history of the United States. How our hearts burned with indignation against the atrocious Spaniards! True, our indignation did not flare up spontaneously. It was nurtured by months of newspaper agitation, and long after Butcher Weyler had killed off many noble Cubans and outraged many Cuban women. Still, in justice to the American Nation be it said, it did grow indignant and was willing to fight, and that it fought bravely. But when the smoke was over, the dead buried, and the cost of the war came back to the people in an increase in the

price of commodities and rent—that is, when we sobered up from our patriotic spree—it suddenly dawned on us that the cause of the Spanish-American war was the consideration of the price of sugar; or, to be more explicit, that the lives, blood, and money of the American people were used to protect the interests of American capitalists, which were threatened by the Spanish government. That this is not an exaggeration, but is based on absolute facts and figures, is best proven by the attitude of the American government to Cuban labor. When Cuba was firmly in the clutches of the United States, the very soldiers sent to liberate Cuba were ordered to shoot Cuban workingmen during the great cigarmakers' strike, which took place shortly after the war.

Nor do we stand alone in waging war for such causes. The curtain is beginning to be lifted on the motives of the terrible Russo-Japanese war, which cost so much blood and tears. And we see again that back of the fierce Moloch of war stands the still fiercer god of Commercialism. Kuropatkin, the Russian Minister of War during the Russo-Japanese struggle, has revealed the true secret behind the latter. The Tsar and his Grand Dukes, having invested money in Corean concessions, the war was forced for the sole purpose of speedily accumulating large fortunes.

The contention that a standing army and navy is the best security of peace is about as logical as the claim that the most peaceful citizen is he who goes about heavily armed. The experience of every-day life fully proves that the armed individual is invariably anxious to try his strength. The same is his-

torically true of governments. Really peaceful countries do not waste life and energy in war preparations, with the result that peace is maintained.

However, the clamor for an increased army and navy is not due to any foreign danger. It is owing to the dread of the growing discontent of the masses and of the international spirit among the workers. It is to meet the internal enemy that the Powers of various countries are preparing themselves; an enemy, who, once awakened to consciousness, will prove more dangerous than any foreign invader.

The powers that have for centuries been engaged in enslaving the masses have made a thorough study of their psychology. They know that the people at large are like children whose despair, sorrow, and tears can be turned into joy with a little toy. And the more gorgeously the toy is dressed, the louder the colors, the more it will appeal to the million-headed child.

An army and navy represents the people's toys. To make them more attractive and acceptable, hundreds and thousands of dollars are being spent for the display of these toys. That was the purpose of the American government in equipping a fleet and sending it along the Pacific coast, that every American citizen should be made to feel the pride and glory of the United States. The city of San Francisco spent one hundred thousand dollars for the entertainment of the fleet; Los Angeles, sixty thousand; Seattle and Tacoma, about one hundred thousand. To entertain the fleet, did I say? To dine and wine a few superior officers, while the "brave boys" had to mutiny to get

sufficient food. Yes, two hundred and sixty thousand dollars were spent on fireworks, theatre parties, and revelries, at a time when men, women, and children through the breadth and length of the country were starving in the streets; when thousands of unemployed were ready to sell their labor at any price.

Two hundred and sixty thousand dollars! What could not have been accomplished with such an enormous sum? But instead of bread and shelter, the children of those cities were taken to see the fleet, that it may remain, as one of the newspapers said, "a lasting memory for the child."

A wonderful thing to remember, is it not? The implements of civilized slaughter. If the mind of the child is to be poisoned with such memories, what hope is there for a true realization of human brotherhood?

We Americans claim to be a peace-loving people. We hate bloodshed; we are opposed to violence. Yet we go into spasms of joy over the possibility of projecting dynamite bombs from flying machines upon helpless citizens. We are ready to hang, electrocute, or lynch anyone, who, from economic necessity, will risk his own life in the attempt upon that of some industrial magnate. Yet our hearts swell with pride at the thought that America is becoming the most powerful nation on earth, and that it will eventually plant her iron foot on the necks of all other nations.

Such is the logic of patriotism.

Considering the evil results that patriotism is fraught with for the average man, it is as nothing compared with the insult and injury that patriotism

heaps upon the soldier himself,—that poor, deluded victim of superstition and ignorance. He, the savior of his country, the protector of his nation,—what has patriotism in store for him? A life of slavish submission, vice, and perversion, during peace; a life of danger, exposure, and death, during war.

While on a recent lecture tour in San Francisco, I visited the Presidio, the most beautiful spot overlooking the Bay and Golden Gate Park. Its purpose should have been playgrounds for children, gardens and music for the recreation of the weary. Instead it is made ugly, dull, and gray by barracks,—barracks wherein the rich would not allow their dogs to dwell. In these miserable shanties soldiers are herded like cattle; here they waste their young days, polishing the boots and brass buttons of their superior officers. Here, too, I saw the distinction of classes: sturdy sons of a free Republic, drawn up in line like convicts, saluting every passing shrimp of a lieutenant. American equality, degrading manhood and elevating the uniform!

Barrack life further tends to develop tendencies of sexual perversion. It is gradually producing along this line results similar to European military conditions. Havelock Ellis, the noted writer on sex psychology, has made a thorough study of the subject. I quote: "Some of the barracks are great centers of male prostitution. . . . The number of soldiers who prostitute themselves is greater than we are willing to believe. It is no exaggeration to say that in certain regiments the presumption is in favor of the venality of the majority of the men. . . . On summer even-

ings Hyde Park and the neighborhood of Albert Gate are full of guardsmen and others plying a lively trade, and with little disguise, in uniform or out. . . . In most cases the proceeds form a comfortable addition to Tommy Atkins' pocket money."

To what extent this perversion has eaten its way into the army and navy can best be judged from the fact that special houses exist for this form of prostitution. The practice is not limited to England; it is universal. "Soldiers are no less sought after in France than in England or in Germany, and special houses for military prostitution exist both in Paris and the garrison towns."

Had Mr. Havelock Ellis included America in his investigation of sex perversion, he would have found that the same conditions prevail in our army and navy as in those of other countries. The growth of the standing army inevitably adds to the spread of sex perversion; the barracks are the incubators.

Aside from the sexual effects of barrack life, it also tends to unfit the soldier for useful labor after leaving the army. Men, skilled in a trade, seldom enter the army or navy, but even they, after a military experience, find themselves totally unfitted for their former occupations. Having acquired habits of idleness and a taste for excitement and adventure, no peaceful pursuit can content them. Released from the army, they can turn to no useful work. But it is usually the social riff-raff, discharged prisoners and the like, whom either the struggle for life or their own inclination drives into the ranks. These, their military term over, again turn to their former life of crime,

more brutalized and degraded than before. It is a well-known fact that in our prisons there is a goodly number of ex-soldiers; while, on the other hand, the army and navy are to a great extent supplied with ex-convicts.

Of all the evil results I have just described none seems to me so detrimental to human integrity as the spirit patriotism has produced in the case of Private William Buwalda. Because he foolishly believed that one can be a soldier and exercise his rights as a man at the same time, the military authorities punished him severely. True, he had served his country fifteen years, during which time his record was unimpeachable. According to Gen. Funston, who reduced Buwalda's sentence to three years, "the first duty of an officer or an enlisted man is unquestioned obedience and loyalty to the government, and it makes no difference whether he approves of that government or not." Thus Funston stamps the true character of allegiance. According to him, entrance into the army abrogates the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

What a strange development of patriotism that turns a thinking being into a loyal machine!

In justification of this most outrageous sentence of Buwalda, Gen. Funston tells the American people that the soldier's action was "a serious crime equal to treason." Now, what did this "terrible crime" really consist of? Simply in this: William Buwalda was one of fifteen hundred people who attended a public meeting in San Francisco; and, oh, horrors, he shook hands with the speaker, Emma Goldman. A terrible

crime, indeed, which the General calls "a great military offense, infinitely worse than desertion."

Can there be a greater indictment against patriotism than that it will thus brand a man a criminal, throw him into prison, and rob him of the results of fifteen years of faithful service?

Buwalda gave to his country the best years of his life and his very manhood. But all that was as nothing. Patriotism is inexorable and, like all insatiable monsters, demands all or nothing. It does not admit that a soldier is also a human being, who has a right to his own feelings and opinions, his own inclinations and ideas. No, patriotism can not admit of that. That is the lesson which Buwalda was made to learn; made to learn at a rather costly, though not at a useless price. When he returned to freedom, he had lost his position in the army, but he regained his self-respect. After all, that is worth three years of imprisonment.

A writer on the military conditions of America, in a recent article, commented on the power of the military man over the civilian in Germany. He said, among other things, that if our Republic had no other meaning than to guarantee all citizens equal rights, it would have just cause for existence. I am convinced that the writer was not in Colorado during the patriotic régime of General Bell. He probably would have changed his mind had he seen how, in the name of patriotism and the Republic, men were thrown into bull-pens, dragged about, driven across the border, and subjected to all kinds of indignities. Nor is that Colorado incident the only one in the growth of mili-

tary power in the United States. There is hardly a strike where troops and militia do not come to the rescue of those in power, and where they do not act as arrogantly and brutally as do the men wearing the Kaiser's uniform. Then, too, we have the Dick military law. Had the writer forgotten that?

A great misfortune with most of our writers is that they are absolutely ignorant on current events, or that, lacking honesty, they will not speak of these matters. And so it has come to pass that the Dick military law was rushed through Congress with little discussion and still less publicity,—a law which gives the President the power to turn a peaceful citizen into a bloodthirsty man-killer, supposedly for the defense of the country, in reality for the protection of the interests of that particular party whose mouthpiece the President happens to be.

Our writer claims that militarism can never become such a power in America as abroad, since it is voluntary with us, while compulsory in the Old World. Two very important facts, however, the gentleman forgets to consider. First, that conscription has created in Europe a deep-seated hatred of militarism among all classes of society. Thousands of young recruits enlist under protest and, once in the army, they will use every possible means to desert. Second, that it is the compulsory feature of militarism which has created a tremendous anti-militarist movement, feared by European Powers far more than anything else. After all, the greatest bulwark of capitalism is militarism. The very moment the latter is undermined, capitalism will totter. True, we have no con-

scription; that is, men are not usually forced to enlist in the army, but we have developed a far more exacting and rigid force—necessity. Is it not a fact that during industrial depressions there is a tremendous increase in the number of enlistments? The trade of militarism may not be either lucrative or honorable, but it is better than tramping the country in search of work, standing in the bread line, or sleeping in municipal lodging houses. After all, it means thirteen dollars per month, three meals a day, and a place to sleep. Yet even necessity is not sufficiently strong a factor to bring into the army an element of character and manhood. No wonder our military authorities complain of the "poor material" enlisting in the army and navy. This admission is a very encouraging sign. It proves that there is still enough of the spirit of independence and love of liberty left in the average American to risk starvation rather than don the uniform.

Thinking men and women the world over are beginning to realize that patriotism is too narrow and limited a conception to meet the necessities of our time. The centralization of power has brought into being an international feeling of solidarity among the oppressed nations of the world; a solidarity which represents a greater harmony of interests between the workingman of America and his brothers abroad than between the American miner and his exploiting compatriot; a solidarity which fears not foreign invasion, because it is bringing all the workers to the point when they will say to their masters, "Go and do your own killing. We have done it long enough for you."

This solidarity is awakening the consciousness of

even the soldiers, they, too, being flesh of the flesh of the great human family. A solidarity that has proven infallible more than once during past struggles, and which has been the impetus inducing the Parisian soldiers, during the Commune of 1871, to refuse to obey when ordered to shoot their brothers. It has given courage to the men who mutinied on Russian warships during recent years. It will eventually bring about the uprising of all the oppressed and downtrodden against their international exploiters.

The proletariat of Europe has realized the great force of that solidarity and has, as a result, inaugurated a war against patriotism and its bloody spectre, militarism. Thousands of men fill the prisons of France, Germany, Russia, and the Scandinavian countries, because they dared to defy the ancient superstition. Nor is the movement limited to the working class; it has embraced representatives in all stations of life, its chief exponents being men and women prominent in art, science, and letters.

America will have to follow suit. The spirit of militarism has already permeated all walks of life. Indeed, I am convinced that militarism is growing a greater danger here than anywhere else, because of the many bribes capitalism holds out to those whom it wishes to destroy.

The beginning has already been made in the schools. Evidently the government holds to the Jesuitical conception, "Give me the child mind, and I will mould the man." Children are trained in military tactics, the glory of military achievements extolled in the curriculum, and the youthful minds

perverted to suit the government. Further, the youth of the country is appealed to in glaring posters to join the army and navy. "A fine chance to see the world!" cries the governmental huckster. Thus innocent boys are morally shanghai'd into patriotism, and the military Moloch strides conquering through the Nation.

The American workingman has suffered so much at the hands of the soldier, State and Federal, that he is quite justified in his disgust with, and his opposition to, the uniformed parasite. However, mere denunciation will not solve this great problem. What we need is a propaganda of education for the soldier: anti-patriotic literature that will enlighten him as to the real horrors of his trade, and that will awaken his consciousness to his true relation to the man to whose labor he owes his very existence.

It is precisely this that the authorities fear most. It is already high treason for a soldier to attend a radical meeting. No doubt they will also stamp it high treason for a soldier to read a radical pamphlet. But, then, has not authority from time immemorial stamped every step of progress as treasonable? Those, however, who earnestly strive for social reconstruction can well afford to face all that; for it is probably even more important to carry the truth into the barracks than into the factory. When we have undermined the patriotic lie, we shall have cleared the path for that great structure wherein all nationalities shall be united into a universal brotherhood,—a truly

FREE SOCIETY.

V. "Remember the Ladies" - die Suffragetten ("Women's Suffrage") und der Beitrag der "Women's International League for Peace and Freedom"

VIBEKE FINK

1. Die Unabhängigkeitserklärung der Frau

Als sich John Adams im Frühjahr 1776 mit Thomas Jefferson und Benjamin Franklin anschickte, jenes vielbewunderte, hoffnungsträchtige Dokument der jungen Demokratie, die "Declaration of Independence" zu entwerfen, wandte sich seine Frau Abigail Adams mit der humorvollen, aber deutlichen Bitte an ihn, er möge bei der Befreiung der Welt doch auch an die Frauen denken und etwas großzügiger handeln als seine Vorfahren:

"(to John Adams:)

31 March, 1776 ... in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power in the hands of the husbands. Remember, all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice or representation.

That your sex are naturally tyrannical is a truth so thoroughly established as to admit of no dispute ; but such of you as wish to be happy willingly give up the harsh title of master for the more tender and endearing one of friend. Why then, not put it out of the power of the vicious and the lawless to use us with cruelty and indignity with impunity. Men of sense in all ages abhor those customs which treat us only as vassals of your sex." (1)

Ihr Ehemann konnte sich auf ihre Bitte nach "Berücksichtigung" hin (nicht etwa Gleichstellung der Frauen) nicht mehr als ein Lächeln abringen, wie seine Antwort zeigt und jeder in besagtem Dokument nachlesen kann:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights...", steht dort geschrieben, und Sprache ist in diesem Fall sehr eindeutig gewählt, denn von gleichen Rechten für Frauen konnte 1776 keine Rede sein - wenn überhaupt von Rechten. Die Frau

als Tochter ihres Vaters ging bei Eintritt in die Ehe in den Besitz des Ehegatten über, wie auch jegliches persönliches Eigentum, das sie mitbrachte. Ein öffentliches Leben stand ihr nicht zu ; das Recht, öffentlich zu sprechen, mühsam erkämpft, mußte noch hundert Jahre später von den Schwestern Sarah und Angelina Grimké bei öffentlichen Veranstaltungen gegen die Sklaverei verteidigt werden.

Rechte sollten den Frauen von diesen Gründervätern der Demokratie nicht zugestanden werden, auf jeden Fall nicht freiwillig - und wenn, dann ist das um so auffälliger und es lohnt sich zu überlegen, was diese den Frauen genützt haben bzw. wer denn der eigentliche Nutznießer war.

Abigail Adams blieb nur der bitter-ironische Tonfall einer gehorsamen, puritanischen Gattin - sie hat keine Rebellion der Frauen initiiert, noch hat es diese bis jetzt gegeben, obwohl sie immer wieder, damals wie heute, von jungen, wütenden Frauen gefordert wurde.

Und doch ist es Frauen gelungen, einige der ersehnten Rechte zu erkämpfen. Sie sind andere Wege gegangen, von denen sich manch einer als Sackgasse erweisen sollte, und während dieser schrittweisen Wanderung hat sich ihre Bewegung verändert, ist aufrechter, ist selbstbewußt und freier geworden.

Die Mütter flehen und bitten nicht mehr oder appellieren an die Moral ; ihr Bewußtsein hat sich verändert - nicht hin zum offenen Kampf, sondern zur ruhigen, steten Unterwanderung der Macht. Und blickt man zurück in die Geschichte der USA, so begegnet man ihnen schon dort - den starken, faszinierenden Vorläuferinnen, die ihren Widerstand bei weitem nicht alle so sanft formulierten wie Abigail Adams, doch mit der gleichen Eindringlichkeit und, wie sich zeigt, dem grundsätzlichen Bekenntnis zur Gewaltfreiheit.

Dafür sprachen und lebten sie - und deshalb soll hier von ihnen die Rede sein.

Newer Ideals of Peace

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Jane Addams (1860-1935)

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CHAPTER VIII

PASSING OF THE WAR VIRTUES

Of all the winged words which Tolstoy wrote during the war between Russia and Japan, perhaps none are more significant than these: "The great strife of our time is not that now taking place between the Japanese and the Russians, nor that which may blaze up between the white and the yellow races, nor that strife which is carried on by mines, bombs, and bullets, but that spiritual strife which, without ceasing, has gone on and is going on between the enlightened consciousness of mankind now awaiting for manifestation and that darkness and that burden which surrounds and oppresses mankind." In the curious period of accommodation in which we live, it is possible for old habits and new compunctions to be equally powerful, and it is almost a matter of pride with us that we neither break with the old nor yield to the new. We call this attitude tolerance, whereas it is often mere confusion of mind. Such mental confusion is strikingly illustrated by our tendency to substitute a

NEWER IDEALS OF PEACE

statement of the historic evolution of an ideal of conduct in place of the ideal itself. This almost always occurs when the ideal no longer accords with our faithful experience of life and when its implications are not justified by our latest information. In this way we spare ourselves the necessity of pressing forward to newer ideals of conduct.

We quote the convictions and achievements of the past as an excuse for ourselves when we lack the energy either to throw off old moral codes which have become burdens or to attain a morality proportionate to our present sphere of activity.

At the present moment the war spirit attempts to justify its noisy demonstrations by quoting its great achievements in the past and by drawing attention to the courageous life which it has evoked and fostered. It is, however, perhaps significant that the adherents of war are more and more justifying it by its past record and reminding us of its ancient origin. They tell us that it is interwoven with every fibre of human growth and is at the root of all that is noble and courageous in human life, that struggle is the basis of all progress, that it is now extended from individuals and tribes to nations and races.

We may admire much that is admirable in this past life of courageous warfare, while at the

PASSING OF THE WAR VIRTUES

same time we accord it no right to dominate the present, which has traveled out of its reach into a land of new desires. We may admit that the experiences of war have equipped the men of the present with pluck and energy, but to insist upon the selfsame expression for that pluck and energy would be as stupid a mistake as if we would relegate the full-grown citizen, responding to many claims and demands upon his powers, to the school-yard fights of his boyhood, or to the college contests of his cruder youth. The little lad who stoutly defends himself on the school-ground may be worthy of much admiration, but if we find him, a dozen years later, the bullying leader of a street-gang who bases his prestige on the fact that "no one can whip him," our admiration cools amazingly, and we say that the carrying over of those puerile instincts into manhood shows arrested development which is mainly responsible for filling our prisons.

This confusion between the contemporaneous stage of development and the historic rôle of certain qualities, is intensified by our custom of referring to social evolution as if it were a force and not a process. We assume that social ends may be obtained without the application of social energies, although we know in our hearts that the best results of civilization have come about

PASSING OF THE WAR VIRTUES

is to distinguish between a social order founded upon law enforced by authority and that other social order which includes liberty of individual action and complexity of group development. The latter social order would not suppress the least germ of promise, of growth and variety, but would nurture all into a full and varied life. It is not an easy undertaking to obtain it and it cannot be carried forward without conscious and well-defined effort. The task that is really before us is first to see to it, that the old virtues bequeathed by war are not retained after they have become a social deterrent and that social progress is not checked by a certain contempt for human nature which is but the inherited result of conquest. Second, we must act upon the assumption that spontaneous and fraternal action as virile and widespread as war itself is the only method by which substitutes for the war virtues may be discovered.

It was contended in the first chapter of this book that social morality is developed through sentiment and action. In this particular age we can live the truth which has been apprehended by our contemporaries, that truth which is especially our own, only by establishing nobler and wiser social relations and by discovering social bonds better fitted to our requirements. Warfare in

NEWER IDEALS OF PEACE

only through human will and effort. To point to the achievement of the past as a guarantee for continuing what has since become shocking to us is stupid business; it is to forget that progress itself depends upon adaptation, upon a nice balance between continuity and change. Let us by all means acknowledge and preserve that which has been good in warfare and in the spirit of warfare; let us gather it together and incorporate it in our national fibre. Let us, however, not be guilty for a moment of shutting our eyes to that which for many centuries must have been disquieting to the moral sense, but which is gradually becoming impossible, not only because of our increasing sensibilities, but because great constructive plans and humanized interests have captured our hopes and we are finding that war is an implement too clumsy and barbaric to subserve our purpose. We have come to realize that the great task of pushing forward social justice could be enormously accelerated if primitive methods as well as primitive weapons were once for all abolished.

The past may have been involved in war and suffering in order to bring forth a new and beneficent courage, an invincible ardor for conserving and healing human life, for understanding and elaborating it. To obtain this courage

NEWER IDEALS OF PEACE

the past has done much to bring men together. A sense of common danger and the stirring appeal to action for a common purpose, easily open the channels of sympathy through which we partake of the life about us. But there are certainly other methods of opening those channels. A social life to be healthy must be consciously and fully adjusted to the march of social needs, and as we may easily make a mistake by forgetting that enlarged opportunities are ever demanding an enlarged morality, so we will fail in the task of substitution if we do not demand social sympathy in a larger measure and of a quality better adapted to the contemporaneous situation.

Perhaps the one point at which this undertaking is most needed is in regard to our conception of patriotism, which, although as genuine as ever before, is too much dressed in the trappings of the past and continually carries us back to its beginnings in military prowess and defence. To have been able to trace the origin and development of patriotism and then to rest content with that, and to fail to insist that it shall respond to the stimulus of a larger and more varied environment with which we are now confronted, is a confession of weakness; it exhibits lack of moral enterprise and of national vigor.

PASSING OF THE WAR VIRTUES

We have all seen the breakdown of village standards of morality when the conditions of a great city are encountered. To do "the good lying next at hand" may be a sufficient formula when the village idler and his needy children live but a few doors down the street, but the same dictum may be totally misleading when the villager becomes a city resident and finds his next-door neighbors prosperous and comfortable, while the poor and overburdened live many blocks away where he would never see them at all, unless he were stirred by a spirit of social enterprise to go forth and find them in the midst of their meagre living and their larger needs. The spirit of village gossip, penetrating and keen as it is, may be depended upon to bring to the notice of the kind-hearted villager all cases of suffering—that someone is needed "to sit up all night" with a sick neighbor, or that the village loafer has been drunk again and beaten his wife; but in a city divided so curiously into the regions of the well-to-do and the congested quarters of the immigrant, the conscientious person can no longer rely upon gossip. There is no intercourse, not even a scattered one, between the two, save what the daily paper brings, with its invincible propensity to report the gossip of poverty and crime, perhaps a healthier tendency than we imagine. The man who has moved from

PASSING OF THE WAR VIRTUES

prevents the growth of that beneficent and progressive patriotism which we need for the understanding and healing of our current national difficulties.

To seek our patriotism in some age other than our own is to accept a code that is totally inadequate to help us through the problems which current life develops. We continue to found our patriotism upon war and to contrast conquest with nurture, militarism with industrialism, calling the latter passive and inert and the former active and aggressive, without really facing the situation as it exists. We tremble before our own convictions, and are afraid to find newer manifestations of courage and daring lest we thereby lose the virtues bequeathed to us by war. It is a pitiful acknowledgment that we have lost them already and that we shall have to give up the ways of war, if for no other reason than to preserve the finer spirit of courage and detachment which it has engendered and developed.

We come at last to the practical question as to how these substitutes for the war virtues may be found. How may we, the children of an industrial and commercial age, find the courage and sacrifice which belong to our industrialism. We may begin with August Comte's assertion that man seeks to improve his position in two different

NEWER IDEALS OF PEACE

the village to the cosmopolitan city and who would continue even his former share of beneficent activity must bestir himself to keep informed as to social needs and to make new channels through which his sympathy may flow. Without some such conscious effort, his sympathy will finally become stratified along the line of his social intercourse and he will be unable really to care for any people but his "own kind." American conceptions of patriotism have moved, so to speak, from the New England village into huge cosmopolitan cities. They find themselves bewildered by the change and have not only failed to make the adjustment, but the very effort in that direction is looked upon with deep suspicion by their old village neighbors. Unless our conception of patriotism is progressive, it cannot hope to embody the real affection and the real interest of the nation. We know full well that the patriotism of common descent is the mere patriotism of the clan—the early patriotism of the tribe—and that, while the possession of a like territory is an advance upon that first conception, both of them are unworthy to be the patriotism of a great cosmopolitan nation. We shall not have made any genuine advance until we have grown impatient of a patriotism founded upon military prowess and defence, because this really gets in the way and

NEWER IDEALS OF PEACE

ways, by the destruction of obstacles and by the construction of means, or, designated by their most obvious social results, if his contention is correct, by military action and by industrial action, and that the two must long continue side by side. Then we find ourselves asking what may be done to make more picturesque those lives which are spent in a monotonous and wearing toil, compared to which the camp is exciting and the barracks comfortable. How shall it be made to seem as magnificent patiently to correct the wrongs of industrialism as to do battle for the rights of the nation? This transition ought not to be so difficult in America, for to begin with, our national life in America has been largely founded upon our success in invention and engineering, in manufacturing and commerce. Our prosperity has rested upon constructive labor and material progress, both of them in striking contrast to warfare. There is an element of almost grim humor in the nation's reverting at last to the outworn methods of battle-ships and defended harbors. We may admit that idle men need war to keep alive their courage and endurance, but we have few idle men in a nation engaged in industrialism. We constantly see subordination of sensation to sentiment in hundreds of careers which are not military; the thousands of miners

PASSING OF THE WAR VIRTUES

in Pennsylvania doubtless endure every year more bodily pain and peril than the same number of men in European barracks.

Industrial life affords ample opportunity for endurance, discipline, and a sense of detachment, if the struggle is really put upon the highest level of industrial efficiency. But because our industrial life is not on this level, we constantly tend to drop the newer and less developed ideals for the older ones of warfare, we ignore the fact that war so readily throws back the ideals which the young are nourishing into the mold of those which the old should be outgrowing. It lures young men not to develop, but to exploit; it turns them from the courage and toil of industry to the bravery and endurance of war, and leads them to forget that civilization is the substitution of law for war. It incites their ambitions, not to irrigate, to make fertile and sanitary, the barren plain of the savage, but to fill it with military posts and tax-gatherers, to cease from pushing forward industrial action into new fields and to fall back upon military action.

We may illustrate this by the most beneficent acts of war, when the military spirit claiming to carry forward civilization invades a country for the purpose of bringing it into the zone of the civilized world. Militarism enforces law and

PASSING OF THE WAR VIRTUES

reconcile them to new conditions, to demonstrate that their aroused activities can no longer follow caprice, but must fit into a larger order of life. To call this latter undertaking, demanding ever new powers of insight, patience, and fortitude, less difficult, less manly, less strenuous, than the first, is on the face of it absurd. It is the soldier who is inadequate to the difficult task, who strews his ways with blunders and lost opportunities, who cannot justify his vocation by the results, and who is obliged to plead guilty to a lack of rational method.

Of British government in the Empire, an Englishman has recently written, "We are obliged in practise to make a choice between good order and justice administered autocratically in accordance with British standards on the one hand, and delicate, costly, doubtful, and disorderly experiments in self-government on British lines upon the other, and we have practically everywhere decided upon the former alternative. It is, of course, less difficult."¹ Had our American ideals of patriotism and morality in international relations kept pace with our experience, had we followed up our wide commercial relations with an adequate ethical code, we can imagine a body of young Americans, "the flower of our youth,"

¹ Imperialism, by John A. Hobson. Page 128.

NEWER IDEALS OF PEACE

order and insists upon obedience and discipline, assuming that it will ultimately establish righteousness and foster progress. In order to carry out this good intention, it first of all clears the decks of impedimenta, although in the process it may extinguish the most precious beginnings of self-government and the nucleus of self-help, which the wise of the native community have long been anxiously hoarding.

It is the military idea, resting content as it does with the passive results of order and discipline, which confesses a totally inadequate conception of the value and power of human life. The charge of obtaining negative results could with great candor be brought against militarism, while the strenuous task, the vigorous and difficult undertaking, involving the use of the most highly developed human powers, can be claimed for industrialism.

It is really human constructive labor which must give the newly invaded country a sense of its place in the life of the civilized world, some idea of the effective occupations which it may perform. In order to accomplish this its energy must be freed and its resources developed. Militarism undertakes to set in order, to suppress and to govern, if necessary to destroy, while industrialism undertakes to liberate latent forces, to

NEWER IDEALS OF PEACE

as we like to say, proudly declining commercial advantages founded upon forced military occupation and informing their well-meaning government that they declined to accept openings on any such terms as these, that their ideals of patriotism and of genuine government demanded the play of their moral prowess and their constructive intelligence. Certainly in America we have a chance to employ something more active and virile, more inventive, more in line with our temperament and tradition, than the mere desire to increase commercial relations by armed occupation as other governments have done. A different conduct is required from a democracy than from the mere order-keeping, bridge-building, tax-gathering Roman, or from the conscientious Briton carrying the blessings of an established government and enlarged commerce to all quarters of the globe.

It has been the time-honored custom to attribute unjust wars to the selfish ambition of rulers who remorselessly sacrifice their subjects to satisfy their greed. But, as Lecky has recently pointed out, it remains to be seen whether or not democratic rule will diminish war. Immoderate and uncontrolled desires are at the root of most national as well as of most individual crimes, and a large number of persons may be moved by unworthy ambitions quite as easily as a few. If the

PASSING OF THE WAR VIRTUES

electorate of a democracy accustom themselves to take the commercial view of life, to consider the extension of trade as the test of a national prosperity, it becomes comparatively easy for mere extension of commercial opportunity to assume a moral aspect and to receive the moral sanction. Unrestricted commercialism is an excellent preparation for governmental aggression. The nation which is accustomed to condone the questionable business methods of a rich man because of his success, will find no difficulty in obscuring the moral issues involved in any undertaking that is successful. It becomes easy to deny the moral basis of self-government and to substitute militarism. The soldier formerly looked down upon the merchant whom he now obeys, as he still looks down upon the laborer as a man who is engaged in a business inferior to his own, as someone who is dull and passive and ineffective. When our public education succeeds in freeing the creative energy and developing the skill which the advance of industry demands, this attitude must disappear, and a spectacle such as that recently seen in London among the idle men returned from service in South Africa, who refused to work through a contemptuous attitude towards the "slow life" of the laborer, will become impossible. We have as yet failed to uncover the relative difficulty and

PASSING OF THE WAR VIRTUES

and the plaintive songs in which German literature is so rich, until he comes to see each man of the field as he daily goes forth to his toil "with a soldier tied to his back," exhausted by the double strain of his burden and his work.

Let us imagine this Emperor going through some such profound moral change as befell Count Tolstoy when he quitted his military service in the Caucasus and lived with the peasants on his estate, with this difference that, instead of feeling directly responsible for a village of humble folk, he should come to feel responsible for all the toilers of the "Fatherland" and for the international results of the German army. Let us imagine that in his self-surrender to the humblest of his people, there would gradually grow up in his subconsciousness, forces more ideal than any which had possessed him before; that his interests and thoughts would gradually shift from war and the manœuvres and extensions of the army, to the unceasing toil, the permanent patience, which lie at the bottom of all national existence; that the life of the common people, which is so infinite in its moral suggestiveness, would open up to him new moral regions, would stir new energies within him, until there would take place one of those strange alterations in personality of which hundreds of examples are re-

NEWER IDEALS OF PEACE

requisite training for the two methods of life. It is difficult to illustrate on a national scale the substitution of the ideals of labor for those of warfare.

At the risk of being absurd, and with the certainty of pushing an illustration beyond its legitimate limits, I am venturing to typify this substitution by the one man whom the civilized world has most closely associated with military ideals, the present Emperor of Germany. We may certainly believe that the German Emperor is a conscientious man, who means to do his duty to all his subjects; that he regards himself, not only as general and chief of the army, but also as the fostering father of the humble people. Let us imagine the quite impossible thing that for ten years he does not review any troops, does not attend any parades, does not wear a uniform, nor hear the clang of the sword as he walks, but that during these ten years he lives with the peasants "who drive the painful plow," that he constantly converses with them, and subjects himself to their alternating hopes and fears as to the result of the harvest, at best so inadequate for supplying their wants and for paying their taxes. Let us imagine that the German Emperor during these halcyon years, in addition to the companionship of the humble, reads only the folk-lore, the minor poetry

NEWER IDEALS OF PEACE

corded. Under a glow of generous indignation, magnanimity, loyalty to his people, a passion of self-surrender to his new ideals, we can imagine that the imperial temperament would waste no time in pinings and regret, but that, his energies being enlisted in an overmastering desire to free the people from the burden of the army, he would drive vigorously in the direction of his new ideals. It is impossible to imagine him "passive" under this conversion to the newer ideals of peace. He would no more be passive than St. Paul was after his conversion. He would regard the four million men in Europe shut up in barracks, fed in idleness by toiling peasants, as an actual wrong and oppression. They would all have to be freed and returned to normal life and occupation—not through the comparatively easy method of storming garrisons, in which he has had training, but through conviction on the part of rulers and people of the wrong and folly of barrack idleness and military glitter. The freeing of the Christians from the oppressions of the Turks, of the Spaniards from the Moslems, could offer no more strenuous task—always, however, with the added difficulty and complication that the change in the people must be a moral change analogous to the one which had already taken place within himself; that he must be debarred

PASSING OF THE WAR VIRTUES

from the use of weapons, to which his earlier life had made him familiar; that his high task, while enormous in its proportion, was still most delicate in its character, and must be undertaken without the guarantee of precedent, and without any surety of success. "Smitten with the great vision of social righteousness," as so many of his contemporaries have been, he could not permit himself to be blinded or to take refuge in glittering generalities, but, even as St. Paul arose from his vision and went on his way in a new determination never again changed, so he would have to go forth to a mission, imperial indeed in its magnitude, but "over-imperial" in the sweep of its consequences and in the difficulty of its accomplishment.

Certainly counting all the hours of the Emperor's life spent in camp and court dominated by military pomp and ambition, he has given more than ten years to military environment and much less than ten years to the bulk of his people, and it would not be impossible to imagine such a conversion due to the reaction of environment and interest. Such a change having taken place, should we hold him royal in temper or worthy of the traditions of knight-errantry, if he were held back by commercial considerations, if he hesitated because the Krupp Company could sell no more guns and would be thrown out of business? We should

NEWER IDEALS OF PEACE

say to this Emperor whom our imaginations have evoked, Were your enthusiasms genuine enough, were your insights absolutely true, you would see of how little consequence these things really are, and how easily adjusted. Let the Krupp factories, with their tremendous resources in machinery and men, proceed to manufacture dredging machines for the reclaiming of the waste land in Posen; let them make new inventions to relieve the drudgery of the peasant, agricultural implements adequate to Germany's agricultural resources and possibilities. They will find need for all the power of invention which they can command, all the manufacturing and commercial ability which they now employ. It is part of your new vocation to adjust the industries now tributary to the standing armies and organization of warfare, to useful and beneficent occupations; to transform and readjust all their dependent industries, from the manufacturing of cannon and war-ships to that of gold braid and epaulets. It is your mission to revive and increase agriculture, industry, and commerce, by diverting all the energy which is now directed to the feeding, clothing, and arming of the idle, into the legitimate and normal channels of life.

It is certainly not more difficult to imagine such a change occurring to an entire people than in the

PASSING OF THE WAR VIRTUES

mind and purpose of one man—in fact, such changes are going on all about us.

The advance of constructive labor and the subsidence and disappearance of destructive warfare is a genuine line of progression. One sees much of protection and something of construction in the office of war, as the Roman bridges survived throughout Europe long after the legions which built them and crossed them for new conquests had passed out of mind. Also, in the rising tide of labor there is a large admixture of warfare, of the purely militant spirit which is sometimes so dominant that it throws the entire movement into confusion and leads the laborer to renounce his birthright; but nevertheless the desire for battle is becoming constantly more restricted in area. It still sways in regions where men of untamed blood are dwelling, and among men who, because they regard themselves as a superior race, imagine that they are free from the ordinary moral restraints; but its territory constantly grows smaller and its manifestations more guarded. Doubtless war will exist for many generations among semi-savage tribes, and it will also break out in those nations which may be roused and dominated by the unrestricted commercial spirit; but the ordinary life of man will go

NEWER IDEALS OF PEACE

on without it, as it becomes transmitted into a desire for normal human relationship.

It is difficult to predict at what moment the conviction that war is foolish or wasteful or unjustifiable may descend upon the earth, and it is also impossible to estimate among how many groups of people this conviction has already become established.

The Doukhobors are a religious sect in Russia whose creed emphasizes the teaching of non-resistance. A story is told of one of their young men who, because of his refusal to enter the Russian army, was brought for trial before a judge, who reasoned with him concerning the folly of his course and in return received a homily upon the teachings of Jesus. "Quite right you are," answered the judge, "from the point of abstract virtue, but the time has not yet come to put into practise the literal sayings of Christ." "The time may not have come for you, your Honor," was the reply, "but the time has come for us." Who can tell at what hour vast numbers of Russian peasants upon those Russian steppes will decide that the time has come for them to renounce warfare, even as their prototype, the mujik, Count Tolstoy, has already decided that it has come for him? Conscious as the peasants are of religious motive, they will

PASSING OF THE WAR VIRTUES

meet a cheerful martyrdom for their convictions, as so many of the Doukhobors have done. It may, however, be easy to overestimate this changed temper because of the simple yet dramatic formulation given by Tolstoy to the non-resisting spirit. How far Tolstoy is really the mouthpiece of a great moral change going on in the life of the Russian peasant and how far he speaks merely for himself, it is, of course, impossible to state. If only a few peasants are experiencing this change, his genius has certainly done much to make their position definite. The man who assumes that a new degree of virtue is possible, thereby makes it real and tangible to those who long to possess it but lack courage. Tolstoy at least is ready to predict that in the great affairs of national disarmament, it may easily be true that the Russian peasants will take the first steps.

Their armed rebellion may easily be overcome by armed troops, but what can be done with their permanent patience, their insatiable hunger for holiness? All idealism has its prudential aspects, and, as has been pointed out by Mr. Perris,¹ no other form of revolution is so fitted to an agricultural people as this continued outburst of passive resistance among whole communities, not

¹ The Grand Mujik, G. H. Perris.

PASSING OF THE WAR VIRTUES

bilities of all social and industrial advance to the consent of the owners of the Maxim guns. We must deny to the humble the possibility of the initiation of progressive movements employing revolution or, at least, we must defer all advance until the humble many can persuade the powerful few of the righteousness of their cause, and we must throw out the working class from participation in the beginnings of social revolutions. Tolstoy would make non-resistance aggressive. He would carry over into the reservoirs of moral influence all the strength which is now spent in coercion and resistance. It is an experiment which in its fullness has never been tried in human history, and it is worthy of a genius. As moral influence has ever a larger place in individual relationship and as physical force becomes daily more restricted in area, so Tolstoy would "speed up" the process in collective relationships and reset the whole of international life upon the basis of good will and intelligent understanding. It does not matter that he has entered these new moral fields through the narrow gateway of personal experience; that he sets forth his convictions with the limitations of the Russian governmental environment; that he is regarded at this moment by the Russian revolutionists as a quietist and reactionary. He has nevertheless reached down

NEWER IDEALS OF PEACE

in theory, but in practise. This peasant movement goes on in spite of persecution, perfectly spontaneous, self-reliant, colossal in the silent confidence and power of endurance. In this day of Maxim guns and high explosives, the old method of revolt would be impossible to an agricultural people, but the non-resistant strike against military service lies directly in line with the temperament and capacity of the Russian people. That "the government cannot put the whole population in prison, and, if it could, it would still be without material for an army, and without money for its support," is an almost irrefutable argument. We see here, at least, the beginnings of a sentiment that shall, if sufficiently developed, make war impossible to an entire people, a conviction of sin manifesting itself throughout a nation.

Whatever may have been true of the revolutionist of the past when his spike was on a certain level of equality with the bayonet of the regular soldier, and his enthusiasm and daring could, in large measure, overcome the difference, it is certainly true now that such simple arms as a revolutionist could command, would be utterly futile against the equipment of the regular soldier. To continue the use of armed force means, under these circumstances, that we must refer the possi-

NEWER IDEALS OF PEACE

into the moral life of the humble people and formulated for them as for us the secret of their long patience and unremitting labor. Therefore, in the teachings of Tolstoy, as in the life of the peasants, coextensive with the doctrine of non-resistance, stress is laid upon productive labor. The peasant Bandereff, from whom Tolstoy claims to have learned much, has not only proclaimed himself as against war, but has written a marvelous book entitled "Bread Labor," expressing once more the striking antithesis, the eternal contrast between war and labor, and between those who abhor the one and ever advocate the other.

War on the one hand—plain destruction, Von Moltke called it—represents the life of the garrison and the tax-gatherer, the Roman emperor and his degenerate people, living upon the fruits of their conquest. Labor, on the other hand, represents productive effort, holding carefully what has been garnered by the output of brain and muscle, guarding the harvest jealously because it is the precious bread men live by.

It is quite possible that we have committed the time-honored folly of looking for a sudden change in men's attitude toward war, even as the poor alchemists wasted their lives in searching for a magic fluid and did nothing to discover the great laws governing chemical changes and reactions,

PASSING OF THE WAR VIRTUES

the knowledge of which would have developed untold wealth beyond their crude dreams of transmuted gold.

The final moral reaction may at last come, accompanied by deep remorse, too tardy to reclaim all the human life which has been spent and the treasure which has been wasted, or it may come with a great sense of joy that all voluntary destruction of human life, all the deliberate wasting of the fruits of labor, have become a thing of the past; and that whatever the future contains for us, it will at least be free from war. We may at last comprehend the truth of that which Ruskin has stated so many times, that we worship the soldier, not because he goes forth to slay, but to be slain.

That this world peace movement should be arising from the humblest without the sanction and in some cases with the explicit indifference, of the church founded by the Prince of Peace, is simply another example of the strange paths of moral evolution.

To some of us it seems clear that marked manifestations of this movement are found in the immigrant quarters of American cities. The previous survey of the immigrant situation would indicate that all the peoples of the world have become part of the American tribunal, and that their

NEWER IDEALS OF PEACE

sense of pity, their clamor for personal kindness, their insistence upon the right to join in our progress, can no longer be disregarded. The burdens and sorrows of men have unexpectedly become intelligent and urgent to this nation, and it is only by accepting them with some magnanimity that we can develop the larger sense of justice which is becoming world-wide and is lying in ambush, as it were, to manifest itself in governmental relations. Men of all nations are determining upon the abolition of degrading poverty, disease, and intellectual weakness, with their resulting industrial inefficiency, and are making a determined effort to conserve even the feeblest citizen to the State. To join in this determined effort is to break through national bonds and to unlock the latent fellowship between man and man. In a political campaign men will go through every possible hardship in response to certain political loyalties; in a moment of national danger men will sacrifice every personal advantage. It is but necessary to make this fellowship wider, to extend its scope without lowering its intensity. Those emotions which stir the spirit to deeds of self-surrender and to high enthusiasm, are among the world's most precious assets. That this emotion has so often become associated with war, by no means proves that it cannot be used for other ends.

PASSING OF THE WAR VIRTUES

There is something active and tangible in this new internationalism, although it is difficult to make it clear, and in our striving for a new word with which to express this new and important sentiment, we are driven to the rather absurd phrase of "cosmic patriotism." Whatever it may be called, it may yet be strong enough to move masses of men out of their narrow national considerations and cautions into new reaches of human effort and affection. Religion has long ago taught that only as the individual can establish a sense of union with a power for righteousness not himself, can he experience peace; and it may be possible that the nations will be called to a similar experience.

The International Peace Conference held in Boston in 1904 was opened by a huge meeting in which men of influence and modern thought from four continents, gave reasons for their belief in the passing of war. But none was so modern, so fundamental and so trenchant, as the address which was read from the prophet Isaiah. He founded the cause of peace upon the cause of righteousness, not only as expressed in political relations, but also in industrial relations. He contended that peace could be secured only as men abstained from the gains of oppression and responded to the cause of the poor; that swords

NEWER IDEALS OF PEACE

would finally be beaten into plowshares and pruning-hooks, not because men resolved to be peaceful, but because all the metal of the earth would be turned to its proper use when the poor and their children should be abundantly fed. It was as if the ancient prophet foresaw that under an enlightened industrialism peace would no longer be an absence of war, but the unfolding of world-wide processes making for the nurture of human life. He predicted the moment which has come to us now that peace is no longer an abstract dogma but has become a rising tide of moral enthusiasm slowly engulfing all pride of conquest and making war impossible.

PEACE AND BREAD
IN TIME OF WAR

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CHAPTER VII.

PERSONAL REACTIONS DURING WAR.

AFTER the United States had entered the war there began to appear great divergence among the many types of pacifists, from the extreme left, composed of non-resistants, through the middle-of-the-road groups, to the extreme right, who could barely be distinguished from mild militarists. There were those people, also, who although they felt keenly both the horror and the futility of war, yet hoped for certain beneficent results from the opportunities afforded by the administration of war; they were much pleased when the government took over the management of the railroads, insisting that governmental ownership had thus been pushed forward by decades; they were also sure that the War Labor Policies Board, the Coal Commission and similar war institutions would make an enormous difference in the development of the country, in short, that militarism might be used as an instrument for advanced social ends. Such justifications had their lure and one found old pacifist friends on all the war boards and even in the war department itself. Certainly we

PERSONAL REACTIONS DURING WAR

were all eager to accept whatever progressive social changes came from the quick reorganization demanded by war, and doubtless prohibition was one of these, as the granting of woman suffrage in the majority of the belligerent nations, was another. But some of us had suspected that social advance depends as much upon the process through which it is secured as upon the result itself; if railroads are nationalized solely in order to secure rapid transit of ammunition and men to points of departure for Europe, when that governmental need no longer exists what more natural than that the railroads should no longer be managed by the government?

My temperament and habit had always kept me rather in the middle of the road; in politics as well as in social reform I had been for "the best possible." But now I was pushed far toward the left on the subject of the war and I became gradually convinced that in order to make the position of the pacifist clear it was perhaps necessary that at least a small number of us should be forced into an unequivocal position. If I sometimes regretted having gone to the Woman's Congress at The Hague in 1915, or having written a book on *Newer Ideals of Peace* in 1911 which had made my position so conspicuously clear, certainly far oftener I was devoutly grateful that I had used such unmistakable means of expression before the

PEACE AND BREAD IN TIME OF WAR

time came when any spoken or written word in the interests of Peace was forbidden.

It was on my return from The Hague Congress in July, 1915, that I had my first experience of the determination on the part of the press to make pacifist activity or propaganda so absurd that it would be absolutely without influence and its authors so discredited that nothing they might say or do would be regarded as worthy of attention. I had been accustomed to newspaper men for many years and had come to regard them as a good natured fraternity, sometimes ignorant of the subject on which they asked an interview, but usually quite ready to report faithfully albeit somewhat sensationally. Hull-House had several times been the subject of sustained and inspired newspaper attacks, one, the indirect result of an exposure of the inefficient sanitary service in the Chicago Health Department had lasted for many months; I had of course known what it was to serve unpopular causes and throughout a period of campaigning for the Progressive Party I had naturally encountered the "opposition press" in various parts of the country, but this concerted and deliberate attempt at misrepresentation on the part of newspapers of all shades of opinion was quite new in my experience. After the United States entered the war, the press throughout the country systematically undertook to mis-

PEACE AND BREAD IN TIME OF WAR

doing, for in illustration of it I said that in practically every country we had visited, we had heard a certain type of young soldier say that it had been difficult for him to make the bayonet charge (enter into actual hand to hand fighting) unless he had been stimulated; that the English soldiers had been given rum before such a charge, the Germans ether and that the French were said to use absinthe. To those who heard the address it was quite clear that it was not because the young men flinched at the risk of death but because they had to be inflamed to do the brutal work of the bayonet, such as disembowelling, and were obliged to overcome all the inhibitions of civilization.

Dr. Hamilton and I had notes for each of these statements with the dates and names of the men who had made them, and it did not occur to me that the information was new or startling. I was, however, reported to have said that no soldier could go into a bayonet charge until he was made half drunk, and this in turn was immediately commented upon, notably in a scathing letter written to the New York Times by Richard Harding Davis, as a most choice specimen of a woman's sentimental nonsense. Mr. Davis himself had recently returned from Europe and at once became the defender of the heroic soldiers who were being traduced and belittled. He lent the weight of his name and his very able pen to the cause,

PERSONAL REACTIONS DURING WAR

represent and malign pacifists as a recognized part of propaganda and as a patriotic duty. We came to regard this misrepresentation as part of the war technique and in fact an inevitable consequence of war itself, but we were slow in the very beginning to recognize the situation, and I found my first experience which came long before the United States entered the war rather overwhelming.

Upon our return from the Woman's International Congress at The Hague in 1915, our local organization in New York City with others, notably a group of enthusiastic college men, had arranged a large public meeting in Carnegie Hall. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw presided and the United States delegates made a public report of our impressions in "war stricken Europe" and of the moral resources in the various countries we visited that might possibly be brought to bear against a continuation of the war. We had been much impressed with the fact that it was an old man's war, that the various forms of doubt and opposition to war had no method of public expression and that many of the soldiers themselves were far from enthusiastic in regard to actual fighting as a method of settling international difficulties. War was to many of them much more anachronistic than to the elderly statesmen who were primarily responsible for the soldiers' presence in the trenches.

It was the latter statement which was my un-

PERSONAL REACTIONS DURING WAR

but it really needed neither, for the misstatement was repeated, usually with scathing comment, from one end of the country to the other.

I was conscious, of course, that the story had struck athwart the popular and long-cherished conception of the nobility and heroism of the soldier as such, and it seemed to me at the time that there was no possibility of making any explanation, at least until the sensation should have somewhat subsided. I might have repeated my more sober statements with the explanation that whomsoever the pacifist held responsible for war, it was certainly not the young soldiers themselves who were, in a sense, its most touching victims, "the heroic youth of the world whom a common ideal tragically pitted against each other." Youth's response to the appeal made to their self-sacrifice, to their patriotism, to their sense of duty, to their high-hearted hopes for the future, could only stir one's admiration, and we should have been dull indeed had we failed to be moved by this most moving spectacle in the world. That they had so responded to the higher appeals only confirms Ruskin's statement that "we admire the soldier not because he goes forth to slay but to be slain." The fact that many of them were obliged to make a great effort to bear themselves gallantly in the final tests of "war's brutalities" had nothing whatever to do with their courage

PEACE AND BREAD IN TIME OF WAR

and sense of devotion. All this, of course, we had realized during our months in Europe.

After the meeting in Carnegie Hall and after an interview with President Wilson in Washington, I returned to Chicago to a public meeting arranged in the Auditorium; I was met at the train by a committee of aldermen appointed as a result of a resolution in the City Council. There was an indefinite feeling that the meeting at The Hague might turn out to be of significance, and that in such an event its chairman should have been honored by her fellow citizens. But the bayonet story had preceded me and every one was filled with great uneasiness. To be sure, a few war correspondents had come to my rescue—writing of the overpowering smell of ether preceding certain German attacks; the fact that English soldiers knew when a bayonet charge was about to be ordered because rations of rum were distributed along the trenches. Some people began to suspect that the story, exaggerated and grotesque as it had become, indicated not cowardice but merely an added sensitiveness which the modern soldier was obliged to overcome. Among the many letters on the subject which filled my mail for weeks, the bitter and abusive were from civilians or from the old men to whom war experiences had become a reminiscence, the larger

PEACE AND BREAD IN TIME OF WAR

From the very beginning of the great war, as the members of our group gradually became defined from the rest of the community, each one felt increasingly the sense of isolation which rapidly developed after the United States entered the war into that destroying effect of "aloneness," if I may so describe the opposite of mass consciousness. We never ceased to miss the unquestioning comradeship experienced by our fellow citizens during the war, nor to feel curiously outside the enchantment given to any human emotion when it is shared by millions of others. The force of the majority was so overwhelming that it seemed not only impossible to hold one's own against it, but at moments absolutely unnatural, and one secretly yearned to participate in "the folly of all mankind." Our modern democratic teaching has brought us to regard popular impulses as possessing in their general tendency a valuable capacity for evolutionary development. In the hours of doubt and self-distrust the question again and again arises, has the individual or a very small group, the right to stand out against millions of his fellow countrymen? Is there not a great value in mass judgment and in instinctive mass enthusiasm, and even if one were right a thousand times over in conviction, was he not absolutely wrong in abstaining from this communion with his fellows? The misunderstanding on the part of

PERSONAL REACTIONS DURING WAR

number and the most understanding ones came from soldiers in active service.

Only once did I try a public explanation. After an address in Chautauqua, New York, in which I had not mentioned bayonets, I tried to remake my original statement to a young man of the associated press only to find it once more so garbled that I gave up in despair, quite unmoved by the young man's letter of apology which followed hard upon the published report of his interview.

I will confess that the mass psychology of the situation interested me even then and continued to do so until I fell ill with a serious attack of pleuro-pneumonia, which was the beginning of three years of semi-invalidism. During weeks of feverish discomfort I experienced a bald sense of social opprobrium and wide-spread misunderstanding which brought me very near to self pity, perhaps the lowest pit into which human nature can sink. Indeed the pacifist in war time, with his precious cause in the keeping of those who control the sources of publicity and consider it a patriotic duty to make all types of peace propaganda obnoxious, constantly faces two dangers. Strangely enough he finds it possible to travel from the mire of self pity straight to the barren hills of self-righteousness and to hate himself equally in both places.

PERSONAL REACTIONS DURING WAR

old friends and associates and the charge of lack of patriotism was far easier to bear than those dark periods of faint-heartedness. We gradually ceased to state our position as we became convinced that it served no practical purpose and, worse than that, often found that the immediate result was provocative.

We could not, however, lose the conviction that as all other forms of growth begin with a variation from the mass, so the moral changes in human affairs may also begin with a differing group or individual, sometimes with the one who at best is designated as a crank and a freak and in sterner moments is imprisoned as an atheist or a traitor. Just when the differing individual becomes the centro-egotist, the insane man, who must be thrown out by society for its own protection, it is impossible to state. The pacifist was constantly brought sharply up against a genuine human trait with its biological basis, a trait founded upon the instinct to dislike, to distrust and finally to destroy the individual who differs from the mass in time of danger. Regarding this trait as the basis of self-preservation it becomes perfectly natural for the mass to call such an individual a traitor and to insist that if he is not for the nation he is against it. To this an estimated nine million people can bear witness who have been burned as witches and heretics, not by mobs, for of the peo-

PEACE AND BREAD IN TIME OF WAR

ple who have been "lynched" no record has been kept, but by order of ecclesiastical and civil courts.

There were moments when the pacifist yielded to the suggestion that keeping himself out of war, refusing to take part in its enthusiasms, was but pure quietism, an acute failure to adjust himself to the moral world. Certainly nothing was clearer than that the individual will was helpless and irrelevant. We were constantly told by our friends that to stand aside from the war mood of the country was to surrender all possibility of future influence, that we were committing intellectual suicide, and would never again be trusted as responsible people or judicious advisers. Who were we to differ with able statesmen, with men of sensitive conscience who also absolutely abhorred war, but were convinced that this war for the preservation of democracy would make all future wars impossible, that the priceless values of civilization which were at stake could at this moment be saved only by war? But these very dogmatic statements spurred one to alarm. Was not war in the interest of democracy for the salvation of civilization a contradiction of terms, whoever said it or however often it was repeated?

Then, too, we were always afraid of fanaticism, of preferring a consistency of theory to the conscientious recognition of the social situation, of a

PERSONAL REACTIONS DURING WAR

failure to meet life in the temper of a practical person. Every student of our time had become more or less a disciple of pragmatism and its great teachers in the United States had come out for the war and defended their positions with skill and philosophic acumen. There were moments when one longed desperately for reconciliation with one's friends and fellow citizens; in the words of Amiel, "Not to remain at variance with existence but to reach that understanding of life which enables us at least to obtain forgiveness." Solitude has always had its demons, harder to withstand than the snares of the world, and the unnatural desert into which the pacifist was summarily cast out seemed to be peopled with them. We sorely missed the contagion of mental activity, for we are all much more dependent upon our social environment and daily newspaper than perhaps any of us realize. We also doubtless encountered, although subconsciously, the temptations described by John Stuart Mill: "In respect to the persons and affairs of their own day, men insensibly adopt the modes of feeling and judgment in which they can hope for sympathy from the company they keep."

The consciousness of spiritual alienation was lost only in moments of comradeship with the like minded, which may explain the tendency of the

PEACE AND BREAD IN TIME OF WAR

pacifist in war time to seek his intellectual kin, his spiritual friends, wherever they might be found in his own country or abroad.

It was inevitable that in many respects the peace cause should suffer in public opinion from the efforts of groups of people who, early in the war, were convinced that the country as a whole was for peace and who tried again and again to discover a method for arousing and formulating the sentiment against war. I was ill and out of Chicago when the People's Council held a national convention there, which was protected by the city police but threatened with dispersion by the state troops, who, however, arrived from the capital several hours after the meeting had adjourned. The incident was most sensational and no one was more surprised than many of the members of the People's Council who thus early in the war had supposed that they were conducting a perfectly legitimate convention. The incident gave tremendous "copy" in a city needing rationalizing rather than sensationalizing at that moment. There is no doubt that the shock and terror of the "anarchist riots" occurring in Chicago years ago have left their traces upon the nervous system of the city somewhat as a nervous shock experienced in youth will long afterwards determine the action of a mature man under widely different circumstances.

PERSONAL REACTIONS DURING WAR

On the whole, the New York groups were much more active and throughout the war were allowed much more freedom both of assembly and press, although later a severe reaction followed expressed through the Lusk Committee and other agencies. Certainly neither city approximated the freedom of London and nothing surprised me more in 1915 and again in 1919 than the freedom of speech permitted there.

We also read with a curious eagerness the steadily increasing number of books published from time to time during the war, which brought a renewal of one's faith or at least a touch of comfort. These books broke through that twisting and suppressing of awkward truths, which was encouraged and at times even ordered by the censorship. Such manipulation of news and motives was doubtless necessary in the interest of war propaganda if the people were to be kept in a fighting mood. Perhaps the most vivid books came from France, early from Romain Rolland, later from Barbusse, although it was interesting to see how many people took the latter's burning indictment of war merely as a further incitement against the enemy. On the scientific side were the frequent writings of David Starr Jordan and the remarkable book of Nicolai on "The Biology of War." The latter enabled one, at least in one's own mind, to refute the pseudo-scientific statement that war

PEACE AND BREAD IN TIME OF WAR

was valuable in securing the survival of the fittest. Nicolai insisted that primitive man must necessarily have been a peaceful and social animal and that he developed his intelligence through the use of the tool, not through the use of the weapon; it was the primeval community which made the evolution of man possible, and coöperation among men is older and more primitive than mass combat which is an outgrowth of the much later property instinct. No other species save ants, who also possess property, fights in masses against other masses of its own kind. War is in fact not a natural process and not a struggle for existence in the evolutionary sense. He illustrated the evolutionary survival of the fittest by two tigers inhabiting the same jungle or feeding ground, the one who has the greater skill and strength as a hunter survives and the other starves, but the strong one does not go out to kill the weak one, as the war propagandist implied; or by two varieties of mice living in the same field or barn; in the biological struggle, the variety which grows a thicker coat survives the winter while the other variety freezes to extinction, but if one variety of mice should go forth to kill the other, it would be absolutely abnormal and quite outside the evolutionary survival which is based on the adjustment of the organism to its environment. George Nasmyth's book on Darwinism and the Social Order

PERSONAL REACTIONS DURING WAR

was another clear statement of the mental confusion responsible for the insistence that even a biological progress is secured through war. Mr. Brailsford wrote constantly on the economic results of the war and we got much comfort from John Hobson's "Toward International Government," which gave an authoritative account of the enormous amount of human activity actually carried on through international organizations of all sorts, many of them under governmental control. Lowes Dickenson's books, especially the spirited challenge in "The Choice Before Us," left his readers with the distinct impression that "war is not inevitable but proceeds from definite and removable causes." From every such book the pacifist was forced to the conclusion that none save those interested in the realization of an idea are in a position to bring it about and that if one found himself the unhappy possessor of an unpopular conviction, there was nothing for it but to think as clearly as he was able and be in a position to serve his country as soon as it was possible for him to do so.

But with or without the help of good books a hideous sensitiveness remained, for the pacifist, like the rest of the world, has developed a high degree of suggestibility, sharing that consciousness of the feelings, the opinions and the customs of his own social group which is said to be an inheri-

PEACE AND BREAD IN TIME OF WAR

tance from an almost pre-human past. An instinct which once enabled the man-pack to survive when it was a question of keeping together or of perishing off the face of the earth, is perhaps not underdeveloped in any of us. There is a distinct physical as well as moral strain when this instinct is steadily suppressed or at least ignored.

The large number of deaths among the older pacifists in all the warring nations can probably be traced in some measure to the peculiar strain which such maladjustment implies. More than the normal amount of nervous energy must be consumed in holding one's own in a hostile world. These older men, Kier Hardie and Lord Courtney in England, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Rauchenbusch, Washington Gladden in the United States, Lammasch and Fried in Austria, had been honored by their fellow citizens because of marked ability to interpret and understand them. Suddenly to find every public utterance wilfully misconstrued, every attempt at normal relationship repudiated, must react in a baffled suppression which is health-destroying even if we do not accept the mechanistic explanation of the human system. Certainly by the end of the war we were able to understand, although our group certainly did not endorse the statement of Cobden, one of the most convinced of all internationalists: "I made up my mind during the Crimean War that if ever I lived

PERSONAL REACTIONS DURING WAR

in the time of another great war of a similar kind between England and another power, I would not as a public man open my mouth on the subject, so convinced am I that appeals to reason, conscience or interest have no force whatever on parties engaged in war, and that exhaustion on one or both sides can alone bring a contest of physical force to an end."

On the other hand there were many times when we stubbornly asked ourselves, what after all, has maintained the human race on this old globe despite all the calamities of nature and all the tragic failings of mankind, if not faith in new possibilities, and courage to advocate them. Doubtless many times these new possibilities were declared by a man who, quite unconscious of courage, bore the "sense of being an exile, a condemned criminal, a fugitive from mankind." Did every one so feel who, in order to travel on his own proper path had been obliged to leave the traditional highway? The pacifist, during the period of the war could answer none of these questions but he was sick at heart from causes which to him were hidden and impossible to analyze. He was at times devoured by a veritable dissatisfaction with life. Was he thus bearing his share of blood-guiltiness, the morbid sense of contradiction and inexplicable suicide which modern war implies? We certainly had none of the internal contentment

PEACE AND BREAD IN TIME OF WAR

of the doctrinaire, the ineffable solace of the self-righteous which was imputed to us. No one knew better than we how feeble and futile we were against the impregnable weight of public opinion, the appalling imperviousness, the coagulation of motives, the universal confusion of a world at war. There was scant solace to be found in this type of statement: "The worth of every conviction consists precisely in the steadfastness with which it is held," perhaps because we suffered from the fact that we were no longer living in a period of dogma and were therefore in no position to announce our sense of security! We were well aware that the modern liberal having come to conceive truth of a kind which must vindicate itself in practice, finds it hard to hold even a sincere and mature opinion which from the very nature of things can have no justification in works. The pacifist in war time is literally starved of any gratification of that natural desire to have his own decisions justified by his fellows.

That, perhaps, was the crux of the situation. We slowly became aware that our affirmation was regarded as pure dogma. We were thrust into the position of the doctrinaire, and although, had we been permitted, we might have cited both historic and scientific tests of our so-called doctrine of Peace, for the moment any sanction even by way of illustration was impossible.

PERSONAL REACTIONS DURING WAR

It therefore came about that ability to hold out against mass suggestion, to honestly differ from the convictions and enthusiasms of one's best friends did in moments of crisis come to depend upon the categorical belief that a man's primary allegiance is to his vision of the truth and that he is under obligation to affirm it.

2. Friedensaktivitäten von Frauen

Eine feministische Theorie des Pazifismus - nur allzu gerne hätte ich sie an dieser Stelle präsentiert - wenn es sie geben würde. Aber vielleicht verlangt man da ja auch etwas zu viel von den Frauen. Wie sollen sie, über Jahrhunderte unterdrückt und benutzt, sie, denen man eine Identität, ein Bewußtsein schlichtweg abgesprochen hat, besser machen, was Männern nicht gelungen ist ?

Frauen haben noch keinen Krieg verhindern können - im Gegenteil: Unbewußt oder bewußt haben sie stets dazu beigetragen, daß Kriege geführt werden konnten, haben Verwundete gepflegt, die Versorgung garantiert ; sie haben stillschweigend die Arbeitsplätze der Männer übernommen - um nach Kriegsende wieder davon vertrieben zu werden - und haben gehorsam Kinder geboren, Kanonenfutter geliefert.

Und doch möchte ich von einem feministischen Pazifismus sprechen, in Anlehnung an eine Definition von Herrad Schenk, die darunter die Überzeugung versteht, "daß Frauen eine besondere Verantwortung für den Frieden und/oder eine besondere Affinität zu gewaltfreien Kampfmethoden haben, entweder aufgrund biologisch bedingter Geschlechtseigenschaften, aufgrund tatsächlicher oder potentieller Mutterschaft oder aufgrund sozial erworbener Geschlechtsmerkmale." (2)

Die "natürliche Friedfertigkeit" der Frau, davon waren die Frauen der sogenannten ersten Frauenbewegung zu Beginn dieses Jahrhunderts und während des Ersten Weltkrieges überzeugt, würde, hätte sie nur erst den entsprechenden politischen Einfluß, alle weiteren Kriege verhindern. Die Frau als Mutter, als Hüterin der Natur, entsprechend dem Rollenbild der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft, sollte ihren moralischen Einfluß geltend machen. Die Suffragetten glaubten fest daran, daß das Wahlrecht für die Frauen zu entscheidenden Veränderungen in der Politik führen würde. Wie tragisch diese Fehleinschätzung war, zeigte nicht erst der Zweite Weltkrieg. Und doch konnten schon diese Frauen auf eine über hundertjährige

Tradition gewaltfreien Widerstandes zurückblicken - auf Frauen, die als Quäker oder Mitglieder der "New England Non-Resistance Society" in enger Zusammenarbeit mit herausragenden Pazifisten ihrer Zeit für Frauenrechte gekämpft hatten, Frauen wie eben die beiden Schwestern Angelina und Sarah Grimké (3), die auf ihrem Recht auf freie Meinungsäußerung bestanden und öffentlich gegen die Sklaverei sprachen oder Lucretia Mott (4), ebenfalls in der "New England Non-Resistance Society", und Elizabeth Cady Stanton (5). Ihnen hatte man 1840 bei der internationalen Versammlung gegen die Sklaverei ("Anti-Slavery Convention") als Frauen die Teilnahme versagt, worauf sie, wieder in den USA, wie viele andere Frauen dieser Zeit, erkennen mußten, daß der Kampf, den sie für die Befreiung von der Sklaverei führten, nicht per se eine Befreiung der Frauen bedeutete. Daraufhin initiierten die beiden Frauen 1848 die bekannte "Seneca Falls Convention", auf der Frauenrechte öffentlich diskutiert wurden (-Die Frauen verabschiedeten ihre eigene Version der "Declaration of Independence" !-) und Elizabeth Cady Stanton zum ersten Mal die Forderung nach dem Wahlrecht für Frauen einbrachte. In diesen Jahren waren die Quäker die einzige religiöse Gemeinschaft, die Frauen öffentliche Redefreiheit zugestand - und ihnen somit die Möglichkeit gab, Redegewandtheit und Organisationserfahrung als Voraussetzung für politische Arbeit zu gewinnen. Kurz nach dem Bürgerkrieg wurde die "Equal Rights Association" ins Leben gerufen, um das Wahlrecht für Schwarze und Frauen zu fordern. Doch 1868 begann die Organisation sich von den Frauen zu distanzieren - die Frauen wurden aufgefordert, im Interesse der schwarzen Männer zurückzutreten, um so das 15. "Amendment" (Zusatz zur Verfassung) zu ermöglichen. Susan B. Anthony (6), Quäkerin und führende Organisatorin der Frauenbewegung über mehr als ein halbes Jahrhundert lang, und Elizabeth Cady Stanton traten daraufhin aus der "Equal Rights Association" aus und gründeten 1869 die "National Woman's Suffrage Association". Sie riefen auf

zum zivilen Ungehorsam, zur Steuerverweigerung und öffentlichen Demonstration zur Erreichung ihres Zieles. Eine zweite Organisation, die "American Woman's Suffrage Association", unter der Leitung von Lucy Stone (7) und Julia Ward Howe (8), die sehr um ihre Respektabilität besorgt war, distanzierte sich von solchen Wegen und beschränkte sich auf das Mittel des Referendums ("state referendum"). 1890 schlossen sich die beiden Organisationen zur "National American Woman's Suffrage Association" zusammen.

Die Frauenbewegung wurde zunehmend konservativ-zurückhaltend, bis 1913 Alice Paul (9) (ebenfalls eine Quäkerin) mit der Forderung nach einem Bundesgesetz ("federal amendment"), dem sogenannten "Anthony Amendment" den Kampf wieder belebte. Sie sollte dann auch diejenige sein, die entscheidend zur Verabschiedung dieses Gesetzentwurfes, wenigstens eines Schrittes hin zu einer rechtlichen Existenz für Frauen, beitrug:

Am 10. Januar 1917 begann sie mit anderen Frauen eine Mahnwache vor dem Weißen Haus, mit der sie Präsident Wilson dazu auffordern wollte, sein Versprechen, sich um die "Suffrage" zu bemühen, einzuhalten. Über Monate hinweg hielten die Frauen diese Mahnwache aufrecht, dann wurden sie, am 22. Mai, von der Polizei wegen "Behinderung des Fußgängerverkehrs" verhaftet - genau fünf Tage, nachdem Wilson die Mobilmachung erklärt hatte. Insgesamt wurden 218 Frauen aus 26 Staaten verhaftet, 97 davon inhaftiert. Die meisten wurden zu Gefängnisstrafen von 60 Tagen verurteilt, einige jedoch erhielten bis zu 7 Monate, für "Verkehrsbehinderung" - Nötigung. Im Gefängnis demonstrierten die Frauen weiter, verlangten, als politische Gefangene anerkannt zu werden, und traten schließlich in einen Hungerstreik, der ihnen die öffentliche Aufmerksamkeit zuteil werden ließ.

Wilson lenkte ein - wie die Frauen von dem der Regierung nahestehenden Zeitungsmann David Lawrence erfuhren, sah er es als einfacher an, ihnen das Wahlrecht zuzusichern, als sie als politische Gefangene anzuerkennen. (Lawrence fügte hinzu, daß, würde man sie als solche anerkennen,

man auch Gruppen, die gegen den Krieg seien, als politische Gefangene anerkennen müsse, und: "(that would) throw a bomb in our war program".) (10)

Der Entwurf wurde 1918 verabschiedet, 1920 von den Staaten ratifiziert - ein Erfolg der Demokratie ?

Der Patriotismus, der bei Kriegseintritt der USA um sich griff, mag für uns heute kaum nachvollziehbar sein, doch er erklärt den praktisch aussichtslosen Stand, den damalige Pazifisten, Männer wie Frauen, hatten (11).

Hatte es bis zum Kriegsausbruch für Frauenorganisationen noch zum guten Ton gehört, sich auch für den Frieden einzusetzen, so distanzieren sie sich mit fortschreitendem Kriegsgeschehen immer mehr davon. Es kam zu Brüchen innerhalb der einzelnen Frauen- und Friedensorganisationen - und übersehen werden darf auch nicht, daß fast ebensoviele Frauen wie in Friedens- und "Anti-Preparedness"- Gruppen (gegen Kriegsvorbereitungen) in deren genauem Gegenstück, den "Preparedness"- und "Relief"- Organisationen den Krieg mitvorbereiteten und unterstützten.

Die Frauen hatten gerade erst begonnen, ein Selbstbewußtsein zu entdecken, und mit fast bewundernswerter Naivität glaubten sie offensichtlich, bis auf wenige Ausnahmen, mit ihrem Willen alleine die politische Realität verändern zu können.

Es war ein bitteres Erwachen, und wohl nicht nur für Jane Addams, wiewohl es bei ihr gerade in den beiden ausgewählten Texten sehr deutlich wird. Eine christlich-bürgerliche Friedenskämpferin, die für ihre jahrelangen Bemühungen 1931 den Friedensnobelpreis erhielt - um erkennen zu müssen, daß sie gegen taube Ohren gesprochen hatte, ein willkommenes Alibi für "demokratische Kriegsführung" gewesen war: Jane Addams (12).

Als sie 1907 ihre Hoffnung in den "Newer Ideals of Peace" (13) darlegte, war diese von christlichen Motiven wie auch dem Glauben an eine internationale Solidarität getragen. Nach gewerkschaftlicher Arbeit wie auch dem Kampf um das Wahlrecht widmete sie sich nach Kriegsausbruch mit ganzer Kraft ihrer pazifistischen Tätigkeit, reiste

durch das Land, hielt und organisierte Vorträge, versuchte, ihren Einfluß geltend zu machen, argumentierte moralisch-vernünftig für den Frieden - auf parlamentarischem Wege.

Im Januar 1915 gründete sie mit Emily Green Balch (14) und anderen die "Women's Peace Party", die sich sofort der Forderung ihrer europäischen Mitstreiter nach einer Zusammenkunft der neutralen Länder, im Interesse eines frühen Friedens, anschloß. Kurz darauf schon, im April, wurde sie gebeten, den Vorsitz bei der Ersten Internationalen Frauenfriedenskonferenz in Den Haag zu übernehmen. Mitten im Krieg fanden sich dort mehr als 1.000 Frauen aus den kriegsführenden wie auch neutralen Ländern trotz größter Schwierigkeiten zusammen, um über die Möglichkeiten eines Friedensschlusses zu sprechen. Die Konferenz gründete ein Komitee für dauerhaften Frieden, mit Sitz in Amsterdam, und arbeitete ein Friedensprogramm aus (in dem z.B. ein internationaler Gerichtshof wie auch eine dem Völkerbund ähnliche Organisation gefordert wurden) welches sie per Delegation an die einzelnen Regierungen der im Krieg befindlichen Nationalstaaten sandten. Die ausbleibenden oder unterlassenen Reaktionen darauf entsprechen adäquat der regierungskonformen Logik kriegsführender Staaten - Wilsons "14 Punkte" sollten später allerdings recht genau mit diesem Programm der Friedensfrauen übereingestimmt haben. Aus der Zweiten Konferenz entstand dann 1919 die "Women's International League for Peace and Freedom" (WILPF), die heute noch existiert und deren erste Präsidentin wiederum Jane Addams war, bis zu ihrem Tod im Jahr 1935 (15).

Es ließen sich viele Namen nennen von Frauen, die sich in dieser Zeit aktiv für den Frieden einsetzten, demonstrierten, plädierten, Friedensorganisationen gründeten oder mitbegründeten, doch bis auf wenige Ausnahmen scheint keine die von ihr erwartete Rolle als Frau und Mutter in Frage gestellt bzw. die Gesellschaftsordnung, die ihr diese vorschrieb, angegriffen zu haben.

Eine der rühmlichen Ausnahmen davon kommt in dieser Sammlung gleich zwei Mal zu Wort, und das mit gutem Grund. Emma Goldman (16) erkannte sehr deutlich, daß der direkte Gegner eines kurzfristig geschlossenen Friedensvertrages im Ersten Weltkrieg das künstlich genährte Nationalgefühl eines bedrohlichen Patriotismus war - an dessen Hervorbringung die neuen Massenmedien damals sicherlich in nicht zu unterschätzendem Maße beteiligt waren.

Und sie erkannte auch, wie in ihrem brillanten Artikel "Woman Suffrage" deutlich wird, die große Schwäche der bürgerlichen Frauenbewegung: das zum Scheitern verdamnte Unterfangen, sich über die Männer und deren Institutionen von eben diesem System und jeglicher Unterdrückung befreien zu wollen. "Woman Suffrage" ist ein 'böser' Artikel, in dem sie den Frauen deren Opferhaltung vorwirft, ihnen entgegenhält, sie seien "fetisch"-Anbeter, noch mehr als die Männer, und der Fetisch ihrer Zeit sei "universal suffrage" (17).

Und der zwanghafte Verlauf der Geschichte sollte ihr nur allzu Recht geben. Das Wahlrecht hatten die Frauen erhalten, ändern sollte sich wenig. Durch die Fixierung auf den Kampf darum, war mit dessen Gewährung das Ziel erreicht. Ihrer z.T. während des Krieges aufgebauten ökonomischen Existenz in Unabhängigkeit wurden die Frauen durch die Kriegsheimkehrer wieder beraubt, fielen in einen ziellosen, leeren Raum, aus dem sie sich erst in den sechziger Jahren mühsam wieder herausarbeiten konnten, als sie begannen zu verstehen, was eine Frau (Emma Goldman) schon fünfzig Jahre vorher erkannt hatte:

"The misfortune of woman is not that she is unable to do the work of a man, but that she is wasting her life-force to outdo him, with a tradition of centuries which has left her physically incapable of keeping pace with him. Oh, I know some have succeeded, but at what cost, at what terrific cost ! The import is not the kind of work woman does, but rather the quality of the work she furnishes. She can give suffrage or the ballot no new quality, nor can she receive anything from it that will enhance her own quality. Her development, her freedom, her independence must come from and through herself.

First, by asserting herself as a personality, and not a sex commodity. Second, by refusing the right to anyone over her body ; by refusing to bear children, unless she wants them ; by refusing to be a servant to God, the State, society, the husband, the family, etc., by making her life simpler, but deeper and richer. That is, by trying to learn the meaning and substance of life in all its complexities, by freeing herself from the fear of public opinion and public condemnation.

Only that and not the ballot, will set woman free, will make her a force hitherto unknown in the world, a force for real love, for peace, for harmony ; a force of divine fire, of life-giving ; a creator of free men and women." (18)

Anmerkungen

- 1) Schneir, Miriam (ed.): *Feminism. The essential Historical Writings*, New York 1972, S. 2-4 ;
Die Fortsetzung des Briefwechsels lautet:
"(to Abigail Adams:)
14 April, 1776. As to your extraordinary code of laws, I cannot but laugh. We have been told that our struggle has loosened the bonds of government everywhere ; that children and apprentices were disobedient ; that schools and colleges were grown turbulent ; that Indians slighted their guardians, and Negroes grew insolent to their masters. But your letter was the first intimation that another tribe, more numerous and powerful than all the rest, were grown discontented.

(to John Adams:)
7 May, 1776. I cannot say that I think you are very generous to the ladies ; for, whilst you are proclaiming peace and good-will to men, emancipating all nations, you insist upon retaining an absolute power over wives. But you must remember that arbitrary power is like most other things which are very hard, very liable to be broken ; and notwithstanding all your wise laws and maxims, we have it in our power, not only to free ourselves, but to subdue our masters, and, without violence, throw both your natural and legal authority at our feet ; -
" Charm by accepting, by submitting sway,
Yet have our humor most when we obey. " "
- 2) Schenk, Herrad: *Frauen kommen ohne Waffen*. München 1983 ;
"Im engeren Sinn bedeutet der Begriff "feministischer Pazifismus" die Verbundenheit des Kampfs für Frauenbefreiung und für eine gewaltfreie Gesellschaft, die da sinnvoll erscheint, wo systematischere Zusammenhänge zwischen der Frauenunterdrückung einerseits und Krieg, Gewalt und Männerherrschaft andererseits wahrgenommen werden."
- 3) Lerner, Gerda: *The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina: Rebels Against Slavery*, Boston 1967
- 4) Cromwell, Otelia: *Lucretia Mott*, New York 1971
- 5) Stanton, Elizabeth Cady and Susan B. Anthony, et.al.(eds.):
und 6) *History of Woman Suffrage 1881-1922*, New York 1922
- 7) Blackwell, Alice Stone: *Lucy Stone: Pioneer of Woman's Rights*, Norwood/Mass. 1930 - und:
Hays, Elenor: *Morning Star: A Biography of Lucy Stone, 1818-1893*, New York 1961
- 8) Diese Passage ist zum größten Teil entnommen:
Cooney/Michalowski: *The Power of the People. Active Non-violence in the United States*, Culver City/Cal. 1977, S. 31-33

- 9) Zimmerman, Loretta Ellen: *Alice Paul and the National Woman's Party, 1912-1920* (Ph.D.Dissertation, Tulane University, 1964) - und außerdem:
Lynd, Staughton (Hrsg.): *Nonviolence in America, Indianapolis 1966*, S. 160-172
- 10) Steinson, Barabara J.: *The Mother Half of Humanity: American Women in the Peace and Preparedness Movements in World War I*, S. 42
- 11) Eine Karikatur aus dieser Zeit zeigt einen amerikanischen Safarijäger, dem nur noch eine Trophäe fehlt - die des "Kaisers". Der Krieg wurde gegen die "Teutonen" gekämpft, die es in ihre Grenzen zurückzuweisen galt - ein "Krieg für den Frieden" - und wieder einmal sollte es der endgültig letzte sein ...
- 12) Farrell, John C.: *Beloved Lady: A History of Jane Addams' Ideas on Reform and Peace*, Baltimore 1967 - und:
Linn, James Weber: *Jane Addams: A Biography*, New York 1937 - sowie ein Kurzporträt in: Cooney/Michalowski, a.a.O., S. 40 - und:
Cook, Blanche (ed.): *Jane Addams on Peace and Freedom, 1914-1933*, New York 1971
- 13) Addams, Jane: *Newer Ideals of Peace*, New York 1907
- 14) Randall, John Herman, jr.: *Emily Green Balch of New England: Citizen of the World* (WILPF, 1946) - und:
Randall, Mercedes M.: *Improper Bostonian: Emily Greene Balch*, New York 1964 - sowie:
Balch, Emily Greene: *Occupied Haiti (1927)*, New York 1971
- 15) Bussey, Gertrude and Margaret Tims: *The WILPF, 1915-1965: A Record of Fifty Years' Work*, London 1965 - und:
Randall, Mercedes M.: *High Lights in W.I.L.P.F. History: From The Hague to Luxembourg, 1915-1946*, Philadelphia 1946 - und:
Degen, Marie Louise: *The History of the Women's Peace Party*, Baltimore 1939, New York 1971 ;
Addams, Jane, Emily Green Balch and Alice Hamilton: *Women at The Hague: The International Congress of Women and Its Results*, New York 1915
- 16) vgl. den Beitrag zuvor mit Literaturhinweisen auf Emma Goldman
- 17) Goldman, Emma: *Anarchism and Other Essays*, New York 1910, S. 196:
"The insatiable monster, war, robs woman of all that is dear and precious to her. It exacts her brothers, lovers, sons, and in return gives her a life of loneliness and despair. Yet the greatest supporter and worshipper of war is woman. She it is who instills the love of conquest and power into her children ; she it is who whispers the glories of war into the ears of her little ones, and who rocks her baby to sleep with the tunes of trumpets and the noise of guns."

It is woman, too, who crowns the victor on his return from the battlefield. Yes, it is woman who pays the highest price to that insatiable monster, war."

(18) ebd., S. 210-211

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Stevens, Doris: *Jailed for Freedom*, New York 1920



Amerikanische Friedensdelegierte auf der 'Noorddam' via Den Haag, Internationaler Friedenskongress, April 1915

St. Louis Manifesto
of the Socialist Party*
1917

Following is the majority report, advocating opposition to the war, adopted by the Party at its April 1917 convention.

The Socialist Party of the United States in the present grave crisis, solemnly reaffirm its allegiance to the principle of internationalism and working-class solidarity the world over, and proclaims its unalterable opposition to the war just declared by the Government of the United States.

Modern wars as a rule had been caused by the commercial and financial rivalry and intrigues of the capitalist interests in the different countries. Whether they have been frankly waged as wars of aggression or have been hypocritically represented as wars of "defense," they have always been made by the classes and fought by the masses. Wars bring wealth and power to the ruling classes, and suffering, death and demoralization to the workers.

They breed a sinister spirit of passion, unreason, race hatred and false patriotism. They obscure the struggles of the workers for life, liberty and social justice. They tend to sever the vital bonds of solidarity between them and their brothers in other countries, to destroy their organizations and to curtail their civic and political rights and liberties.

The Socialist Party of the United States is unalterably opposed to the system of exploitation and class rule which is upheld and strengthened by military power and sham national patriotism. We, therefore, call upon the workers of all countries to refuse support to their governments in their wars. The wars of the contending national groups of capitalists are not the concern of the workers. The only struggle which would justify the workers in taking up arms is the great struggle of the working class of the world to free itself from economic exploitation and political oppression, and we

* Report of the New York State Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Sedition (Lusk Committee), Vol. I, pp. 613-618.

Socialism in America

particularly warn the workers against the snare and delusion of so-called defensive warfare. As against the false doctrine of national patriotism we uphold the ideal of international working-class solidarity. In support of capitalism, we will not willingly give a single life or a single dollar; in support of the struggle of the workers for freedom we pledge our all.

The mad orgy of death and destruction which is now convulsing unfortunate Europe was caused by the conflict of capitalist interests in the European countries.

In each of these countries, the workers were oppressed and exploited. They produced enormous wealth but the bulk of it was withheld from them by the owners of the industries. The workers were thus deprived of the means to repurchase the wealth which they themselves had created.

The capitalist class of each country was forced to look for foreign markets to dispose of the accumulated "surplus" wealth. The huge profits made by the capitalists could no longer be profitably reinvested in their own countries, hence, they were driven to look for foreign fields of investment. The geographical boundaries of each modern capitalist country thus became too narrow for the industrial and commercial operations of its capitalist class.

The efforts of the capitalists of all leading nations were, therefore, centered upon the domination of the world markets. Imperialism became the dominant note in the politics of Europe. The acquisition of colonial possessions and the extension of spheres of commercial and political influence became the object of diplomatic intrigues and the cause of constant clashes between nations.

The acute competition between the capitalist powers of the earth, their jealousies and distrusts of one another and the fear of the rising power of the working class forced each of them to arm to the teeth. This led to the mad rivalry of armament, which, years before the outbreak of the present war, had turned the leading countries of Europe into armed camps with standing armies of many millions, drilled and equipped for war in times of "peace."

Capitalism, imperialism and militarism had thus laid the foundation of an inevitable general conflict in Europe. The ghastly war in Europe was not caused by an accidental event, nor by the policy or institutions of any single nation. It was the logical outcome of the competitive capitalist system.

The 6,000,000 men of all countries and races who have been ruthlessly slain in the first thirty months of this war, the millions of others who have been crippled and maimed, the vast treasures of wealth that have been destroyed, the untold misery and sufferings of Europe, have not been sacrifices exacted in a struggle for principles or ideals, but wanton offerings upon the altar of private profit.

The forces of capitalism which have led to the war in Europe are even more hideously transparent in the war recently provoked by the ruling class of this country.

When Belgium was invaded, the government enjoined upon the people of this country the duty of remaining neutral, thus clearly demonstrating that the "dictates of humanity," and the fate of small nations and of democratic institutions were matters that did not concern it. But when our enormous war traffic was seriously threatened, our government calls upon us to rally to the "defense of democracy and civilization."

Our entrance into the European War was instigated by the predatory capitalists in the United States who boast of the enormous profit of \$7,000,000,000 from the manufacture and sale of munitions and war supplies and from the exportation of American food stuffs and other necessities. They are also deeply interested in the continuance of war and the success of the Allied arms through their huge loans to the governments of the Allied powers and through other commercial ties. It is the same interests which strive for imperialistic domination of the Western Hemisphere.

The war of the United States against Germany cannot be justified even on the plea that it is a war in defense of American rights or American "honor." Ruthless as the unrestricted submarine war policy of the German government was and is, it is not an invasion of the rights of the American people, as such, but only an interference with the opportunity of certain groups of American capitalists to coin cold profits out of the blood and sufferings of our fellow men in the warring countries of Europe.

It is not a war against the militarist regime of the Central Powers. Militarism can never be abolished by militarism.

It is not a war to advance the cause of democracy in Europe. Democracy can never be imposed upon any country by a foreign power by force of arms.

It is cant and hypocrisy to say that the war is not directed

against the German people, but against the Imperial Government of Germany. If we send an armed force to the battlefields of Europe, its cannon will mow down the masses of the German people and not the Imperial German Government.

Our entrance into the European conflict at this time will serve only to multiply the horrors of the war, to increase the toll of death and destruction and to prolong the fiendish slaughter. It will bring death, suffering and destitution to the people of the United States and particularly to the working class. It will give the powers of reaction in this country the pretext for an attempt to throttle our rights and to crush our democratic institutions, and to fasten upon this country a permanent militarism.

The working class of the United States has no quarrel with the working class of Germany or of any other country. The people of the United States have no quarrel with the people of Germany or any other country. The American people did not want and do not want this war. They have not been consulted about the war and have had no part in declaring war. They have been plunged into this war by the trickery and treachery of the ruling class of the country through its representatives in the National Administration and National Congress, its demagogic agitators, its subsidized press, and other servile instruments of public expression.

We brand the declaration of war by our government as a crime against the people of the United States and against the nations of the world.

In all modern history there has been no war more unjustifiable than the war in which we are about to engage.

No greater dishonor has ever been forced upon a people than that which the capitalist class is forcing upon this nation against its will.

In harmony with these principles, the Socialist Party emphatically rejects the proposal that in time of war the workers should suspend their struggle for better conditions. On the contrary, the acute situation created by war calls for an even more vigorous prosecution of the class struggle, and we recommend to the workers and pledge ourselves to the following course of action:

1. Continuous, active, and public opposition to the war through demonstrations, mass petitions, and all other means within our power.
2. Unyielding opposition to all proposed legislation for mili-

War and Revolution

tary or industrial conscription. Should such conscription be forced upon the people we pledge ourselves to continuous efforts for the repeal of such laws and to the support of all mass movements in opposition to conscription. We pledge ourselves to oppose with all our strength any attempt to raise money for payment of war expense by taxing the necessities of life or issuing bonds which will put the burden upon future generations. We demand that the capitalist class, which is responsible for the war, pay its cost. Let those who kindled the fire, furnish the fuel.

3. Vigorous resistance to all reactionary measures, such as censorship of press and mails, restriction of the rights of free speech, assemblage, and organization, or compulsory arbitration and limitation of the right to strike.

4. Consistent propaganda against military training and militaristic teaching in the public schools.

5. Extension of the campaign of education among the workers to organize them into strong, class-conscious, and closely unified political and industrial organizations, to enable them by concerted and harmonious mass action to shorten this war and to establish lasting peace.

6. Widespread educational propaganda to enlighten the masses as to the true relation between capitalism and war, and to rouse and organize them for action, not only against present war evils, but for the prevention of future wars and for the destruction of the causes of war.

7. To protect the masses of the American people from the pressing danger of starvation which the war in Europe has brought upon them, and which the entry of the United States has already accentuated, we demand—

- (a) the restriction of food exports so long as the present shortage continues, the fixing of maximum prices and whatever measures may be necessary to prevent the food speculators from holding back the supplies now in their hands;

- (b) The socialization and democratic management of the great industries concerned with the production, transportation, storage, and the marketing of food and other necessities of life;

- (c) The socialization and democratic management of all land and other natural resources now held out of use for monopolistic or speculative profit.

These measures are presented as means of protecting the workers

Socialism in America

against the evil results of the present war. The danger of recurrence of war will exist as long as the capitalist system of industry remains in existence. The end of wars will come with the establishment of socialized industry and industrial democracy the world over. The Socialist Party calls upon all the workers to join in its struggle to reach this goal, and thus bring into the world a new society in which peace, fraternity, and human brotherhood will be the dominant ideals.



EUGENE VICTOR DEBS

VI. Der Kampf der "Socialist Party" (Eugene V. Debs)
gegen den Kriegseintritt der USA
JEFFREY BUTLER

1. Sozialisten in den USA

Schon im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert gab es mehrere (frühsozialistische) Versuche, Gemeinschaften zu gründen, die sich auf kommunales Eigentum stützten. Obgleich diese Gemeinschaften in der Regel nicht sehr erfolgreich waren und Marx sie als utopisch einstufte, wurden spätere Sozialisten von ihren Ideen beeinflusst. Der Engländer Robert Owen, der 1825 "New Harmony" gründete, hatte einen starken Einfluß auf Generationen von amerikanischen Sozialisten. Einer seiner direkten Nachfolger, Langdon Byllesby, hat in seinem 1826 erschienenen Buch "Observations on the Sources and Effects of Unequal Wealth" einen frühen Beitrag zur Ziel-Mittel-Relation in der Infragestellung von Gewalt als Mittel zur emanzipatorischen Gesellschaftsveränderung geleistet, indem er sie ablehnte:

"Though violence may change the operation of oppressive circumstances, yet the very means of violence plant anew the seeds from which it must again spring up and grow with renewed vigor."¹⁾

Dieser Gedanke wird in dem späteren Selbstverständnis der Sozialisten (sowohl der SLP als auch der SP, also beider Parteien), wenn sie sich vor der Entscheidung bestimmter politischer Mittel befanden, reflektiert. Der zweite Beitrag stellt eine direkte Verbindung von Krieg und wirtschaftlicher Konkurrenz dar, die sowohl bei Marx als auch im St. Louis-Manifest zu finden ist. Er besagt, daß Kriege insbesondere deswegen geführt werden, um verlorenes Besitztum oder größeres Territorium zu erhalten, jedoch:

"These objects have no other uses than as a source from whence to derive the means of extracting wealth, and its accompaniment, power, in order to influence the condition of others."²⁾

In der Zeit nach 1848 (nach den gescheiterten europäischen Revolutionen) wuchs der Einfluß europäischer Einwanderer, besonders der Deutschen auf den amerikanischen Sozialismus. Anhänger von Ferdinand Lassalle und dem weniger bekannten Wilhelm Weitling³⁾ einigten sich allerdings erst 1876 in der "Working Mens Party of the United States". Mit diesem Schritt strebten sie eine sozialistische Gesellschaftsveränderung im Rahmen des politischen Systems an, verzeichneten Erfolge auf kommunaler Ebene und benannten sich in "Socialist Labor Party" (SLP). Von 1881 bis 1887 gründeten ihre radikalen Anhänger und Anarchisten die "Revolutionary Socialist Party" und riefen in Reden und Schriften, wie denen von Johann Most, Albert Parsons und August Spies zu einem gewalttätigen Sturz des kapitalistischen Systems. Bis zum "Haymarket" der blutigen Auseinandersetzung zwischen Anarchisten und Polizei am 4. Mai 1886 in Chicago mag es Affinitäten von Sozialisten und Anarchisten gegeben haben; dieses Beispiel der Staatsgewalt wurde jedoch für diejenigen eine Ernüchterung, die revolutionäre Gewalt befürwortet hatten. 1886, nach den Vorfällen in Chicago, verdeutlichte Alexander Jonas die Position der SLP gegenüber dem Anarchismus in einer Broschüre "Socialism and Anarchism":

"We do not in the least deny that we have little hope for an entirely peaceful renewal of society and politics, and that we may have to fight for the redemption of the working class from the threatening complete thralldom. But that war must be forced upon us ... we try our best efforts to avoid it, and though this may be impossible in most in the United States, and wherever freedom of speech and of the press, the right to peacefully assemble and organize, and universal suffrage (inclusive of the suffrage of women) are not curtailed by existing laws. We are fully outspoken in our ideas and claims, all our working for redemption is above board, we shun secret organization for our purposes..."⁴⁾

Populisten, christliche Sozialisten (Herron, Rauschenbusch⁵⁾ - Vertreter eines "sozialen Evangeliums") und Bücher wie Bellamys "Looking Backward" (1887) popularisierten sozialistische Gedanken. Nach der ersten Präsidentschaftskandidatur 1900, in der William Jennings Bryan scheiterte, spaltete sich eine oppositionelle Gruppe ab und gründete 1901 unter Morris Hillquits Leitung mit der "Social Democratic Party" unter Eugene V. Debs und Victor Berger (die bereits teilweise 1898 aus der SLP hervorgegangen war) die "Socialist Party of America".

Eugene V. Debs, Präsidentschaftskandidat und charismatischer Redner, war gebürtiger Amerikaner und Eisenbahn-Arbeiter, der durch gewerkschaftliche Tätigkeit und Gefängnisstrafe nach dem Pullman-Streik, währenddessen er Marx "Kapital" studiert hatte, seinen Weg zur sozialistischen Partei fand. Debs wandte sich gegen autoritäts-hörig-blinde Anhängerschaft und kritisierte die Gefahren gewalttätiger Aufstände so bezeichnend wie in folgendem Zitat:

"To the extent that the working class has power based on class consciousness, force is unnecessary; to the extent that power is lacking, force can only result in harm."

Während er sich selbst auch nicht als Pazifist sah, erhob Debs mit dem Gewerkschaftsfunktionär deutscher Abstammung Victor Berger und dem Rechtsanwalt Morris Hillquit seine Stimme schon früh gegen den Kriegseintritt der USA, weil Krieg eine international von Kapitalisten ausgefochtene Schlacht um Absatzmärkte und Profitinteressen, die konkurrierten, darstelle. In den Jahren von 1900 bis 1912 wuchs die Stimmenzahl für den sozialistischen Präsidentschaftskandidaten Debs um zehnfache auf 6% oder 900.000, und ungefähr 1.000 Ämter auf kommunaler Ebene verdeutlichen die wachsende Resonanz auch unter kritischen Intellektuellen wie Upton Sinclair, John Reed, Jack London und Carl Sandburg.

1917, drei Jahre nach Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges, hatte die Partei bereits in den Wahlen vor Kriegseintritt

der USA Einbußen zu verzeichnen. Trotz des sozialistischen Internationalismus haben nur die italienischen Sozialisten und die russischen Bolschewisten gegen die patriotische Volksstimmung, propagandistisch produziert, opponiert. Während der Phase aktiver Kriegsvorbereitung ("war preparedness") bis zum Kriegseintritt blieb die SP trotz aller scheiternden Einigungsversuche der zersplitterten Opposition in der Antikriegshaltung beständig, während beide Hauptparteien, Republikaner und Demokraten, die Aufrüstung unterstützten und das Repräsentantenhaus am 6. April 1917 mit einer Abstimmung von 373 zu 50 Stimmen den Krieg gegen Deutschland und Österreich-Ungarn erklärte.

Im St. Louis-Manifest stellte die "Socialist Party" moderne Kriege als Ausdruck wirtschaftlicher Interessengegensätze bloß. Imperialismus, aus der Überproduktion und der Sättigung der kapitalistischen Märkte entsprungen, die internationale kapitalistische Konkurrenz und die nationalistische Demagogie also, führte zu eskalierender Aufrüstung, legitimiert durch die zwischen den Völkern geschürten Ressentiments, und bildete die Hauptursache des Krieges.

Die arbeitende Klasse, obwohl Frontakteur und Reservoir für millionenfachen Mord auf dem Schlachtfeld, sei das Opfer internationaler kapitalistischer Konkurrenz. Die Begründung der US-Regierung, entgegen der 14 Punkte Präsidents Wilsons, sich am Krieg aktiv zu beteiligen - "To make the world safe for democracy!" - geißelten die Sozialisten als Vorwand, weil Militarismus nicht bekämpft und Demokratie durch Waffengewalt nicht etabliert werden könnte. Der einzige erstrebenswerte Krieg, der weltweite Kampf der Arbeiter gegen wirtschaftliche und politische Unterdrückung, jedoch wäre suspendiert bis auf weiteres.

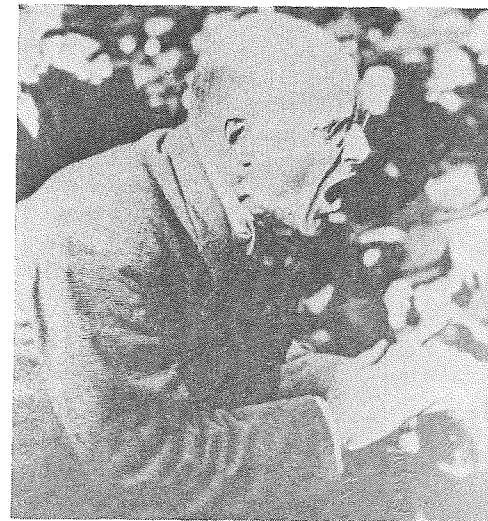
Die Position des St. Louis-Manifest, mit einer 7 zu 1-Mehrheit ratifiziert, konnte den Trend schwindender Unterstützung von seiten der renegierenden Intelligenz nur noch

verstärken; auch Teile der organisierten Arbeiterschaft verließen unter Druck von Arbeitgebern und Gewerkschaftsfunktionären die Partei. Nach der Einführung der Wehrpflicht im Mai 1917 war es vor allem der "Espionage Act", welcher die in der US-Verfassung garantierten "unveräußerlichen Rechte" suspendierte und öffentliche Kritik mit schweren Strafen verfolgte. Zensur von Zeitungen/Zeitschriften und Postverkehr, Anklagen für Verleger von Oppositionsblättern und Verbote öffentlicher Versammlungen, wie bei Eugene V. Debs Rede in Canton, Ohio, 1918, hatten lange Gefängnisstrafen zur Folge. Neben diesen offiziellen Sanktionen gab es auch sog. "Wachkomitees", die Sozialisten und andere Kriegsgegner verprügelten. Zu dieser Zeit wurden Anarchisten und die IWW ("Industrial Workers of the World")⁷⁾, eine syndikalistische Gewerkschaft, sogar noch schärfer als die Sozialisten verfolgt. Diese Verfolgungswelle wie auch die internen Differenzen innerhalb der Sozialisten, die zur Abspaltung des linken Flügels zur Kommunistischen Partei führten, konnten den Einfluß der Sozialisten (im Zuge der "Red Scare"-Politik nach 1918) bis auf lange Zeit aufs Unwesentliche reduzieren.

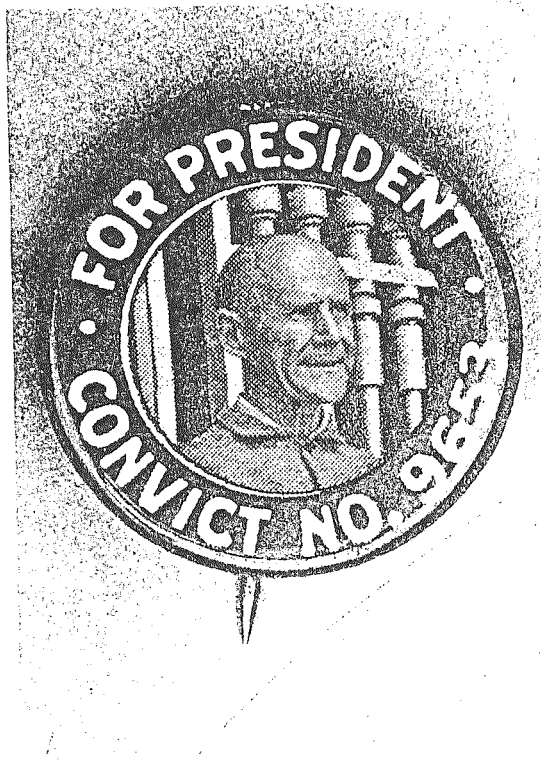
Eugene V. Debs hielt seine Rede in Canton, Ohio, 1918, im vollen Bewußtsein wahrscheinlicher Konsequenzen. Darum bemüht, niemals seine Wurzeln als Arbeiter und Gewerkschaftler zu verlieren, ging der Sozialist Debs dorthin, wo er nach seinen prägenden Erfahrungen mit der Ungerechtigkeit der kapitalistischen Gesellschaft nach dem Pullman-Streik Mitte der 90er Jahre als Vierzigjähriger herkam: ins Gefängnis. Seine Empörung über die Verfolgung von Pazifisten, die in den bewegenden Erklärungen vor den Geschworenen und vor dem Gericht am Tag vor seiner Verurteilung ein bleibendes Zeugnis aufrechter sozialistischer Haltung bilden, fand insbesondere in den bekannten Worten Debs' Ausdruck:

Your honor, years ago, I recognized my kinship with all living beings, and I made up my mind that I was not one bit better than the meanest on earth. I said then, I say now, that while there is a lower class, I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not a free man."⁸⁾

Debs, der zeit seines Lebens nie mehr die vollen Bürgerrechte zurückerhielt und der trotz der Empfehlungen von Kabinettsmitgliedern und dem wachsenden öffentlichen Druck für eine Freilassung erst Weihnachten 1921 von Wilsons Nachfolger Harding in bereits gealtertem und schlechtem gesundheitlichem Zustand begnadigt wurde, bekam als Insasse des Atlanta-Zuchthauses Nr. 9653 im Jahre 1920 ganze 915.490 Stimmen - nichts kann bezeichnender sein für das unbeirrbar Engagement dieses Eugene V. Debs. Seine Rede sei daher in diesem Zusammenhange dokumentiert.



Eugene Victor Debs (1855-1926)



THE SOCIALIST PARTY'S 1920 CAMPAIGN BUTTON

Of the thousands of speeches Eugene V. Debs gave in his lifetime, this one is the most famous for a number of reasons. It was a socialist antiwar speech at a public meeting when the United States was at war with Germany. It was given at a time when many Socialists and IWW members had been persecuted and jailed for their opposition to the war and others were discouraged and demoralized by the public defection of prominent American Socialists and all the European Socialist parties except the Bolsheviks.

It expressed solidarity with Lenin and Trotsky, the leaders of the Russian Revolution, who had unilaterally made peace with Germany when their appeal for an international peace conference was rejected. It reaffirmed Debs' revolutionary socialist internationalism.

Finally, it was the speech for which he was sentenced to ten years in prison.

Debs delivered this speech Sunday afternoon, June 16, 1918, at the state convention of the Socialist Party of Ohio held at Nimisilla Park, Canton, to a crowd of 1,200 persons. He came to the park directly from the Stark County Jail nearby, where he had visited three Cleveland Socialists, Charles E. Ruthenberg, Alfred Wagenknecht and Charles Baker, imprisoned for their opposition to the war.

The speech published here was recorded by a govern-

Eugene V. Debs Speaks

ment stenographer in the crowd and was submitted in evidence by the prosecution.

Comrades, friends and fellow workers, for this very cordial greeting, this very hearty reception, I thank you all with the fullest appreciation of your interest in and your devotion to the cause for which I am to speak to you this afternoon. [Applause.]

To speak for labor; to plead the cause of the men and women and children who toil; to serve the working class, has always been to me a high privilege [applause]; a duty of love.

I have just returned from a visit over yonder [pointing to the workhouse] [laughter], where three of our most loyal comrades [applause] are paying the penalty for their devotion to the cause of the working class. [Applause.] They have come to realize, as many of us have, that it is extremely dangerous to exercise the constitutional right of free speech in a country fighting to make democracy safe in the world. [Applause.]

I realize that, in speaking to you this afternoon, there are certain limitations placed upon the right of free speech. I must be exceedingly careful, prudent, as to what I say, and even more careful and prudent as to how I say it. [Laughter.] I may not be able to say all I think [Laughter and applause]; but I am not going to say anything that I do not think. [Applause.] I would rather a thousand times be a free soul in jail than to be a sycophant and coward in the streets. [Applause and shouts.] They may put those boys in jail—and some of the rest of us in jail—but they can not put the Socialist movement in jail. [Applause and shouts.] Those prison bars separate their bodies from ours, but their souls are here this afternoon. [Applause and cheers.] They are simply paying the penalty that all men have paid in all the ages of history for standing erect, and for seeking to pave the way to better conditions for mankind. [Applause.]

The Canton Speech

If it had not been for the men and women who, in the past, have had the moral courage to go to jail, we would still be in the jungles. [Applause.]

This assemblage is exceedingly good to look upon. I wish it were possible for me to give you what you are giving me this afternoon. [Laughter.] What I say here amounts to but little; what I see here is exceedingly important. [Applause.] You workers in Ohio, enlisted in the greatest cause ever organized in the interest of your class, are making history today in the face of threatening opposition of all kinds—history that is going to be read with profound interest by coming generations. [Applause.]

There is but one thing you have to be concerned about, and that is that you keep foursquare with the principles of the international Socialist movement. [Applause.] It is only when you begin to compromise that trouble begins. [Applause.] So far as I am concerned, it does not matter what others may say, or think, or do, as long as I am sure that I am right with myself and the cause. [Applause.] There are so many who seek refuge in the popular side of a great question. As a Socialist, I have long since learned how to stand alone. [Applause.]

For the last month I have been traveling over the Hoosier State; and, let me say to you, that, in all my connection with the Socialist movement, I have never seen such meetings, such enthusiasm, such unity of purpose; never have I seen such a promising outlook as there is today, notwithstanding the statement published repeatedly that our leaders have deserted us. [Laughter.] Well, for myself, I never had much faith in leaders. [Applause and laughter.] I am willing to be charged with almost anything, rather than to be charged with being a leader. I am suspicious of leaders, and especially of the intellectual variety. [Applause.] Give me the rank and file every day in the week. If you go to the city of Washington, and you examine the pages of the Congressional Directory, you will find that almost all of those corporation lawyers and cowardly politicians, members of Congress, and misrep-

representatives of the masses—you will find that almost all of them claim, in glowing terms, that they have risen from the ranks to places of eminence and distinction. I am very glad I cannot make that claim for myself. [Laughter.] I would be ashamed to admit that I had risen from the ranks. When I rise it will be with the ranks, and not from the ranks. [Applause.]

When I came away from Indiana, the comrades said: "When you cross the line and get over into the Buckeye State, tell the comrades there that we are on duty and doing duty. Give them for us, a hearty greeting, and tell them that we are going to make a record this fall that will be read around the world." [Applause.]

The Socialists of Ohio, it appears, are very much alive this year. The party has been killed recently [laughter], which, no doubt, accounts for its extraordinary activity. [Laughter.] There is nothing that helps the Socialist Party so much as receiving an occasional deathblow. [Laughter and cheers.] The oftener it is killed the more active, the more energetic, the more powerful it becomes.

They who have been reading the capitalist newspapers realize what a capacity they have for lying. We have been reading them lately. They know all about the Socialist Party—the Socialist movement, except what is true. [Laughter.] Only the other day they took an article that I had written—and most of you have read it—most of you members of the party, at least—and they made it appear that I had undergone a marvelous transformation. [Laughter.] I had suddenly become changed—had in fact come to my senses; I had ceased to be a wicked Socialist, and had become a respectable Socialist [laughter], a patriotic Socialist—as if I had ever been anything else. [Laughter.]

What was the purpose of this deliberate misrepresentation? It is so self-evident that it suggests itself. The purpose was to sow the seeds of dissension in our ranks; to have it appear that we were divided among ourselves; that we were pitted against each other, to our mutual undoing. But Socialists were not born yesterday. [Applause.]

Eugene V. Debs Speaks

the elder Liebknecht, was arrested and sentenced to prison for three months, because of his war, as a Socialist, on the Kaiser and on the junkers that rule Germany. In the meantime the Franco-Prussian war broke out. Liebknecht and Bebel were the Socialist members in the Reichstag. They were the only two who had the courage to protest against taking Alsace-Lorraine from France and annexing it to Germany. And for this they were sentenced two years to a prison fortress charged with high treason; because, even in that early day, almost fifty years ago, these leaders, these forerunners of the international Socialist movement were fighting the Kaiser and fighting the junkers of Germany. [Great applause and cheers.] They have continued to fight them from that day to this. [Applause.] Multiplied thousands of Socialists have languished in the jails of Germany because of their heroic warfare upon the despotic ruling class of that country. [Applause.]

Let us come down the line a little farther. You remember that, at the close of Theodore Roosevelt's second term as President, he went over to Africa [laughter] to make war on some of his ancestors. [Laughter, continued shouts, cheers, laughter and applause.] You remember that, at the close of his expedition, he visited the capitals of Europe; and that he was wine and dined, dignified and glorified by all the Kaisers and Czars and Emperors of the Old World. [Applause.] He visited Potsdam while the Kaiser was there; and, according to the accounts published in the American newspapers, he and the Kaiser were soon on the most familiar terms. [Laughter.] They were hilariously intimate with each other, and slapped each other on the back. [Laughter.] After Roosevelt had reviewed the Kaiser's troops, according to the same accounts, he became enthusiastic over the Kaiser's legions and said: "If I had that kind of an army, I could conquer the world." [Laughter.] He knew the Kaiser then just as well as he knows him now. [Laughter.] He knew that he was the Kaiser, the Beast of Berlin. And yet, he permitted himself to be entertained by that Beast of Berlin [applause]; had his

The Canton Speech

They know how to read capitalist newspapers [laughter and applause]; and to believe exactly the opposite of what they read. [Applause and laughter.]

Why should a Socialist be discouraged on the eve of the greatest triumph in all the history of the Socialist movement? [Applause.] It is true that these are anxious, trying days for us all—testing days for the women and men who are upholding the banner of labor in the struggle of the working class of all the world against the exploiters of all the world [applause]; a time in which the weak and cowardly will falter and fail and desert. They lack the fiber to endure the revolutionary test; they fall away; they disappear as if they had never been. On the other hand, they who are animated by the unconquerable spirit of the social revolution; they who have the moral courage to stand erect and assert their convictions; stand by them; fight for them; go to jail or to hell for them, if need be [applause and shouts]—they are writing their names, in this crucial hour—they are writing their names in fadeless letters in the history of mankind. [Applause.]

Those boys over yonder—those comrades of ours—and how I love them! Aye, they are my younger brothers [laughter and applause]; their very names throb in my heart, thrill in my veins, and surge in my soul. [Applause.] I am proud of them; they are there for us [applause]; and we are here for them. [Applause, shouts and cheers.] Their lips, though temporarily mute, are more eloquent than ever before; and their voice, though silent, is heard around the world. [Great applause.]

Are we opposed to Prussian militarism? [Laughter.] [Shouts from the crowd of "Yes. Yes."] Why, we have been fighting it since the day the Socialist movement was born [applause]; and we are going to continue to fight it, day and night, until it is wiped from the face of the earth. [Thunderous applause and cheers.] Between us there is no truce—no compromise.

But, before I proceed along this line, let me recall a little history, in which I think we are all interested.

In 1869 that grand old warrior of the social revolution,

The Canton Speech

feet under the mahogany of the Beast of Berlin; was cheek by jowl with the Beast of Berlin. [Applause.] And, while Roosevelt was being entertained royally by the German Kaiser, that same Kaiser was putting the leaders of the Socialist Party in jail for fighting the Kaiser and the junkers of Germany. [Applause.] Roosevelt was the guest of honor in the white house of the Kaiser, while the Socialists were in the jails of the Kaiser for fighting the Kaiser. [Applause.] Who then was fighting for democracy? Roosevelt? [Shouts of "no."] Roosevelt, who was honored by the Kaiser, or the Socialists who were in jail by order of the Kaiser? [Applause.]

"Birds of a feather flock together." [Laughter.]

When the newspapers reported that Kaiser Wilhelm and ex-President Theodore recognized each other at sight, were perfectly intimate with each other at the first touch, they made the admission that is fatal to the claim of Theodore Roosevelt, that he is the friend of the common people and the champion of democracy; they admitted that they were kith and kin; that they were very much alike; that their ideas and ideals were about the same. If Theodore Roosevelt is the great champion of democracy [laughter]—the arch foe of autocracy [laughter], what business had he as the guest of honor of the Prussian Kaiser? And when he met the Kaiser, and did honor to the Kaiser, under the terms imputed to him, wasn't it pretty strong proof that he himself was a Kaiser at heart? [Applause.] Now, after being the guest of Emperor Wilhelm, the Beast of Berlin, he comes back to this country, and wants you to send ten million men over there to kill the Kaiser [applause and laughter]; to murder his former friend and pal. [Laughter] Rather queer, isn't it? And yet, he is the patriot, and we are the traitors. [Applause.] I challenge you to find a Socialist anywhere on the face of the earth who was ever the guest of the Beast of Berlin [applause], except as an inmate of his prison—the elder Liebknecht and the younger Liebknecht, the heroic son of his immortal sire.

A little more history along the same line. In 1902 Prince Henry paid a visit to this country. Do you remember him? [Laughter.] I do, exceedingly well. Prince Henry is the brother of Emperor Wilhelm. Prince Henry is another Beast of Berlin, an autocrat, an aristocrat, a junker of junkers—very much despised by our American patriots. He came over here in 1902 as the representative of Kaiser Wilhelm; he was received by Congress and by several state legislatures—among others, by the state legislature of Massachusetts, then in session. He was invited there by the capitalist captains of that so-called commonwealth. And when Prince Henry arrived, there was one member of that body who kept his self-respect, put on his hat, and as Henry, the Prince, walked in, that member of the body walked out. And that was James F. Carey, the Socialist member of that body. [Applause.] All the rest—all the rest of the representatives in the Massachusetts legislature—all, all of them—joined in doing honor, in the most servile spirit, to the high representative of the autocracy of Europe. And the only man who left that body, was a Socialist. And yet [applause], and yet they have the hardihood to claim that they are fighting autocracy and that we are in the service of the German government. [Applause.]

A little more history along the same line. I have a distinct recollection of it. It occurred fifteen years ago when Prince Henry came here. All of our plutocracy, all of the wealthy representatives living along Fifth Avenue—all, all of them—threw their palace doors wide open and received Prince Henry with open arms. But they were not satisfied with this; they got down and grovelled in the dust at his feet. Our plutocracy—women and men alike—vied with each other to lick the boots of Prince Henry, the brother and representative of the "Beast of Berlin." [Applause.] And still our plutocracy, our junkers, would have us believe that all the junkers are confined to Germany. It is precisely because we refuse to believe this that they brand us as disloyalists. They want our

They would have you believe that the Socialist Party consists in the main of disloyalists and traitors. It is true in a sense not at all to their discredit. We frankly admit that we are disloyalists and traitors to the real traitors of this nation [applause]; to the gang that on the Pacific coast are trying to hang Tom Mooney and Warren Billings in spite of their well-known innocence and the protest of practically the whole civilized world. [Applause, shouts and cheers.]

I know Tom Mooney intimately—as if he were my own brother. He is an absolutely honest man. [Applause.] He had no more to do with the crime with which he was charged and for which he was convicted than I had. [Applause.] And if he ought to go to the gallows, so ought I. If he is guilty every man who belongs to a labor organization or to the Socialist Party is likewise guilty.

What is Tom Mooney guilty of? I will tell you. I am familiar with his record. For years he has been fighting bravely and without compromise the battles of the working class out on the Pacific coast. He refused to be bribed and he could not be browbeaten. In spite of all attempts to intimidate him he continued loyally in the service of the organized workers, and for this he became a marked man. The henchmen of the powerful and corrupt corporations, concluding finally that he could not be bought or bribed or bullied, decided he must therefore be murdered. That is why Tom Mooney is today a life prisoner, and why he would have been hanged as a felon long ago but for the world-wide protest of the working class. [Applause.]

Let us review another bit of history. You remember Francis J. Heney, special investigator of the state of California, who was shot down in cold blood in the courtroom in San Francisco. You remember that dastardly crime, do you not? The United Railways, consisting of a lot of plutocrats and highbinders represented by the Chamber of Commerce, absolutely control the city of San Francisco. The city was and is their private reser-

eyes focused on the junkers in Berlin so that we will not see those within our own borders.

I hate, I loathe, I despise junkers and junkerdom. I have no earthly use for the junkers of Germany, and not one particle more use for the junkers in the United States. [Thunderous applause and cheers.]

They tell us that we live in a great free republic; that our institutions are democratic; that we are a free and self-governing people. [Laughter.] This is too much, even for a joke. [Laughter.] But it is not a subject for levity; it is an exceedingly serious matter.

To whom do the Wall Street junkers in our country marry their daughters? After they have wrung their countless millions from your sweat, your agony and your life's blood, in a time of war as in a time of peace, they invest these untold millions in the purchase of titles of broken-down aristocrats, such as princes, dukes, counts and other parasites and no-accounts. [Laughter.] Would they be satisfied to wed their daughters to honest workmen? [Shouts from the crowd, "No!"] To real democrats? Oh, no! They scour the markets of Europe for vampires who are titled and nothing else. [Laughter.] And they swap their millions for the titles, so that matrimony with them becomes literally a matter of money. [Laughter.]

These are the gentry who are today wrapped up in the American flag, who shout their claim from the housetops that they are the only patriots, and who have their magnifying glasses in hand, scanning the country for evidence of disloyalty, eager to apply the brand of treason to the men who dare to even whisper their opposition to junker rule in the United States. No wonder Sam Johnson declared that "patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel." He must have had this Wall Street gentry in mind, or at least their prototypes, for in every age it has been the tyrant, the oppressor and the exploiter who has wrapped himself in the cloak of patriotism, or religion, or both to deceive and overawe the people. [Applause.]

vation. Their will is the supreme law. Take your stand against them and question their authority, and you are doomed. They do not hesitate a moment to plot murder or any other crime to perpetuate their corrupt and enslaving regime. Tom Mooney was the chief representative of the working class they could not control. [Applause.] They own the railways; they control the great industries; they are the industrial masters and the political rulers of the people. From their decision there is no appeal. They are the autocrats of the Pacific coast—as cruel and infamous as any that ever ruled in Germany or any other country in the old world. [Applause.] When their rule became so corrupt that at last a grand jury indicted them and they were placed on trial, and Francis J. Heney was selected to assist in their prosecution, this gang, represented by the Chamber of Commerce; this gang of plutocrats, autocrats and highbinders, hired an assassin to shoot Heney down in the courtroom. Heney, however, happened to live through it. But that was not their fault. The same identical gang that hired the murderer to kill Heney also hired false witnesses to swear away the life of Tom Mooney and, foiled in that, they have kept him in a foul prison-hole ever since. [Applause.]

Every solitary one of these aristocratic conspirators and would-be murderers claims to be an arch-patriot; every one of them insists that the war is being waged to make the world safe for democracy. What humbug! What rot! What false pretense! These autocrats, these tyrants, these red-handed robbers and murderers, the "patriots," while the men who have the courage to stand face to face with them, speak the truth, and fight for their exploited victims—they are the disloyalists and traitors. If this be true, I want to take my place side by side with the traitors in this fight. [Great applause.]

The other day they sentenced Kate Richards O'Hare to the penitentiary for five years. Think of sentencing a woman to the penitentiary simply for talking. [Laughter.] The United States, under plutocratic rule, is the only country

that would send a woman to prison for five years for exercising the right of free speech. [Applause.] If this be treason, let them make the most of it. [Applause.]

Let me review a bit of history in connection with this case. I have known Kate Richards O'Hare intimately for twenty years. I am familiar with her public record. Personally I know her as if she were my own sister. All who know Mrs. O'Hare know her to be a woman of unquestioned integrity. [Applause.] And they also know that she is a woman of unimpeachable loyalty to the Socialist movement. [Applause.] When she went out into North Dakota to make her speech, followed by plain-clothes men in the service of the government intent upon effecting her arrest and securing her prosecution and conviction—when she went out there, it was with the full knowledge on her part that sooner or later these detectives would accomplish their purpose. She made her speech, and that speech was deliberately misrepresented for the purpose of securing her conviction. The only testimony against her was that of a hired witness. And when the farmers, the men and women who were in the audience she addressed—when they went to Bismarck where the trial was held to testify in her favor, to swear that she had not used the language she was charged with having used, the judge refused to allow them to go upon the stand. This would seem incredible to me if I had not had some experience of my own with federal courts.

Who appoints our federal judges? The people? In all the history of the country, the working class have never named a federal judge. There are 121 of these judges and every solitary one holds his position, his tenure, through the influence and power of corporate capital. The corporations and trusts dictate their appointment. And when they go to the bench, they go, not to serve the people, but to serve the interests that place them and keep them where they are.

Why, the other day, by a vote of five to four—a kind of craps game—come seven, come 'leven [laughter]—they

Eugene V. Debs Speaks

found himself to be an undesirable citizen in the eyes of the ruling knaves and they had him crucified. And now their lineal descendants say of Scott Nearing, "He is preaching false economics. We cannot crucify him as we did his elder brother but we can deprive him of employment and so cut off his income and starve him to death or into submission. [Applause.] We will not only discharge him but place his name upon the blacklist and make it impossible for him to earn a living. He is a dangerous man for he is teaching the truth and opening the eyes of the people." And the truth, oh, the truth has always been unpalatable and intolerable to the class who live out of the sweat and misery of the working class. [Applause.]

Max Eastman [applause] has been indicted and his paper suppressed, just as the papers with which I have been connected have all been suppressed. What a wonderful compliment they pay us! [Laughter and applause.] They are afraid that we may mislead and contaminate you. You are their wards; they are your guardians and they know what is best for you to read and hear and know. [Laughter.] They are bound to see to it that our vicious doctrines do not reach your ears. And so in our great democracy, under our free institutions, they flatter our press by suppression; and they ignorantly imagine that they have silenced revolutionary propaganda in the United States. What an awful mistake they make for our benefit! As a matter of justice to them we should respond with resolutions of thanks and gratitude. Thousands of people who had never before heard of our papers are now inquiring for and insisting upon seeing them. They have succeeded only in arousing curiosity in our literature and propaganda. And woe to him who reads Socialist literature from curiosity! He is surely a goner. [Applause.] I have known of a thousand experiments but never one that failed.

John M. Work! You know John, now on the editorial staff of the *Milwaukee Leader*! When I first knew him he was a lawyer out in Iowa. The capitalists out there be-

The Canton Speech

declared the child labor law unconstitutional—a law secured after twenty years of education and agitation on the part of all kinds of people. And yet, by a majority of one, the Supreme Court; a body of corporation lawyers, with just one exception, wiped that law from the statute books, and this in our so-called democracy, so that we may continue to grind the flesh and blood and bones of puny little children into profits for the junkers of Wall Street. [Applause.] And this in a country that boasts of fighting to make the world safe for democracy! [Laughter.] The history of this country is being written in the blood of the childhood the industrial lords have murdered.

These are not palatable truths to them. They do not like to hear them; and what is more they do not want you to hear them. And that is why they brand us as undesirable citizens [laughter and applause], and as disloyalists and traitors. If we were actual traitors—traitors to the people and to their welfare and progress, we would be regarded as eminently respectable citizens of the republic; we would hold high office, have princely incomes, and ride in limousines; and we would be pointed out as the elect who have succeeded in life in honorable pursuit, and worthy of emulation by the youth of the land. It is precisely because we are disloyal to the traitors that we are loyal to the people of this nation. [Applause.]

Scott Nearing! You have heard of Scott Nearing. [Applause.] He is the greatest teacher in the United States. [Applause.] He was in the University of Pennsylvania until the Board of Trustees, consisting of great capitalists, captains of industry, found that he was teaching sound economics to the students in his classes. This sealed his fate in that institution. They sneeringly charged—just as the same usurers, money-changers, pharisees, hypocrites charged the Judean Carpenter some twenty centuries ago—that he was a false teacher and that he was stirring up the people.

The Man of Galilee, the Carpenter, the workingman who became the revolutionary agitator of his day soon

The Canton Speech

came alarmed because of the rapid growth of the Socialist movement. So they said: "We have to find some able fellow to fight this menace." They concluded that John Work was the man for the job and they said to him: "John, you are a bright young lawyer; you have a brilliant future before you. We want to engage you to find out all you can about socialism and then proceed to counteract its baneful effects and check its further growth."

John at once provided himself with Socialist literature and began his study of the red menace, with the result that after he had read and digested a few volumes he was a full-fledged Socialist and has been fighting for socialism ever since.

How stupid and shortsighted the ruling class really is! Cupidity is stone blind. It has no vision. The greedy, profit-seeking exploiter cannot see beyond the end of his nose. He can see a chance for an "opening"; he is cunning enough to know what graft is and where it is, and how it can be secured, but vision he has none—not the slightest. He knows nothing of the great throbbing world that spreads out in all directions. He has no capacity for literature; no appreciation of art; no soul for beauty. That is the penalty the parasites pay for the violation of the laws of life. The Rockefellers are blind. Every move they make in their game of greed but hastens their own doom. Every blow they strike at the Socialist movement reacts upon themselves. Every time they strike at us they hit themselves. It never fails. [Applause.] Every time they strangle a Socialist paper they add a thousand voices proclaiming the truth of the principles of socialism and the ideals of the Socialist movement. They help us in spite of themselves.

Socialism is a growing idea; an expanding philosophy. It is spreading over the entire face of the earth: It is as vain to resist it as it would be to arrest the sunrise on the morrow. It is coming, coming, coming all along the line. Can you not see it? If not, I advise you to consult an oculist. There is certainly something the matter with your

vision. It is the mightiest movement in the history of mankind. What a privilege to serve it! I have regretted a thousand times that I can do so little for the movement that has done so much for me. [Applause.] The little that I am, the little that I am hoping to be, I owe to the Socialist movement. [Applause.] It has given me my ideas and ideals; my principles and convictions, and I would not exchange one of them for all of Rockefeller's bloodstained dollars. [Cheers.] It has taught me how to serve—a lesson to me of priceless value. It has taught me the ecstasy in the handclasp of a comrade. It has enabled me to hold high communion with you, and made it possible for me to take my place side by side with you in the great struggle for the better day; to multiply myself over and over again, to thrill with a fresh-born manhood; to feel life truly worthwhile; to open new avenues of vision; to spread out glorious vistas; to know that I am kin to all that throbs; to be class-conscious, and to realize that, regardless of nationality, race, creed, color or sex, every man, every woman who toils, who renders useful service, every member of the working class without an exception, is my comrade, my brother and sister—and that to serve them and their cause is the highest duty of my life. [Great applause.]

And in their service I can feel myself expand; I can rise to the stature of a man and claim the right to a place on earth—a place where I can stand and strive to speed the day of industrial freedom and social justice.

Yes, my comrades, my heart is attuned to yours. Aye, all our hearts now throb as one great heart responsive to the battle cry of the social revolution. Here, in this alert and inspiring assemblage [applause] our hearts are with the Bolsheviks of Russia. [Deafening and prolonged applause.] Those heroic men and women, those unconquerable comrades have by their incomparable valor and sacrifice added fresh luster to the fame of the international movement. Those Russian comrades of ours have made greater sacrifices, have suffered more, and have shed more

heroic blood than any like number of men and women anywhere on earth; they have laid the foundation of the first real democracy that ever drew the breath of life in this world. [Applause.] And the very first act of the triumphant Russian revolution was to proclaim a state of peace with all mankind, coupled with a fervent moral appeal, not to kings, not to emperors, rulers or diplomats but to the people of all nations. [Applause.] Here we have the very breath of democracy, the quintessence of the dawning freedom. The Russian revolution proclaimed its glorious triumph in its ringing and inspiring appeal to the peoples of all the earth. In a humane and fraternal spirit new Russia, emancipated at last from the curse of the centuries, called upon all nations engaged in the frightful war, the Central Powers as well as the Allies, to send representatives to a conference to lay down terms of peace that should be just and lasting. Here was the supreme opportunity to strike the blow to make the world safe for democracy. [Applause.] Was there any response to that noble appeal that in some day to come will be written in letters of gold in the history of the world? [Applause.] Was there any response whatever to that appeal for universal peace? [From the crowd, "No!"] No, not the slightest attention was paid to it by the Christian nations engaged in the terrible slaughter.

It has been charged that Lenin and Trotsky and the leaders of the revolution were treacherous, that they made a traitorous peace with Germany. Let us consider that proposition briefly. At the time of the revolution Russia had been three years in the war. Under the Czar she had lost more than four million of her ill-clad, poorly-equipped, half-starved soldiers, slain outright or disabled on the field of battle. She was absolutely bankrupt. Her soldiers were mainly without arms. This was what was bequeathed to the revolution by the Czar and his regime; and for this condition Lenin and Trotsky were not responsible, nor the Bolsheviks. For this appalling state of affairs the Czar and his rotten bureaucracy were solely responsible. When

the Bolsheviks came into power and went through the archives they found and exposed the secret treaties—the treaties that were made between the Czar and the French government, the British government and the Italian government, proposing, after the victory was achieved, to dismember the German Empire and destroy the Central Powers. These treaties have never been denied nor repudiated. Very little has been said about them in the American press. I have a copy of these treaties, showing that the purpose of the Allies is exactly the purpose of the Central Powers, and that is the conquest and spoliation of the weaker nations that has always been the purpose of war.

Wars throughout history have been waged for conquest and plunder. In the Middle Ages when the feudal lords who inhabited the castles whose towers may still be seen along the Rhine concluded to enlarge their domains, to increase their power, their prestige and their wealth they declared war upon one another. But they themselves did not go to war any more than the modern feudal lords, the barons of Wall Street go to war. [Applause.] The feudal barons of the Middle Ages, the economic predecessors of the capitalists of our day, declared all wars. And their miserable serfs fought all the battles. The poor, ignorant serfs had been taught to revere their masters; to believe that when their masters declared war upon one another, it was their patriotic duty to fall upon one another and to cut one another's throats for the profit and glory of the lords and barons who held them in contempt. And that is war in a nutshell. The master class has always declared the wars; the subject class has always fought the battles. The master class has had all to gain and nothing to lose, while the subject class has had nothing to gain and all to lose—especially their lives. [Applause.]

They have always taught and trained you to believe it to be your patriotic duty to go to war and to have yourselves slaughtered at their command. But in all the history of the world you, the people, have never had a voice

in declaring war, and strange as it certainly appears, no war by any nation in any age has ever been declared by the people.

And here let me emphasize the fact—and it cannot be repeated too often—that the working class who fight all the battles, the working class who make the supreme sacrifices, the working class who freely shed their blood and furnish the corpses, have never yet had a voice in either declaring war or making peace. It is the ruling class that invariably does both. They alone declare war and they alone make peace.

Yours not to reason why;
Yours but to do and die.

That is their motto and we object on the part of the awakening workers of this nation.

If war is right let it be declared by the people. You who have your lives to lose, you certainly above all others have the right to decide the momentous issue of war or peace. [Applause.]

Rose Pastor Stokes! And when I mention her name I take off my hat. [Applause.] Here we have another heroic and inspiring comrade. She had her millions of dollars at command. Did her wealth restrain her an instant? On the contrary her supreme devotion to the cause outweighed all considerations of a financial or social nature. She went out boldly to plead the cause of the working class and they rewarded her high courage with a ten years' sentence to the penitentiary. Think of it! Ten years! What atrocious crime had she committed? What frightful things had she said? Let me answer candidly. She said nothing more than I have said here this afternoon. [Laughter] I want to admit—I want to admit without reservation that if Rose Pastor Stokes is guilty of crime, so am I. If she is guilty for the brave part she has taken in this testing time of human souls I would not be cowardly enough to plead my innocence. And if she ought

to be sent to the penitentiary for ten years, so ought I without a doubt.

What did Rose Pastor Stokes say? Why, she said that a government could not at the same time serve both the profiteers and the victims of the profiteers. Is it not true? Certainly it is and no one can successfully dispute it.

Roosevelt said a thousand times more in the very same paper, the *Kansas City Star*. Roosevelt said vauntingly the other day that he would be heard if he went to jail. He knows very well that he is taking no risk of going to jail. He is shrewdly laying his wires for the Republican nomination in 1920 and he is an adept in making the appeal of the demagogue. He would do anything to discredit the Wilson administration that he may give himself and his party all credit. That is the only rivalry there is between the two old capitalist parties—the Republican Party and the Democratic Party—the political twins of the master class. They are not going to have any friction between them this fall. They are all patriots in this campaign, and they are going to combine to prevent the election of any disloyal Socialist. I have never heard anyone tell of any difference between these corrupt capitalist parties. Do you know of any? I certainly do not. The situation is that one is in and the other trying to break in, and that is substantially the only difference between them. [Laughter.]

Rose Pastor Stokes never uttered a word she did not have a legal, constitutional right to utter. But her message to the people, the message that stirred their thoughts and opened their eyes—that must be suppressed; her voice must be silenced. And so she was promptly subjected to a mock trial and sentenced to the penitentiary for ten years. Her conviction was a foregone conclusion. The trial of a Socialist in a capitalist court is at best a farcical affair. What ghost of a chance had she in a court with a packed jury and a corporation tool on the bench? Not the least in the world. And so she goes to the penitentiary for ten years if they carry out their brutal and dis-

graceful program. For my part I do not think they will. In fact I feel sure they will not. If the war were over tomorrow the prison doors would open to our people. They simply mean to silence the voice of protest during the war.

What a compliment it is to the Socialist movement to be thus persecuted for the sake of the truth! The truth alone will make the people free. [Applause.] And for this reason the truth must not be permitted to reach the people. The truth has always been dangerous to the rule of the rogue, the exploiter, the robber. So the truth must be ruthlessly suppressed. That is why they are trying to destroy the Socialist movement; and every time they strike a blow they add a thousand new voices to the hosts proclaiming that socialism is the hope of humanity and has come to emancipate the people from their final form of servitude. [Applause.] [Here Mr. Debs is handed a drink of water.]

How good this sip of cool water from the hand of a comrade! It is as refreshing as if it were out on the desert waste. And how good it is to look into your glowing faces this afternoon! [Applause.] You are really good looking [laughter] to me, I assure you. And I am glad there are so many of you. Your tribe has increased amazingly since first I came here. [Laughter.] You used to be so few and far between. A few years ago when you struck a town the first thing you had to do was to see if you could locate a Socialist; and you were pretty lucky if you struck the trail of one before you left town. If he happened to be the only one and he is still living, he is now regarded as a pioneer and pathfinder; he holds a place of honor in your esteem, and he has lodgment in the hearts of all who have come after him. It is far different now. You can hardly throw a stone in the dark without hitting a Socialist. [Laughter.] They are everywhere in increasing numbers; and what marvelous changes are taking place in the people!

Some years ago I was to speak at Warren in this state. It happened to be at the time that President McKinley was assassinated. In common with all others I deplored

that tragic event. There is not a Socialist who would have been guilty of that crime. We do not attack individuals. We do not seek to avenge ourselves upon those opposed to our faith. We have no fight with individuals as such. We are capable of pitying those who hate us. [Applause.] We do not hate them; we know better; we would freely give them a cup of water if they needed it. [Applause.] There is no room in our hearts for hate, except for the system, the social system in which it is possible for one man to amass a stupendous fortune doing nothing, while millions of others suffer and struggle and agonize and die for the bare necessities of existence. [Applause.]

President McKinley, as I have said, had been assassinated. I was first to speak at Portsmouth, having been booked there some time before the assassination. Promptly the Christian ministers of Portsmouth met in special session and passed a resolution declaring that "Debs, more than any other person, was responsible for the assassination of our beloved President." [Laughter.] It was due to the doctrine that Debs was preaching that this crime was committed, according to these patriotic parsons, and so this pious gentry, the followers of the meek and lowly Nazarene, concluded that I must not be permitted to enter the city. And they had the mayor issue an order to that effect. I went there soon after, however. I was to speak at Warren, where President McKinley's double-cousin was postmaster. I went there and registered. I was soon afterward invited to leave the hotel. I was exceedingly undesirable that day. I was served with notice that the hall would not be opened and that I would not be permitted to speak. I sent back word to the mayor by the only Socialist left in town—and he only remained because they did not know he was there—I sent word to the mayor that I would speak in Warren that night, according to schedule, or I would leave there in a box for the return trip. [Applause.]

The Grand Army of the Republic called a special meeting and then marched to the hall in full uniform and oc-

cupied the front seats in order to silence me if my speech did not suit them. I went to the hall, however, found it open, and made my speech. There was no interruption. I told the audience frankly who was responsible for the President's assassination. I said: "As long as there is misery caused by robbery at the bottom there will be assassination at the top." [Applause.] I showed them, evidently to their satisfaction, that it was their own capitalist system that was responsible; the system that had impoverished and brutalized the ancestors of the poor witless boy who had murdered the President. Yes, I made my speech that night and it was well received but when I left there I was still an "undesirable citizen."

Some years later I returned to Warren. It seemed that the whole population was out for the occasion. I was received with open arms. [Applause.] I was no longer a demagogue; no longer a fanatic or an undesirable citizen. I had become exceedingly respectable simply because the Socialists had increased in numbers and socialism had grown in influence and power. If ever I become entirely respectable I shall be quite sure that I have outlived myself. [Laughter.]

It is the minorities who have made the history of this world. It is the few who have had the courage to take their places at the front; who have been true enough to themselves to speak the truth that was in them; who have dared oppose the established order of things; who have espoused the cause of the suffering, struggling poor; who have upheld without regard to personal consequences the cause of freedom and righteousness. It is they, the heroic, self-sacrificing few who have made the history of the race and who have paved the way from barbarism to civilization. The many prefer to remain upon the popular side. They lack the courage and vision to join a despised minority that stands for a principle; they have not the moral fiber that withstands, endures and finally conquers. They are to be pitied and not treated with contempt for they cannot help their cowardice. But, thank God,

in every age and in every nation there have been the brave and self-reliant few, and they have been sufficient to their historic task; and we, who are here today, are under infinite obligations to them because they suffered, they sacrificed, they went to jail, they had their bones broken upon the wheel, they were burned at the stake and their ashes scattered to the winds by the hands of hate and revenge in their struggle to leave the world better for us than they found it for themselves. We are under eternal obligations to them because of what they did and what they suffered for us and the only way we can discharge that obligation is by doing the best we can for those who are to come after us. [Applause.] And this is the high purpose of every Socialist on earth. Everywhere they are animated by the same lofty principles; everywhere they have the same noble ideals; everywhere they are clasping hands across national boundary lines; everywhere they are calling one another *Comrade*, the blessed word that springs from the heart of unity and bursts into blossom upon the lips. Each passing day they are getting into closer touch all along the battle line, waging the holy war of the working class of the world against the ruling and exploiting class of the world. They make many mistakes and they profit by them all. They encounter numerous defeats, and grow stronger through them all. They never take a backward step.

The heart of the international Socialist never beats a retreat. [Applause.]

They are pressing forward, here, there and everywhere, in all the zones that girdle the globe. Everywhere these awakening workers, these class-conscious proletarians, these hardy sons and daughters of honest toil are proclaiming the glad tidings of the coming emancipation; everywhere their hearts are attuned to the most sacred cause that ever challenged men and women to action in all the history of the world. Everywhere they are moving toward democracy and the dawn; marching toward the sunrise, their faces all aglow with the light of the com-

remain exactly where you are. [Applause.] You will be exploited; you will be degraded, and you will have to beg for a job. You will get just enough for your slavish toil to keep you in working order, and you will be looked down upon with scorn and contempt by the very parasites that live and luxuriate out of your sweat and unpaid labor.

If you would be respected you have got to begin by respecting yourself. [Applause.] Stand up squarely and look yourself in the face and see a man! Do not allow yourself to fall into the predicament of the poor fellow who, after he had heard a Socialist speech concluded that he too ought to be a Socialist. The argument he had heard was unanswerable. "Yes," he said to himself, "all the speaker said was true and I certainly ought to join the party." But after a while he allowed his ardor to cool and he soberly concluded that by joining the party he might anger his boss and lose his job. He then concluded: "I can't take the chance." That night he slept alone. There was something on his conscience and it resulted in a dreadful dream. Men always have such dreams when they betray themselves. A Socialist is free to go to bed with a clear conscience. He goes to sleep with his manhood and he awakens and walks forth in the morning with his self-respect. He is unafraid and he can look the whole world in the face [applause and laughter], without a tremor and without a blush. But this poor weakling who lacked the courage to do the bidding of his reason and conscience was haunted by a startling dream and at midnight he awoke in terror, bounded from his bed and exclaimed: "My God, there is nobody in this room." [Laughter.] He was absolutely right. [Laughter and applause.] There was nobody in that room.

How would you like to sleep in a room that had nobody in it? [Laughter.] It is an awful thing to be nobody. That is certainly a state of mind to get out of, the sooner the better.

ing day. These are the Socialists, the most zealous and enthusiastic crusaders the world has ever known. [Applause.] They are making history that will light up the horizon of coming generations, for their mission is the emancipation of the human race. They have been reviled; they have been ridiculed, persecuted, imprisoned and have suffered death, but they have been sufficient to themselves and their cause, and their final triumph is but a question of time.

Do you wish to hasten the day of victory? Join the Socialist Party! Don't wait for the morrow. Join now! [Applause.] Enroll your name without fear and take your place where you belong. You cannot do your duty by proxy. You have got to do it yourself and do it squarely and then as you look yourself in the face you will have no occasion to blush. You will know what it is to be a real *man* or *woman*. You will lose nothing; you will gain everything. [Applause.] Not only will you lose nothing but you will find something of infinite value, and that something will be yourself. And that is your supreme need—to find yourself—to really know yourself and your purpose in life. [Applause.]

You need at this time especially to know that you are fit for something better than slavery and cannon fodder. [Applause.] You need to know that you were not created to work and produce and impoverish yourself to enrich an idle exploiter. You need to know that you have a mind to improve, a soul to develop, and a manhood to sustain.

You need to know that it is your duty to rise above the animal plane of existence. You need to know that it is for you to know something about literature and science and art. You need to know that you are verging on the edge of a great new world. You need to get in touch with your comrades and fellow workers and to become conscious of your interests, your powers and your possibilities as a class. You need to know that you belong to the great majority of mankind. You need to know that as long as you are ignorant, as long as you are indifferent, as long as you are apathetic, unorganized and content, you will

There is a great deal of hope for Baker, Ruthenberg and Wagenknecht who are in jail for their convictions; but for the fellow that is nobody there is no pardoning power. He is "in" for life. Anybody can be nobody; but it takes a man to be somebody.

To turn your back on the corrupt Republican Party and the still more corrupt Democratic Party—the gold-dust lackeys of the ruling class [laughter] counts for still more after you have stepped out of those popular and corrupt capitalist parties to join a minority party that has an ideal, that stands for a principle, and fights for a cause. [Applause.] This will be the most important change you have ever made and the time will come when you will thank me for having made the suggestion. It was the day of days for me. I remember it well. It was like passing from midnight darkness to the noontide light of day. It came almost like a flash and found me ready. It must have been in such a flash that great, seething, throbbing Russia, prepared by centuries of slavery and tears and martyrdom, was transformed from a dark continent to a land of living light.

There is something splendid, something sustaining and inspiring in the prompting of the heart to be true to yourself and to the best you know, especially in a crucial hour of your life. You are in the crucible today, my Socialist comrades! You are going to be tried by fire, to what extent no one knows. If you are weak-fibered and faint-hearted you will be lost to the Socialist movement. We will have to bid you goodbye. You are not the stuff of which revolutions are made. We are sorry for you [applause] unless you chance to be an "intellectual." The "intellectuals," many of them, are already gone. No loss on our side nor gain on the other.

I am always amused in the discussion of the "intellectual" phase of this question. It is the same old standard under which the rank and file are judged. What would become of the sheep if they had no shepherd to lead them

out of the wilderness into the land of milk and honey?

Oh, yes, "I am your shepherd and ye are my mutton."
[*Laughter.*]

They would have us believe that if we had no "intellectuals" we would have no movement. They would have our party, the rank and file, controlled by the "intellectual" bosses as the Republican and Democratic parties are controlled. These capitalist parties are managed by "intellectual" leaders and the rank and file are sheep that follow the bellwether to the shambles.

In the Republican and Democratic parties you of the common herd are not expected to think. That is not only unnecessary but might lead you astray. That is what the "intellectual" leaders are for. They do the thinking and you do the voting. They ride in carriages at the front where the band plays and you tramp in the mud, bringing up the rear with great enthusiasm.

The capitalist system affects to have great regard and reward for intellect, and the capitalists give themselves full credit for having superior brains. When we have ventured to say that the time would come when the working class would rule they have bluntly answered "Never! it requires brains to rule." The workers of course have none. And they certainly try hard to prove it by proudly supporting the political parties of their masters under whose administration they are kept in poverty and servitude.

The government is now operating its railroads for the more effective prosecution of the war. Private ownership has broken down utterly and the government has had to come to the rescue. We have always said that the people ought to own the railroads and operate them for the benefit of the people. We advocated that twenty years ago. But the capitalists and their henchmen emphatically objected. "You have got to have brains to run the railroads," they tauntingly retorted. Well, the other day McAdoo, the governor-general of the railroads under government operation, discharged all the high-salaried presidents and other supernumeraries. In other words, he fired the "brains"

bodily and yet all the trains have been coming and going on schedule time. Have you noticed any change for the worse since the "brains" are gone? It is a brainless system now, being operated by "hands." [*Laughter.*] But a good deal more efficiently than it had been operated by so-called "brains" before. [*Laughter.*] And this determines infallibly the quality of their vaunted, high-priced capitalist "brains." It is the kind you can get at a reasonable figure at the market place. They have always given themselves credit for having superior brains and given this as the reason for the supremacy of their class. It is true that they have the brains that indicates the cunning of the fox, the wolf, but as for brains denoting real intelligence and the measure of intellectual capacity they are the most woefully ignorant people on earth. Give me a hundred capitalists just as you find them here in Ohio and let me ask them a dozen simple questions about the history of their own country and I will prove to you that they are as ignorant and unlettered as any you may find in the so-called lower class. [*Applause.*] They know little of history; they are strangers to science; they are ignorant of sociology and blind to art but they know how to exploit, how to gouge, how to rob, and do it with legal sanction. They always proceed legally for the reason that the class which has the power to rob upon a large scale has also the power to control the government and legalize their robbery. I regret that lack of time prevents me from discussing this phase of the question more at length.

They are continually talking about your patriotic duty. It is not *their* but *your* patriotic duty that they are concerned about. There is a decided difference. Their patriotic duty never takes them to the firing line or chucks them into the trenches.

And now among other things they are urging you to "cultivate" war gardens, while at the same time a government war report just issued shows that practically 52 percent of the arable, tillable soil is held out of use

by the landlords, speculators and profiteers. They themselves do not cultivate the soil. They could not if they would. Nor do they allow others to cultivate it. They keep it idle to enrich themselves, to pocket the millions of dollars of unearned increment. Who is it that makes this land valuable while it is fenced in and kept out of use? It is the people. Who pockets this tremendous accumulation of value? The landlords. And these landlords who toil not and spin not are supreme among American "patriots."

In passing I suggest that we stop a moment to think about the term "landlord." "LANDLORD!" Lord of the Land! The lord of the land is indeed a superpatriot. This lord who practically owns the earth tells you that we are fighting this war to make the world safe for democracy—he, who shuts out all humanity from his private domain; he who profiteers at the expense of the people who have been slain and mutilated by multiplied thousands, under pretense of being the great American patriot. It is he, this identical patriot who is in fact the arch-enemy of the people; it is he that you need to wipe from power. It is he who is a far greater menace to your liberty and your well-being than the Prussian junkers on the other side of the Atlantic ocean. [*Applause.*]

Fifty-two percent of the land kept out of use, according to their own figures! They tell you that there is an alarming shortage of flour and that you need to produce more. They tell you further that you have got to save wheat so that more can be exported for the soldiers who are fighting on the other side, while half of your tillable soil is held out of use by the landlords and profiteers. What do you think of that?

Again, they tell you there is a coal famine now in the state of Ohio. The state of Indiana, where I live, is largely underlaid with coal. There is practically an inexhaustible supply. The coal is banked beneath our very feet. It is within touch all about us—all we can possibly use and more. And here are the miners, ready to enter the

mines. Here is the machinery ready to be put into operation to increase the output to any desired capacity. And three weeks ago a national officer of the United Mine Workers issued and published a statement to the Labor Department of the United States government to the effect that the 600,000 coal miners in the United States at this time, when they talk about a coal famine, are not permitted to work more than half time. I have been around over Indiana for many years. I have often been in the coal fields; again and again I have seen the miners idle while at the same time there was a scarcity of coal.

They tell you that you ought to buy your coal right away; that you may freeze next winter if you do not. At the same time they charge you three prices for your coal. Oh, yes, this ought to suit you perfectly if you vote the Republican or Democratic ticket and believe in the private ownership of the coal mines and their operation for private profit. [*Applause.*]

The coal mines now being privately owned, the operators want a scarcity of coal so they can boost their prices and enrich themselves accordingly. If an abundance of coal were mined there would be lower prices and this would not suit the mine owners. Prices soar and profits increase when there is a scarcity of coal.

It is also apparent that there is collusion between the mine owners and the railroads. The mine owners declare there are no cars while the railroad men insist that there is no coal. And between them they delude, defraud and rob the people.

Let us illustrate a vital point. Here is the coal in great deposits all about us; here are the miners and the machinery of production. Why should there be a coal famine upon the one hand and an army of idle and hungry miners on the other hand? Is it not an incredibly stupid situation, an almost idiotic if not criminal state of affairs?

We Socialists say: "Take possession of the mines in the name of the people." [*Applause.*] Set the miners at work and give every miner the equivalent of all the coal he

produces. Reduce the work day in proportion to the development of productive machinery. That would at once settle the matter of a coal famine and of idle miners. But that is too simple a proposition and the people will have none of it. The time will come, however, when the people will be driven to take such action for there is no other efficient and permanent solution of the problem.

In the present system the miner, a wage slave, gets down into a pit 300 or 400 feet deep. He works hard and produces a ton of coal. But he does not own an ounce of it. That coal belongs to some mine-owning plutocrat who may be in New York or sailing the high seas in his private yacht; or he may be hobnobbing with royalty in the capitals of Europe, and that is where most of them were before the war was declared. The industrial captain, so-called, who lives in Paris, London, Vienna or some other center of gaiety does not have to work to revel in luxury. He owns the mines and he might as well own the miners.

That is where you workers are and where you will remain as long as you give your support to the political parties of your masters and exploiters. You vote these miners out of a job and reduce them to corporation vassals and paupers.

We Socialists say: "Take possession of the mines; call the miner to work and return to him the equivalent of the value of his product." He can then build himself a comfortable home; live in it; enjoy it with his family. He can provide himself and his wife and children with clothes—good clothes—not shoddy; wholesome food in abundance, education for the children, and the chance to live the lives of civilized human beings, while at the same time the people will get coal at just what it costs to mine it.

Of course that would be socialism as far as it goes. But you are not in favor of that program. It is too visionary because it is so simple and practical. So you will have to continue to wait until winter is upon you before

you get your coal and then pay three prices for it because you insist upon voting a capitalist ticket and giving your support to the present wage-slave system. The trouble with you is that you are still in a capitalist state of mind.

Lincoln said: "If you want that thing, that is the thing you want"; and you will get it to your heart's content. But some good day you will wake up and realize that a change is needed and wonder why you did not know it long before. Yes, a change is certainly needed, not merely a change of party but a change of system; a change from slavery to freedom and from despotism to democracy, wide as the world. [Applause.] When this change comes at last, we shall rise from brutishness to brotherhood, and to accomplish it we have to educate and organize the workers industrially and politically, but not along the zigzag craft lines laid down by Gompers, who through all of his career has favored the master class. You never hear the capitalist press speak of him nowadays except in praise and adulation. He has recently come into great prominence as a patriot. You never find him on the unpopular side of a great issue. He is always conservative, satisfied to leave the labor problem to be settled finally at the banqueting board with Elihu Root, Andrew Carnegie and the rest of the plutocratic civic federationists. When they drink wine and smoke scab cigars together the labor question is settled so far as they are concerned.

And while they are praising Gompers they are denouncing the I.W.W. There are few men who have the courage to say a word in favor of the I.W.W. [Applause.] I have. [Applause.] Let me say here that I have great respect for the I.W.W. Far greater than I have for their infamous detractors. [Applause.]

Listen! There has just been published a pamphlet called "The Truth About the I.W.W." It has been issued after long and thorough investigation by five men of unques-

tioned standing in the capitalist world. At the head of these investigators was Professor John Graham Brooks of Harvard University, and next to him John A. Fish of the Survey of the Religious Organizations of Pittsburgh, and Mr. Bruere, the government investigator. Five of these prominent men conducted an impartial examination of the I.W.W. To quote their own words they "followed its trail." They examined into its doings beginning at Bisbee where the "patriots," the cowardly business men, the arch-criminals, made up the mob that deported 1,200 workmen under the most brutal conditions, charging them with being members of the I.W.W. when they knew it to be false.

It is only necessary to label a man "I.W.W." to have him lynched as they did Praeger, an absolutely innocent man. He was a Socialist and bore a German name, and that was his crime. A rumor was started that he was disloyal and he was promptly seized and lynched by the cowardly mob of so-called "patriots."

War makes possible all such crimes and outrages. And war comes in spite of the people. When Wall Street says war the press says war and the pulpit promptly follows with its *Amen*. In every age the pulpit has been on the side of the rulers and not on the side of the people. That is one reason why the preachers so fiercely denounce the I.W.W.

Take the time to read this pamphlet about the I.W.W. Don't take the word of Wall Street and its press as final. Read this report by five impartial and highly reputable men who made their investigation to know the truth, and that they might tell the truth to the American people. They declare that the I.W.W. in all its career never committed as much violence against the ruling class as the ruling class has committed against the I.W.W. [Applause.]

You are not now reading any reports in the daily press about the trial at Chicago, are you? They used to publish extensive reports when the trial first began,

and to prate about what they proposed to prove against the I.W.W. as a gigantic conspiracy against the government. The trial has continued until they have exhausted all their testimony and they have not yet proven violence in a single instance. No, not one! They are utterly without incriminating testimony and yet 112 men are in the dock after lying in jail for months without the shadow of a crime upon them save that of belonging to the I.W.W. That is enough it would seem to convict any man of any crime and send his body to prison and his soul to hell. Just whisper the name of the I.W.W. and you are branded as a disloyalist. And the reason for this is wholly to the credit of the I.W.W., for whatever may be charged against it the I.W.W. has always fought for the bottom dog. [Applause.] And that is why Haywood is despised and prosecuted while Gompers is lauded and glorified by the same gang.

Now what you workers need is to organize, not along craft lines but along revolutionary industrial lines. [Applause.] All of you workers in a given industry, regardless of your trade or occupation, should belong to one and the same union.

Political action and industrial action must supplement and sustain each other. You will never vote the Socialist republic into existence. You will have to lay its foundations in industrial organization. The industrial union is the forerunner of industrial democracy. In the shop where the workers are associated is where industrial democracy has its beginning. Organize according to your industries! Get together in every department of industrial service! United and acting together for the common good your power is invincible.

When you have organized industrially you will soon learn that you can manage as well as operate industry. You will soon realize that you do not need the idle masters and exploiters. They are simply parasites. They do not employ you as you imagine but you employ them to take from you what you produce, and that is how

they function in industry. You can certainly dispense with them in that capacity. You do not need them to depend upon for your jobs. You can never be free while you work and live by their sufferance. You must own your own tools and then you will control your own jobs, enjoy the products of your own labor and be free men instead of industrial slaves.

Organize industrially and make your organization complete. Then unite in the Socialist Party. Vote as you strike and strike as you vote.

Your union and your party embrace the working class. The Socialist Party expresses the interests, hopes and aspirations of the toilers of all the world.

Get your fellow workers into the industrial union and the political party to which they rightly belong, especially this year, this historic year in which the forces of labor will assert themselves as they never have before. This is the year that calls for men and women who have courage, the manhood and womanhood to do their duty.

Get into the Socialist Party and take your place in its ranks; help to inspire the weak and strengthen the faltering, and do your share to speed the coming of the brighter and better day for us all. [Applause.]

When we unite and act together on the industrial field and when we vote together on election day we shall develop the supreme power of the one class that can and will bring permanent peace to the world. We shall then have the intelligence, the courage and the power for our great task. In due time industry will be organized on a cooperative basis. We shall conquer the public power. We shall then transfer the title deeds of the railroads, the telegraph lines, the mines, mills and great industries to the people in their collective capacity; we shall take possession of all these social utilities in the name of the people. We shall then have industrial democracy. We shall be a free nation whose government is of and by and for the people.

And now for all of us to do our duty! The clarion

call is ringing in our ears and we cannot falter without being convicted of treason to ourselves and to our great cause.

Do not worry over the charge of treason to your masters, but be concerned about the treason that involves yourselves. [Applause.] Be true to yourself and you cannot be a traitor to any good cause on earth.

Yes, in good time we are going to sweep into power in this nation and throughout the world. We are going to destroy all enslaving and degrading capitalist institutions and re-create them as free and humanizing institutions. The world is daily changing before our eyes. The sun of capitalism is setting; the sun of socialism is rising. It is our duty to build the new nation and the free republic. We need industrial and social builders. We Socialists are the builders of the beautiful world that is to be. We are all pledged to do our part. We are inviting—aye challenging you this afternoon in the name of your own manhood and womanhood to join us and do your part.

In due time the hour will strike and this great cause triumphant—the greatest in history—will proclaim the emancipation of the working class and the brotherhood of all mankind. [Thunderous and prolonged applause.]

316



CANTON, OHIO, JUNE 16, 1918

ADDRESS TO THE JURY

On June 30, 1918, Debs was arrested in Cleveland, Ohio, charged with violating the Espionage Act. At the trial, which opened September 9, the prosecution cited the Canton speech as evidence that Debs had attempted to discourage enlistment and promote insubordination in the armed forces of the United States.

With the eyes of the world watching the trial of the man who had been a presidential candidate four times, he addressed the jury in his own defense. He admitted the correctness of the report of his speech, denied the charges in the indictment, and challenged the Espionage Act as a violation of the constitutional right of free speech.

Debs talked for almost two hours. This is an abridged selection of his speech to the jury.

May it please the court, and gentlemen of the jury:

For the first time in my life I appear before a jury in a court of law to answer to an indictment for crime. I am not a lawyer. I know little about court procedure, about the rules of evidence or legal practice. I know only that you gentlemen are to hear the evidence brought against me, that the court is to instruct you in the law, and that you are then to determine by your verdict

317

whether I shall be branded with criminal guilt and be consigned, perhaps to the end of my life, in a felon's cell.

Gentlemen, I do not fear to face you in this hour of accusation, nor do I shrink from the consequences of my utterances or my acts. Standing before you, charged as I am with crime, I can yet look the court in the face, I can look you in the face, I can look the world in the face, for in my conscience, in my soul, there is festering no accusation of guilt.

Permit me to say in the first place that I am entirely satisfied with the court's rulings. I have no fault to find with the assistant district attorney or with the counsel for the prosecution.

I wish to admit the truth of all that has been testified to in this proceeding. I have no disposition to deny anything that is true. I would not, if I could, escape the results of an adverse verdict. I would not retract a word that I have uttered that I believe to be true to save myself from going to the penitentiary for the rest of my days.

Gentlemen, you have heard the report of my speech at Canton on June 16, and I submit that there is not a word in that speech to warrant the charges set out in the indictment. I admit having delivered the speech. I admit the accuracy of the speech in all of its main features as reported in this proceeding.

In what I had to say there my purpose was to have the people understand something about the social system in which we live and to prepare them to change this system by perfectly peaceable and orderly means into what I, as a Socialist, conceive to be a real democracy.

From what you heard in the address of the counsel for the prosecution, you might naturally infer that I am an advocate of force and violence. It is not true. I have never advocated violence in any form. I have always believed in education, in intelligence, in enlightenment;

and I have always made my appeal to the reason and to the conscience of the people.

I admit being opposed to the present social system. I am doing what little I can, and have been for many years, to bring about a change that shall do away with the rule of the great body of the people by a relatively small class and establish in this country an industrial and social democracy.

When great changes occur in history, when great principles are involved, as a rule the majority are wrong. The minority are usually right. In every age there have been a few heroic souls who have been in advance of their time, who have been misunderstood, maligned, persecuted, sometimes put to death. Long after their martyrdom monuments were erected to them and garlands woven for their graves.

This has been the tragic history of the race. In the ancient world Socrates sought to teach some new truths to the people, and they made him drink the fatal hemlock. This has been true all along the track of the ages. The men and women who have been in advance, who have had new ideas, new ideals, who have had the courage to attack the established order of things, have all had to pay the same penalty.

A century and a half ago when the American colonists were still foreign subjects; when there were a few men who had faith in the common people and their destiny, and believed that they could rule themselves without a king; in that day to question the divine right of the king to rule was treason. If you will read Bancroft or any other American historian, you will find that a great majority of the colonists were loyal to the king and actually believed that he had a divine right to rule over them. . . . But there were a few men in that day who said, "We don't need a king; we can govern ourselves." And they began an agitation that has immortalized them in history.

Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Paine and their com-

peers were the rebels of their day. When they began to chafe under the rule of a foreign king and to sow the seed of resistance among the colonists they were opposed by the people and denounced by the press. . . . But they had the moral courage to be true to their convictions, to stand erect and defy all the forces of reaction and detraction; and that is why their names shine in history, and why the great respectable majority of their day sleep in forgotten graves.

At a later time there began another mighty agitation in this country. It was directed against an institution that was deemed eminently respectable in its time—the age-old, cruel and infamous institution of chattel slavery. . . . All the organized forces of society and all the powers of government upheld and defended chattel slavery in that day. And again the few advanced thinkers, crusaders and martyrs appeared. One of the first was Elijah Lovejoy who was murdered in cold blood at Alton, Illinois, in 1837 because he was opposed to chattel slavery—just as I am opposed to wage slavery. Today as you go up or down the Mississippi River and look up at the green hills at Alton, you see a magnificent white shaft erected there in memory of the man who was true to himself and his convictions of right and duty even unto death.

It was my good fortune to personally know Wendell Phillips. I heard the story of his cruel and cowardly persecution from his own eloquent lips just a little while before they were silenced in death.

William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Gerrit Smith, Thaddeus Stevens and other leaders of the abolition movement who were regarded as public enemies and treated accordingly, were true to their faith and stood their ground. They are all in history. You are now teaching your children to revere their memories, while all of their detractors are in oblivion.

Chattel slavery has disappeared. But we are not yet

free. We are engaged today in another mighty agitation. It is as wide as the world. It means the rise of the toiling masses who are gradually becoming conscious of their interests, their power, and their mission as a class; who are organizing industrially and politically and who are slowly but surely developing the economic and political power that is to set them free. These awakening workers are still in a minority, but they have learned how to work together to achieve their freedom, and how to be patient and abide their time.

From the beginning of the war to this day I have never by word or act been guilty of the charges embraced in this indictment. If I have criticized, if I have condemned, it is because I believed it to be my duty, and that it was my right to do so under the laws of the land. I have had ample precedents for my attitude. This country has been engaged in a number of wars and every one of them has been condemned by some of the people, among them some of the most eminent men of their time. The war of the American Revolution was violently opposed. The Tory press representing the "upper classes" denounced its leaders as criminals and outlaws.

The war of 1812 was opposed and condemned by some of the most influential citizens; the Mexican war was vehemently opposed and bitterly denounced, even after the war had been declared and was in progress, by Abraham Lincoln, Charles Sumner, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay and many other well-known and influential citizens. These men denounced the President, they condemned his administration while the war was being waged, and they charged in substance that the war was a crime against humanity. They were not indicted; they were not charged with treason nor tried for crime. They are honored today by all of their countrymen.

The Civil War between the states met with violent resistance and passionate condemnation. In the year 1864 the Democratic Party met in national convention at Chicago and passed a resolution condemning the war as a

failure. What would you say if the Socialist Party were to meet in convention today and condemn the present war as a failure? You charge us with being disloyalists and traitors. Were the Democrats of 1864 disloyalists and traitors because they condemned the war as a failure?

And if so, why were they not indicted and prosecuted accordingly? I believe in the Constitution. Isn't it strange that we Socialists stand almost alone today in upholding and defending the Constitution of the United States? The revolutionary fathers who had been oppressed under king rule understood that free speech, a free press and the right of free assemblage by the people were fundamental principles in democratic government. The very first amendment to the Constitution reads:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

That is perfectly plain English. It can be understood by a child. I believe the revolutionary fathers meant just what is here stated—that Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or of the right of the people to peaceably assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of their grievances.

That is the right I exercised at Canton on the sixteenth day of last June; and for the exercise of that right, I now have to answer to this indictment. I believe in the right of free speech, in war as well as in peace. I would not, under any circumstances suppress free speech. It is far more dangerous to attempt to gag the people than to allow them to speak freely what is in their hearts.

I have told you that I am no lawyer, but it seems to me that I know enough to know that if Congress enacts any law that conflicts with this provision in the Consti-

Eugene V. Debs Speaks

me will be of small consequence after all. I am not on trial here. There is an infinitely greater issue that is being tried today in this court, though you may not be conscious of it. American institutions are on trial here before a court of American citizens. The future will render the final verdict.

And now, your honor, permit me to return my thanks for your patient consideration. And to you, gentlemen of the jury, for the kindness with which you have listened to me.

I am prepared for your verdict.



Tamiment Library/NYU

Address to the Jury

tution, that law is void. If the Espionage Law finally stands, then the Constitution of the United States is dead. If that law is not the negation of every fundamental principle established by the Constitution, then certainly I am unable to read or to understand the English language.

Now, in the course of this proceeding you gentlemen have perhaps drawn the inference that I am pro-German in the sense that I have sympathy with the imperial government of Germany. My father and mother were born in Alsace. They loved France with a passion that was holy. They understood the meaning of Prussianism, and they hated it with all their hearts. I did not need to be taught to hate Prussian militarism. I knew from them what a hateful, oppressive, and brutalizing thing it was and is. I cannot imagine how anyone can suspect for one moment that I could have the slightest sympathy with such a monstrous thing. I have been speaking and writing against it practically all my life. I know that the Kaiser incarnates all there is of brute force and murder.

With every drop of blood in my veins I despise Kaiserism, and all that Kaiserism expresses and implies. My sympathy is with the struggling, suffering people everywhere. It matters not under what flag they were born, or where they live, I sympathize with them all and I would, if I could, establish a social system that would embrace them all.

Now, gentlemen of the jury, I am not going to detain you too long. . . . I cannot take back a word I have said. I cannot repudiate a sentence I have uttered. I stand before you guilty of having made this speech. . . . I do not know, I cannot tell, what your verdict may be; nor does it matter much, so far as I am concerned.

Gentlemen, I am the smallest part of this trial. I have lived long enough to realize my own personal insignificance in relation to a great issue that involves the welfare of the whole people. What you may choose to do to

EUGENE V. DEBS
Speech to the Court
1918

Debs knew that he would probably be jailed for the speech he gave at Canton, Ohio, on June 16, 1918. "Justice" was swift. He was tried on September 9th for violating the Espionage Act and quickly found guilty. On September 14th, just before he was sentenced, he addressed the court.

Your Honor, years ago I recognized my kinship with all living beings, and I made up my mind that I was not one bit better than the meanest on earth. I said then, and I say now, that while there is a lower class, I am in it, while there is a criminal element I am of it, and while there is a soul in prison, I am not free.

I listened to all that was said in this court in support and justification of this prosecution, but my mind remains unchanged. I look upon the Espionage Law as a despotic enactment in flagrant conflict with democratic principles and with the spirit of free institutions. . . .

Your Honor, I have stated in this court that I am opposed to the social system in which we live; that I believe in a fundamental change—but if possible by peaceable and orderly means. . . .

Standing here this morning, I recall my boyhood. At fourteen I went to work in a railroad shop; at sixteen I was firing a freight engine on a railroad. I remember all the hardships and privations of that earlier day, and from that time until now my heart has been with the working class. I could have been in Congress long ago. I have preferred to go to prison. . . .

I am thinking this morning of the men in the mills and factories; of the men in the mines and on the railroads. I am thinking of the women who for a paltry wage are compelled to work out their barren lives; of the little children who in this system are robbed of their childhood and in their tender years are seized in the remorseless grasp of Mammon and forced into the industrial dungeons, there to feed the monster machines while they them-

selves are being starved and stunted, body and soul. I see them dwarfed and diseased and their little lives broken and blasted because in this high noon of our twentieth-century Christian civilization money is still so much more important than the flesh and blood of childhood. In very truth gold is god today and rules with pitiless sway in the affairs of men.

In this country—the most favored beneath the bending skies—we have vast areas of the richest and most fertile soil, material resources in inexhaustible abundance, the most marvelous productive machinery on earth, and millions of eager workers ready to apply their labor to that machinery to produce in abundance for every man, woman and child—and if there are still vast numbers of our people who are the victims of poverty and whose lives are an unceasing struggle all the way from youth to old age, until at last death comes to their rescue and stills their aching hearts and lulls these hapless victims to dreamless sleep, it is not the fault of the Almighty: it cannot be charged to nature, but it is due entirely to the outgrown social system in which we live that ought to be abolished not only in the interest of the toiling masses but in the higher interest of all humanity. . . .

I believe, Your Honor, in common with all Socialists, that this nation ought to own and control its own industries. I believe, as all Socialists do, that all things that are jointly needed and used ought to be jointly owned—that industry, the basis of our social life, instead of being the private property of the few and operated for their enrichment, ought to be the common property of all, democratically administered in the interest of all. . . .

I am opposing a social order in which it is possible for one man who does absolutely nothing that is useful, to amass a fortune of hundreds of millions of dollars, while millions of men and women who work all the days of their lives secure barely enough for a wretched existence.

This order of things cannot always endure. I have registered my protest against it. I recognize the feebleness of my effort, but, fortunately, I am not alone. There are multiplied thousands of others who, like myself, have come to realize that before we may truly enjoy the blessings of civilized life, we must reorganize society upon a mutual and co-operative basis; and to this end we have organized a great economic and political movement that spreads over the face of all the earth.

There are today upwards of sixty millions of Socialists, loyal, devoted adherents to this cause, regardless of nationality, race, creed, color or sex. They are all making common cause. They are spreading with tireless energy the propaganda of the new social order. They are waiting, watching and working hopefully through all the hours of the day and the night. They are still in a minority. But they have learned how to be patient and to bide their time. They feel—they know, indeed—that the time is coming, in spite of all opposition, all persecution, when this emancipating gospel will spread among all the peoples, and when this minority will become the triumphant majority and, sweeping into power, inaugurate the greatest social and economic change in history.

In that day we shall have the universal commonwealth—the harmonious co-operation of every nation with every other nation on earth. . . .

Your Honor, I ask no mercy and I plead for no immunity. I realize that finally the right must prevail. I never so clearly comprehended as now the great struggle between the powers of greed and exploitation on the one hand and upon the other the rising hosts of industrial freedom and social justice.

I can see the dawn of the better day for humanity. The people are awakening. In due time they will and must come to their own.

"When the mariner, sailing over tropic seas, looks for relief from his weary watch, he turns his eyes toward the southern cross, burning luridly above the tempest-vexed ocean. As the midnight approaches, the southern cross begins to bend, the whirling worlds change their places, and with stary finger-points the Almighty marks the passage of time upon the dial of the universe, and though no bell may beat the glad tidings, the lookout knows that the midnight is passing and that relief and rest are close at hand.

"Let the people everywhere take heart of hope, for the cross is bending, the midnight is passing, and joy cometh with the morning."

"He's true to God who's true to man; wherever wrong is done,
To the humblest and the weakest, 'neath the all-beholding sun.
That wrong is done to us, and they are slaves most base,
Whose love of right is for themselves and not for all the race."

I am now prepared to receive your sentence.

Anmerkungen

- 1) Langdon Byllesby: *Observations on the Sources and Effects of Unequal Wealth* (1826), Ausgabe 1962, S. 98.
- 2) Ebd., S. 69
- 3) Wegen seiner Unbekanntheit sei deswegen auf ihn verwiesen: Wilhelm Weitling: *Das Evangelium des armen Sünders. Die Menschheit wie sie ist und wie sie sein sollte.* Reinbek, b. Hamburg 1971.
- 4) Albert Fried (ed.): *Socialism in America*, New York 1970, S. 232.
- 5) Die "Social Gospel" von Walter Rauschenbusch hat im Nachhinein das Theologiestudium Martin Luther Kings nachhaltig beeinflusst. Über seine Eindrücke im Crozer Theological Seminary bei der Lektüre von Rauschenbuschs "Christianity and the Social Crisis" berichtet King beeindruckend im Kapitel "Mein Weg zur Gewaltlosigkeit" (Pilgrimage to Nonviolence) seines ersten Buches "Freiheit" (Aufbruch der Neger Nordamerikas), Kassel 1964, S. 67 ff. (Im Original: Stride toward Freedom, New York 1958.) King beschreibt Rauschenbuschs Auffassungen kritisch in dessen Fortschrittsglauben, betont den sozialen Wert von dessen Auffassungen in einer Reihe mit Schilderungen der Einflüsse Thoreaus und Gandhis auf sein Denken.
- 6) Zit. aus: Cooney/Michalowski: *The Power of the People, Active Nonviolence in the United States*, Culver City 1977, S. 50 (Porträt Debs).
- 7) Ebd., S. 54 (Porträt der IWW) *Literatur zur IWW*: Kornbluh, Joyce L. (ed.): *Rebel Voices: An IWW Anthology*, Ann Arbor 1964.
- 8) Zit. aus: Cooney/Michalowski: *The Power of the People*, a.a.O., S. 53.
Dieser Satz, kein freier Mensch zu sein, solange noch eine Seele ins Gefängnis gesperrt sei, inspirierte die Theologin Dorothee Sölle zu einem Prosagedicht von hoher Aktualität, das explizit auf Eugene V. Debs Bezug nimmt und aufgrund dessen wegen des Seltenheitswertes abschließend wiedergegeben wird:

Eugene Debs

Jeder schwarze in südafrika
lese ich in der statistik
ist 1,3 mal im Gefängnis gewesen
ich habe mühe das zu verstehen
jeder rechne ich ist mindestens einmal
und jeder dritte zweimal im gefängnis
gewesen.

Am anfang dieses jahrhunderts gab es
in den vereinigten staaten sozialisten
einer von ihnen sagte er sei nicht frei
solange noch eine seele im gefängnis einsäße
damals träumten einige von einer gesellschaft
ohne gefängnisse.

(aus: dorothee sölle
verrückt nach licht
gedichte
S. 128; Berlin 1984)

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ESSAYS ON FAITH AND MORALS

By WILLIAM JAMES

Selected by RALPH BARTON FERRY from volumes originally entitled
THE WILL TO BELIEVE AND OTHER ESSAYS IN
POPULAR PHILOSOPHY
TALKS TO TEACHERS ON PSYCHOLOGY; AND TO
STUDENTS ON SOME OF LIFE'S IDEALS
MEMORIES AND STUDIES

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Essays on Faith and Morals

precious though wars may be, they must not be waged solely for the sake of the ideal harvest. Only when forced upon one, only when an enemy's injustice leaves us no alternative, is a war now thought permissible.

It was not thus in ancient times. The earlier men were hunting men, and to hunt a neighboring tribe, kill the males, loot the village and possess the females, was the most profitable, as well as the most exciting, way of living. Thus were the more martial tribes selected, and in chiefs and people a pure pugnacity and love of glory came to mingle with the more fundamental appetite for plunder.

Modern war is so expensive that we feel trade to be a better avenue to plunder; but modern man inherits all the innate pugnacity and all the love of glory of his ancestors. Showing war's irrationality and horror is of no effect upon him. The horrors make the fascination. War is the *strong* life; it is life in *extremis*; war-taxes are the only ones men never hesitate to pay, as the budgets of all nations show us.

History is a bath of blood. The Iliad is one long recital of how Diomedes and Ajax, Sarpedon and Hector *killed*. No detail of the wounds they made is spared us, and the Greek mind fed upon the story. Greek history is a panorama of jingoism and imperialism — war for war's sake, all the citizens being warriors. It is horrible reading, because of the irrationality of it all — save for the purpose of making 'history' — and the history is that of the utter ruin of a civilization in intellectual respects perhaps the highest the earth has ever seen.

Those wars were purely piratical. Pride, gold, women, slaves, excitement, were their only motives.

THE MORAL EQUIVALENT OF WAR*

THE war against war is going to be no holiday excursion or camping party. The military feelings are too deeply grounded to abdicate their place among our ideals until better substitutes are offered than the glory and shame that come to nations as well as to individuals from the ups and downs of politics and the vicissitudes of trade. There is something highly paradoxical in the modern man's relation to war. Ask all our millions, north and south, whether they would vote now (were such a thing possible) to have our war for the Union expunged from history, and the record of a peaceful transition to the present time substituted for that of its marches and battles, and probably hardly a handful of eccentrics would say yes. Those ancestors, those efforts, those memories and legends, are the most ideal part of what we now own together, a sacred spiritual possession worth more than all the blood poured out. Yet ask those same people whether they would be willing in cold blood to start another civil war now to gain another similar possession, and not one man or woman would vote for the proposition. In modern eyes,

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The Moral Equivalent of War

In the Peloponnesian war for example, the Athenians ask the inhabitants of Melos (the island where the 'Venus of Milo' was found), hitherto neutral, to own their lordship. The envoys meet, and hold a debate which Thucydides gives in full, and which, for sweet reasonableness of form, would have satisfied Matthew Arnold. "The powerful exact what they can," said the Athenians, "and the weak grant what they must." When the Meleans say that sooner than be slaves they will appeal to the gods, the Athenians reply: "Of the gods we believe and of men we know that, by a law of their nature, wherever they can rule they will. This law was not made by us, and we are not the first to have acted upon it; we did but inherit it, and we know that you and all mankind, if you were as strong as we are, would do as we do. So much for the gods; we have told you why we expect to stand as high in their good opinion as you." Well, the Meleans still refused, and their town was taken. "The Athenians," Thucydides quietly says, "thereupon put to death all who were of military age and made slaves of the women and children. They then colonized the island, sending thither five hundred settlers of their own."

Alexander's career was piracy pure and simple, nothing but an orgy of power and plunder, made romantic by the character of the hero. There was no rational principle in it, and the moment he died his generals and governors attacked one another. The cruelty of those times is incredible. When Rome finally conquered Greece, Paulus Aemilius was told by the Roman Senate to reward his soldiers for their toil by 'giving' them the old kingdom of Epirus. They sacked seventy cities and carried off a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants as slaves. How many they

Essays on Faith and Morals

killed I know not; but in Etolia they killed all the senators, five hundred and fifty in number. Brutus was "the noblest Roman of them all," but to reanimate his soldiers on the eve of Philippi he similarly promises to give them the cities of Sparta and Thessalonica to ravage, if they win the fight.

Such was the gory nurse that trained societies to cohesiveness. We inherit the warlike type; and for most of the capacities of heroism that the human race is full of we have to thank this cruel history. Dead men tell no tales, and if there were any tribes of other type than this they have left no survivors. Our ancestors have bred pugnacity into our bone and marrow, and thousands of years of peace won't breed it out of us. The popular imagination fairly fattens on the thought of wars. Let public opinion once reach a certain fighting pitch, and no ruler can withstand it. In the Boer war both governments began with bluff but couldn't stay there, the military tension was too much for them. In 1898 our people had read the word 'war' in letters three inches high for three months in every newspaper. The pliant politician McKinley was swept away by their eagerness, and our squalid war with Spain became a necessity.

At the present day, civilized opinion is a curious mental mixture. The military instincts and ideals are as strong as ever, but are confronted by reflective criticisms which sorely curb their ancient freedom. Innumerable writers are showing up the bestial side of military service. Pure loot and mastery seem no longer morally avowable motives, and pretexts must be found for attributing them solely to the enemy. England and we, our army and navy authorities repeat

The Moral Equivalent of War

without ceasing, arm solely for 'peace,' Germany and Japan it is who are bent on loot and glory. 'Peace' in military mouths today is a synonym for 'war expected.' The word has become a pure provocative, and no government wishing peace sincerely should allow it ever to be printed in a newspaper. Every up-to-date dictionary should say that 'peace' and 'war' mean the same thing, now *in posse*, now *in actu*. It may even reasonably be said that the intensely sharp competitive *preparation* for war by the nations is the *real war*, permanent, unceasing; and that the battles are only a sort of public verification of the mastery gained during the 'peace'-interval.

It is plain that on this subject civilized man has developed a sort of double personality. If we take European nations, no legitimate interest of any one of them would seem to justify the tremendous destructions which a war to compass it would necessarily entail. It would seem as though common sense and reason ought to find a way to reach agreement in every conflict of honest interests. I myself think it our bounden duty to believe in such international rationality as possible. But, as things stand, I see how desperately hard it is to bring the peace-party and the war-party together, and I believe that the difficulty is due to certain deficiencies in the program of pacifism which set the militarist imagination strongly, and to a certain extent justifiably, against it. In the whole discussion both sides are on imaginative and sentimental ground. It is but one utopia against another, and everything one says must be abstract and hypothetical. Subject to this criticism and caution, I will try to characterize in abstract strokes the opposite imaginative forces, and point out what to my

Essays on Faith and Morals

own very fallible mind seems the best utopian hypothesis, the most promising line of conciliation.

In my remarks, pacifist though I am, I will refuse to speak of the bestial side of the war-*régime* (already done justice to by many writers) and consider only the higher aspects of militaristic sentiment. Patriotism no one thinks discreditable; nor does any one deny that war is the romance of history. But inordinate ambitions are the soul of every patriotism, and the possibility of violent death the soul of all romance. The militarily patriotic and romantic-minded everywhere, and especially the professional military class, refuse to admit for a moment that war may be a transitory phenomenon in social evolution. The notion of a sheep's paradise like that revolts, they say, our higher imagination. Where then would be the steeps of life? If war had ever stopped, we should have to re-invent it, on this view, to redeem life from flat degeneration.

Reflective apologists for war at the present day all take it religiously. It is a sort of sacrament. Its profits are to the vanquished as well as to the victor; and quite apart from any question of profit, it is an absolute good, we are told, for it is human nature at its highest dynamic. Its 'horrors' are a cheap price to pay for rescue from the only alternative supposed, of a world of clerks and teachers, of co-educational and zo-ophily, of 'consumer's leagues' and 'associated charities,' of industrialism unlimited, and feminism unabashed. No scorn, no hardness, no valor any more! Fie upon such a cattleyard of a planet!

So far as the central essence of this feeling goes, no healthy minded person, it seems to me, can help to some degree partaking of it. Militarism is the great

The Moral Equivalent of War

preserver of our ideals of hardihood, and human life with no use for hardihood would be contemptible. Without risks or prizes for the darer, history would be insipid indeed; and there is a type of military character which every one feels that the race should never cease to breed, for every one is sensitive to its superiority. The duty is incumbent on mankind, of keeping military characters in stock—of keeping them, if not for use, then as ends in themselves and as pure pieces of perfection,—so that Roosevelt's weaklings and mollicoddles may not end by making everything else disappear from the face of nature.

This natural sort of feeling forms, I think, the innermost soul of army-writings. Without any exception known to me, militarist authors take a highly mystical view of their subject, and regard war as a biological or sociological necessity, uncontrolled by ordinary psychological checks and motives. When the time of development is ripe the war must come, reason or no reason, for the justifications pleaded are invariably fictitious. War is, in short, a permanent human obligation. General Homer Lea, in his recent book "The Valor of Ignorance," plants himself squarely on this ground. Readiness for war is for him the essence of nationality, and ability in it the supreme measure of the health of nations.

Nations, General Lea says, are never stationary—they must necessarily expand or shrink, according to their vitality or decrepitude. Japan now is culminating; and by the fatal law in question it is impossible that her statesmen should not long since have entered, with extraordinary foresight, upon a vast policy of conquest—the game in which the first moves were her wars with China and Russia and her treaty with

Essays on Faith and Morals

England, and of which the final objective is the capture of the Philippines, the Hawaiian Islands, Alaska, and the whole of our Coast west of the Sierra Passes. This will give Japan what her ineluctable vocation as a state absolute forces her to claim, the possession of the entire Pacific Ocean; and to oppose these deep designs we Americans have, according to our author, nothing but our conceit, our ignorance, our commercialism, our corruption, and our feminism. General Lea makes a minute technical comparison of the military strength which we at present could oppose to the strength of Japan, and concludes that the islands, Alaska, Oregon, and Southern California, would fall almost without resistance, that San Francisco must surrender in a fortnight to a Japanese investment, that in three or four months the war would be over, and our republic, unable to regain what it had heedlessly neglected to protect sufficiently, would then 'disintegrate,' until perhaps some Cæsar should arise to weld us again into a nation.

A dismal forecast indeed! Yet not unpalatable, if the mentality of Japan's statesmen be of the Cæsarian type of which history shows so many examples, and which is all that General Lea seems able to imagine. But there is no reason to think that women can no longer be the mothers of Napoleonic or Alexandrian characters; and if these come in Japan and find their opportunity, just such surprises as 'The Valor of Ignorance' paints may lurk in ambush for us. Ignorant as we still are of the innermost recesses of Japanese mentality, we may be foolhardy to disregard such possibilities.

Other militarists are more complex and more moral in their considerations. The 'Philosophie des Krieges,'

The Moral Equivalent of War

by S. R. Steinmetz is a good example. War, according to this author, is an ordeal instituted by God, who weighs the nations in its balance. It is the essential form of the State, and the only function in which peoples can employ all their powers at once and convergently. No victory is possible save as the resultant of a totality of virtues, no defeat for which some vice or weakness is not responsible. Fidelity, cohesiveness, tenacity, heroism, conscience, education, inventiveness, economy, wealth, physical health and vigor — there isn't a moral or intellectual point of superiority that doesn't tell, when God holds his assizes and hurls the peoples upon one another. *Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht*; and Dr. Steinmetz does not believe that in the long run chance and luck play any part in apportioning the issues.

The virtues that prevail, it must be noted, are virtues anyhow, superiorities that count in peaceful as well as in military competition; but the strain on them, being infinitely intenser in the latter case, makes war infinitely more searching as a trial. No ordeal is comparable to its winnowings. Its dread hammer is the welder of men into cohesive states, and nowhere but in such states can human nature adequately develop its capacity. The only alternative is 'degeneration.'

Dr. Steinmetz is a conscientious thinker, and his book, short as it is, takes much into account. Its upshot can, it seems to me, be summed up in Simon Patten's word, that mankind was nursed in pain and fear, and that the transition to a 'pleasure-economy' may be fatal to a being wielding no powers of defence against its disintegrative influences. If we speak of the *fear of emancipation from the fear-régime*, we put

Essays on Faith and Morals

the whole situation into a single phrase; fear regarding ourselves now taking the place of the ancient fear of the enemy.

Turn the fear over as I will in my mind, it all seems to lead back to two unwillingnesses of the imagination, one æsthetic, and the other moral; unwillingness, first to envisage a future in which army-life, with its many elements of charm, shall be forever impossible, and in which the destinies of peoples shall nevermore be decided quickly, thrillingly, and tragically, by force, but only gradually and insipidly by 'evolution'; and, secondly, unwillingness to see the supreme theatre of human strenuousness closed, and the splendid military aptitudes of men doomed to keep always in a state of latency and never show themselves in action. These insistent unwillingnesses, no less than other æsthetic and ethical insistentencies, have, it seems to me, to be listened to and respected. One cannot meet them effectively by mere counter-insistency on war's expensiveness and horror. The horror makes the thrill; and when the question is of getting the extremest and supremest out of human nature, talk of expense sounds ignominious. The weakness of so much merely negative criticism is evident — pacifism makes no converts from the military party. The military party denies neither the bestiality nor the horror, nor the expense; it only says that these things tell but half the story. It only says that war is *worth* them; that, taking human nature as a whole, its wars are its best protection against its weaker and more cowardly self, and that mankind cannot afford to adopt a peace-economy.

Pacifists ought to enter more deeply into the æsthetic and ethical point of view of their opponents.

The Moral Equivalent of War

Do that first in any controversy, says J. J. Chapman, *then move the point*, and your opponent will follow. So long as anti-militarists propose no substitute for war's disciplinary function, no *moral equivalent* of war, analogous, as one might say, to the mechanical equivalent of heat, so long they fail to realize the full inwardness of the situation. And as a rule they do fail. The duties, penalties, and sanctions pictured in the utopias they paint are all too weak and tame to touch the military-minded. Tolstoi's pacifism is the only exception to this rule, for it is profoundly pessimistic as regards all this world's values, and makes the fear of the Lord furnish the moral spur provided elsewhere by the fear of the enemy. But our socialistic peace-advocates all believe absolutely in this world's values; and instead of the fear of the Lord and the fear of the enemy, the only fear they reckon with is the fear of poverty if one be lazy. This weakness pervades all the socialistic literature with which I am acquainted. Even in Lowes Dickinson's exquisite dialogue,* high wages and short hours are the only forces invoked for overcoming man's distaste for repulsive kinds of labor. Meanwhile men at large still live as they always have lived, under a pain-and-fear economy — for those of us who live in an ease-economy are but an island in the stormy ocean — and the whole atmosphere of present-day utopian literature tastes mawkish and dislwatery to people who still keep a sense for life's more bitter flavors. It suggests, in truth, ubiquitous inferiority.

Inferiority is always with us, and merciless scorn of it is the keynote of the military temper. "Dogs, would you live forever?" shouted Frederick the Great. "Yes,"

* "Justice and Liberty," N.Y., 1909.

Essays on Faith and Morals

say our utopians, "let us live forever, and raise our level gradually." The best thing about our 'inferiors' today is that they are as tough as nails, and physically and morally almost as insensitive. Utopianism would see them soft and squeamish, while militarism would keep their callousness, but transfigure it into a meritorious characteristic, needed by 'the service,' and redeemed by that from the suspicion of inferiority. All the qualities of a man acquire dignity when he knows that the service of the collectivity that owns him needs them. If proud of the collectivity, his own pride rises in proportion. No collectivity is like an army for nourishing such pride; but it has to be confessed that the only sentiment which the image of pacific cosmopolitan industrialism is capable of arousing in countless worthy breasts is shame at the idea of belonging to *such* a collectivity. It is obvious that the United States of America as they exist today impress a mind like General Lea's as so much human blubber. Where is the sharpness and precipitousness, the contempt for life, whether one's own, or another's? Where is the savage 'yes' and 'no,' the unconditional duty? Where is the conscription? Where is the blood-tax? Where is anything that one feels honored by belonging to?

Having said thus much in preparation, I will now confess my own utopia. I devoutly believe in the reign of peace and in the gradual advent of some sort of a socialistic equilibrium. The fatalistic view of the war-function is to me nonsense, for I know that war-making is due to definite motives and subject to prudential checks and reasonable criticisms, just like any other form of enterprise. And when whole nations are the armies, and the science of destruction vies in

The Moral Equivalent of War

intellectual refinement with the sciences of production, I see that war becomes absurd and impossible from its own monstrosity. Extravagant ambitions will have to be replaced by reasonable claims, and nations must make common cause against them. I see no reason why all this should not apply to yellow as well as to white countries, and I look forward to a future when acts of war shall be formally outlawed as between civilized peoples.

All these beliefs of mine put me squarely into the anti-militarist party. But I do not believe that peace either ought to be or will be permanent on this globe, unless the states pacifically organized preserve some of the old elements of army-discipline. A permanently successful peace-economy cannot be a simple pleasure-economy. In the more or less socialistic future towards which mankind seems drifting we must still subject ourselves collectively to those severities which answer to our real position upon this only partly hospitable globe. We must make new energies and hardihoods continue the manliness to which the military mind so faithfully clings. Martial virtues must be the enduring cement; intrepidity, contempt of softness, surrender of private interest, obedience to command, must still remain the rock upon which states are built — unless, indeed, we wish for dangerous reactions against commonwealths fit only for contempt, and liable to invite attack whenever a centre of crystallization for military-minded enterprise gets formed anywhere in their neighborhood.

The war-party is assuredly right in affirming and reaffirming that the martial virtues, although originally gained by the race through war, are absolute and permanent human goods. Patriotic pride and

Essays on Faith and Morals

ambition in their military form are, after all, only specifications of a more general competitive passion. They are its first form, but that is no reason for supposing them to be its last form. Men now are proud of belonging to a conquering nation, and without a murmur they lay down their persons and their wealth, if by so doing they may fend off subjection. But who can be sure that *other aspects of one's country* may not, with time and education and suggestion enough, come to be regarded with similarly effective feelings of pride and shame? Why should men not some day feel that it is worth a blood-tax to belong to a collectivity superior in *any* ideal respect? Why should they not blush with indignant shame if the community that owns them is vile in any way whatsoever? Individuals, daily more numerous, now feel this civic passion. It is only a question of blowing on the spark till the whole population gets incandescent, and on the ruins of the old morals of military honor, a stable system of morals of civic honor builds itself up. What the whole community comes to believe in grasps the individual as in a vise. The war-function has grasped us so far; but constructive interests may some day seem no less imperative, and impose on the individual a hardly lighter burden.

Let me illustrate my idea more concretely. There is nothing to make one indignant in the mere fact that life is hard, that men should toil and suffer pain. The planetary conditions once for all are such, and we can stand it. But that so many men, by mere accidents of birth and opportunity, should have a life of *nothing else* but toil and pain and hardness and inferiority imposed upon them, should have *no* vacation, while others natively no more deserving never

The Moral Equivalent of War

get any taste of this campaigning life at all, — *this* is, capable of arousing indignation in reflective minds. It may end by seeming shameful to all of us that some of us have nothing but campaigning, and others nothing but unmanly ease. If now — and this is my idea — there were, instead of military conscription a conscription of the whole youthful population to form for a certain number of years a part of the army enlisted against *Nature*, the injustice would tend to be evened out, and numerous other goods to the commonwealth would follow. The military ideals of hardihood and discipline would be wrought into the growing fibre of the people; no one would remain blind as the luxurious classes now are blind, to man's relations to the globe he lives on, and to the permanently sour and hard foundations of his higher life. To coal and iron mines, to freight trains, to fishing fleets in December, to dishwashing, clothes-washing, and window-washing, to road-building and tunnel-making, to foundries and stoke-holes, and to the frames of skyscrapers, would our gilded youths be drafted off, according to their choice, to get the childishness knocked out of them, and to come back into society with healthier sympathies and soberer ideas. They would have paid their blood-tax, done their own part in the immemorial human warfare against nature; they would tread the earth more proudly, the women would value them more highly, they would be better fathers and teachers of the following generation.

Such a conscription, with the state of public opinion that would have required it, and the many moral fruits it would bear, would preserve in the midst of a pacific civilization the manly virtues which the mili-

Essays on Faith and Morals

tary party is so afraid of seeing disappear in peace. We should get toughness without callousness, authority with as little criminal cruelty as possible, and painful work done cheerily because the duty is temporary, and threatens not, as now, to degrade the whole remainder of one's life. I spoke of the 'moral equivalent' of war. So far, war has been the only force that can discipline a whole community, and until an equivalent discipline is organized, I believe that war must have its way. But I have no serious doubt that the ordinary prides and shames of social man, once developed to a certain intensity, are capable of organizing such a moral equivalent as I have sketched, or some other just as effective for preserving manliness of type. It is but a question of time, of skilful propagandism, and of opinion-making men seizing historic opportunities.

The martial type of character can be bred without war. Strenuous honor and disinterestedness abound elsewhere. Priests and medical men are in a fashion educated to it, and we should all feel some degree of it imperative if we were conscious of our work as an obligatory service to the state. We should be *owned*, as soldiers are by the army, and our pride would rise accordingly. We could be poor, then, without humiliation, as army officers now are. The only thing needed henceforward is to inflame the civic temper as past history has inflamed the military temper. H. G. Wells, as usual, sees the centre of the situation. "In many ways," he says, "military organization is the most peaceful of activities. When the contemporary man steps from the street, of clamorous insincere advertisement, push, adulteration, underselling and intermittent employment into the barrack-yard, he steps on

The Moral Equivalent of War

to a higher social plane, into an atmosphere of service and coöperation and of infinitely more honorable emulations. Here at least men are not flung out of employment to degenerate because there is no immediate work for them to do. They are fed and drilled and trained for better services. Here at least a man is supposed to win promotion by self-forgetfulness and not by self-seeking. And beside the feeble and irregular endowment of research by commercialism, its little short-sighted snatches at profit by innovation and scientific economy, see how remarkable is the steady and rapid development of method and appliances in naval and military affairs! Nothing is more striking than to compare the progress of civil conveniences which has been left almost entirely to the trader, to the progress in military apparatus during the last few decades. The house-appliances of today, for example, are little better than they were fifty years ago. A house of today is still almost as ill-ventilated, badly heated by wasteful fires, clumsily arranged and furnished as the house of 1858. Houses a couple of hundred years old are still satisfactory places of residence, so little have our standards risen. But the rifle or battleship of fifty years ago was beyond all comparison inferior to those we possess; in power, in speed, in convenience alike. No one has a use now for such superannuated things."*

Wells adds† that he thinks that the conceptions of order and discipline, the tradition of service and devotion, of physical fitness, unstinted exertion, and universal responsibility, which universal military duty is now teaching European nations, will remain a per-

* "First and Last Things," 1908, p. 215.

† "First and Last Things," 1908, p. 226.

Essays on Faith and Morals

manent acquisition, when the last ammunition has been used in the fireworks that celebrate the final peace. I believe as he does. It would be simply preposterous if the only force that could work ideals of honor and standards of efficiency into English or American natures should be the fear of being killed by the Germans or Japanese. Great indeed is Fear; but it is not, as our military enthusiasts believe and try to make us believe, the only stimulus known for awakening the higher ranges of men's spiritual energy. The amount of alteration in public opinion which my utopia postulates is vastly less than the difference between the mentality of those black warriors who pursued Stanley's party on the Congo with their cannibal war-cry of "Meat! Meat!" and that of the 'general staff' of any civilized nation. History has seen the latter interval bridged over: the former one can be bridged over much more easily.

VII. Das "American Friends Service Committee" und die Suche der Quäker nach einer Alternative zur Gewalt

JAMIE WALKER

Die Religiöse Gesellschaft der Freunde (Quäker) in den USA bekennt sich seit der Kolonialzeit durch Wort und Tat zum Grundsatz der Gewaltfreiheit. In dem Glauben, daß durch Gewalt keine Probleme gelöst, sondern im Gegenteil durch die Unterdrückung von Liebe, Wahrheit und Freiheit die Probleme nur vermehrt werden, lehnten die Quäker von Anfang an jeglichen Krieg ab. Diese starke, religiös begründete Tradition der Gewaltfreiheit führten sie im 20. Jahrhundert mit der Gründung des "American Friends Service Committee" (AFSC) im Jahre 1917 fort. Inzwischen hat sich das AFSC als eine der ältesten und wichtigsten Friedensorganisationen in den USA etabliert. Durch zahlreiche nationale und internationale Programme wird den Opfern von Krieg und Ungerechtigkeit geholfen. Gleichzeitig wird versucht, den Ursachen von Gewalt auf den Grund zu gehen, um sie abzuschaffen.

Nachdem Mitglieder der Gesellschaft der Freunde, sowohl in der Bewegung gegen die Sklaverei als auch in der Frauenbewegung des 19. Jahrhunderts, eine führende Rolle gespielt hatten, zogen sie sich vorerst weitgehend aus dem öffentlichen Leben zurück. Als zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts zwei Theoretiker der Quäker - Rufus Jones und Henry Cadbury - eine anspruchsvolle Analyse der Ursachen des Krieges versuchten, wandten sich die Freunde erneut mit ihren pazifistischen Ideen nach außen. Dabei wurde die Gewalt nicht mehr primär als eine Sünde betrachtet: neben den moralischen Aspekten der Gewalt hinterfragten sie insbesondere deren soziale und ökonomische Ursachen. Dazu kam der Einfluß von William James' Essay "The Moral Equivalent of War". Darin forderte er 1910 die Pazifisten auf, eine echte gesellschaftliche Alternative zum Krieg zu schaffen, in dem sie sich gemäß der Tugenden der Disziplin, des Dienstes für die Gemeinschaft, der Selbstaufgabe und der Kameradschaft organi-

sieren sollten. Auf diesem Hintergrund trafen sich unmittelbar nach dem Eintritt der USA in den 1. Weltkrieg im April 1917 amerikanische Freunde, um über eine angemessene Reaktion auf das Leiden der Massen in Europa zu diskutieren. Im Einklang mit der traditionellen Haltung der Freunde schrieb Rufus Jones: "The alternative to war is not inactivity and cowardice. It is the irresistible and constructive power of goodwill".¹⁾ In diesem Geist wurde dann das "American Service Committee" gegründet, "to provide a service of love in wartime".²⁾ Innerhalb von einem halben Jahr wurden über 100 Kriegsdienstverweigerer und Freiwillige (Frauen und Männer) ausgebildet und nach Frankreich entsandt, um dort medizinische und andere Hilfsdienste für die Zivilbevölkerung zu leisten.

Nach dem Krieg wurden die Hilfsleistungen für das zerstörte Europa ausgedehnt, wobei die Quäker ihrem Grundsatz der gleichen Achtung aller Menschen - egal ob "Freund" oder "Feind" - treu blieben, indem sie immer unparteilich Hilfe leisteten und auch ihre Position nicht ausnutzten, um Propaganda zu verbreiten. 1920-22 vertraute der damalige Verwalter der US-Auslandshilfe, Herbert Hoover, den amerikanischen Quäkern das Massenernährungsprogramm in Deutschland an und die "Quäkerspeisung" kam Millionen Menschen zugute.

In den USA wurde von AFSC ein "social order committee" ins Leben gerufen, mit der Aufgabe, verschiedene nationale Probleme zu analysieren und nach Alternativen zu suchen. Die Arbeitsgruppen befaßten sich mit Themen wie Arbeitsplatzbedingungen, den Ursachen der Armut, der Demokratisierung der Industrie, der Verteilung des Reichtums und den traditionellen Quäker-Werten vom schlichten Leben. Durch ihre Beschäftigung mit diesen Problemen und durch ihre Erfahrungen während des Krieges wuchs das soziale und politische Bewußtsein der amerikanischen Quäker. 1924 wurde das AFSC in eine Dauerorganisation neu organisiert mit vier Abteilungen: Auslandsdienst, Inlandsdienst, Arbeit mit ethnischen Minderheiten und Friedensarbeit.

In den nächsten Jahren breitete AFSC seine Aktivitäten auf mehrere Teile der Welt aus, u.a. die UdSSR und China. In den USA wurden während der Depression streikende Minenarbeiter in den Appalachen unterstützt, sowie Handwerkskooperativen und Pachtfarmen unter den ärmsten Teilen der Bevölkerung organisiert. Bei solchen Projekten arbeiteten die Quäker z.T. mit den anderen traditionellen Friedenskirchen - Mennoniten und Brethren - zusammen.

In den 30er Jahren regte AFSC die "Institutes of International Relations" sowie durch Workcamps, Friedens-trecks und Literatur eine öffentliche Diskussion über internationale Themen an, woraus z.T. Aktionen entstanden. Zwischen 1926 und 1941 zogen Studenten mit "Peace Caravans" durch ländliche Teile des Mittelwestens. Sie verteilten Flugblätter zum Thema Frieden und sprachen mit kirchlichen und anderen interessierten Gruppen, um eine breite Unterstützung für die Friedensbewegung zu gewinnen. 1936 nahm AFSC an der "Emergency Peace Campaign" aktiv teil, ein letzter Versuch, den 2. Weltkrieg noch zu verhindern.

In Europa hatte AFSC zusammen mit seiner englischen Schwesterorganisation "Friends Services Council" nach dem 1. Weltkrieg in verschiedenen Städten Quäker-Zentren eröffnet, die die Verständigung zwischen den Völkern und zwischen den unterschiedlichen Gruppierungen innerhalb der Gesellschaften fördern sollten. So engagierten sich z.B. englische und amerikanische Quäker in Paris in der Gefangenenarbeit, in Wien arbeiteten sie mit Flüchtlingen, in Nürnberg mit Studenten und in Warschau mit Handwerkern. 1922 wurde das "Geneva Friends Center" eröffnet, um die Entwicklung des Völkerbundes und später der UNO zu unterstützen.

Nachdem die wichtigsten Probleme der Kriegsoffer und Flüchtlinge in den ersten Nachkriegsjahren gelöst worden waren, gingen die Quäker dazu über, an der Verhinderung weiterer Kriege, die möglicherweise durch die verschobenen

Grenzen ausgelöst werden könnten, mitzuwirken. Die Zentren in Warschau und Berlin arbeiteten auf das Ziel einer besseren Verständigung zwischen Polen und Deutschen hin. Sie veranstalteten Konferenzen mit Teilnehmern aus beiden Ländern, die die Diskussion über die Probleme der deutschen Minderheiten in Polen weiterführen sollten. Weiterhin setzten sich die Quäker-Mitarbeiter für die Rechte unterdrückter Minderheiten ein, z.B. für die Einwohner der Ruhr unter der französischen Okkupation von 1923, die Österreicher in Südtirol unter italienischer Herrschaft und für deutsche politische Gefangene in Memel unter der litauischen Regierung. Wegen ihres allgemein guten Ansehens, ihrer Integrität und Unparteilichkeit, das weitgehend durch die Hilfsleistungen verdient worden war, gelang es den Quäkern in mehreren Fällen, von Regierungsvertretern als Gesprächspartner akzeptiert zu werden.

Nach der Machtübernahme der Nazis in Deutschland 1933 halfen die Quäker Juden und anderen Verfolgten in die Immigration. Als Reaktion auf die Reichskristallnacht schickten die amerikanischen Freunde eine Delegation nach Deutschland, um mit höheren Offizieren der Gestapo über weitere Immigrationen zu verhandeln. Es braucht nicht gesagt zu werden, daß diese Mission nur zum Teil Erfolg erzielte.

Während des 2. Weltkrieges übernahm AFSC die Verwaltung von 20 "Civilian Public Service" (CPS) Camps und 30 kleineren Einheiten, in denen 3.400 Kriegsdienstverweigerer einen Ersatzdienst leisten konnten. AFSC arbeitete im "National Service Board for Religious Objectors" mit anderen religiösen und nicht-religiösen pazifistischen Organisationen zusammen, um die Arbeit der Verweigerer zu koordinieren. Außerdem leistete AFSC materielle und ideelle Unterstützung für Japano-Amerikaner, die an der Westküste in Camps zwangsumgesiedelt wurden. Im Laufe des spanischen Bürgerkrieges 1936-38 wurden Zivilisten auf beiden Seiten des Konflikts unterstützt. In anderen

Teilen Europas arbeiteten AFSC-Freiwillige mit Gefangenen und Flüchtlingen. Nach dem Krieg 1945 schickten die englischen und amerikanischen Quäker Hilfsgüter im Wert von insgesamt \$ 7 Millionen nach Europa und Japan. Als Anerkennung für ihre Versöhnungsarbeit - "silent help from the nameless to the nameless" -³⁾ wurde 1947 der Nobelfriedenspreis an das American Friends Service Committee und das Friends Service Council zusammen verliehen.

In den späteren Nachkriegsjahren verlagerte sich die Arbeit von AFSC von Hilfsleistungen auf die konkrete politische Friedensarbeit, also auf den Versuch, weitere Kriege zu verhindern. Das Komitee sprach sich eindeutig für eine einseitige Abrüstung aus und erweiterte seine Programme auf den Bereich der Friedenserziehung, um die internationale Diskussion über die Probleme des Friedens und der Gerechtigkeit zu fördern. Eine Möglichkeit, die Politik so effektiv wie möglich in ihrem Sinne zu beeinflussen, war für die amerikanischen Quäker die Veranstaltung von Workcamps, Seminaren und Konferenzen für Studenten, Wissenschaftler und Diplomaten.

Zwischen 1947 und 1961 nahmen an zahlreichen "International Student Seminars" (die später auf Journalisten, Pädagogen, Sozialarbeiter, Landplaner und Regierungsbeamte ausgedehnt wurden) in den USA, Europa, Asien und Afrika ca. 3.500 Teilnehmer aus 110 Ländern teil. Der Zweck der Seminare war die Förderung des Verständnisses für die Probleme der verschiedenen Völker der Welt. Die Leiter führten ihr Vorhaben auf ein Zitat von der UNESCO-Charta zurück: "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed."⁴⁾ Von 1952 bis 1973 fanden in Washington regelmäßige Treffen, "Washington International Affairs Seminars" genannt, statt. Diese Seminare boten die Möglichkeit für Vertreter aus Wissenschaft und Regierung, sowie Journalisten und ausländische Diplomaten, in einer informellen und offenen Atmosphäre über die Außenpolitik der USA und ihr Verhältnis zu den anderen Staaten der Welt zu diskutieren. Inspiriert wurden die Seminare ur-

sprünglich von einer Konferenz von Geisteswissenschaftlern aus verschiedenen Disziplinen, die sich 1950 und 1951 in Pennsylvania trafen. Die Wissenschaftler waren alle in der Konfliktforschung tätig und wollten darüber nachdenken, welche Konsequenzen sich aus ihren Forschungsergebnissen für internationale Beziehungen und besonders für die Außenpolitik ihres Landes ergaben. In einem Schlußwort, unter dem Titel "As the Social Scientist Sees It" veröffentlicht, stellten sie fest:

"Our view holds that war settles only the question of who will dominate whom. War never decides which values are best: It is an outmoded and increasingly futile device for seeking a resolution of human conflicts. The fact that most men deplore war and hope to discover means for abolishing it, is one of the scanty blessings of our times. We believe that if basic principles of social science are applied to national and international relations war can be eliminated ...

The United States is in a position to make obsolete the traditional conception of diplomacy as a procedure whereby one nation seeks to outwit and outbargain an opponent for the purpose of selfish gain. Power is historically the concern of all politics. The time has come to revise this conception - within the nation and between nations - so that the values of understanding, accommodation, and charity become the leading objectives of politics."⁵⁾

Eine umfassende Auswertung der darauffolgenden Seminare fand nicht statt, aber über die Jahre hinweg nahmen viele namhafte Wissenschaftler daran teil, was den Quäkern weitere Anerkennung für ihre Friedensbemühungen einbrachte.

Auf den "Conferences for Diplomats", die seit 1952 stattfinden, erhalten insbesondere junge Diplomaten die Gelegenheit, über das allgemeine Thema "Nationales Interesse und internationale Verantwortung" zu diskutieren. Die Seminare finden mittlerweile nicht nur in Europa, sondern auch in Südasien und in Japan statt und ermöglichen Begegnungen zwischen Teilnehmern aus kapitalistischen, sozialistischen und blockfreien Staaten. Ihr Wert liegt u.a. darin, daß die Staatsbediensteten sich ohne den Druck der Öffentlichkeit offen auseinandersetzen können. Außerdem wird der

kommunikative Aspekt dieser Treffen hoch eingeschätzt.

1948 wurde das "Quäker United Nations Office" auf Anregung des "Friends World Committee for Consultation" gegründet und von der UNO als Organisation mit Beratungsfunktion anerkannt. Aufgrund der besseren Finanzierungsfunktion und Verwaltungsmöglichkeiten übernahm AFSC die Hauptverantwortung für die tägliche Arbeit des Büros. Wie viele der Quäker-Zentren etablierte sich das Haus als ein "living center" für AFSC-Mitarbeiter und als Treffpunkt für UNO-Vertreter aus verschiedenen Ländern. Hier können sich die Entsandten zurückziehen, das Gespräch in einer informellen Atmosphäre miteinander suchen und ihr Wissen an interessierte Bürger weitergeben. Das Programm existiert heute noch und konzentriert sich u.a. auf die Interessen und Rechte der 3. Welt.

Eine weitere Aufgabe, der sich die britischen und amerikanischen Quäker widmen, ist die direkte Vermittlung zwischen verfeindeten und/oder sich bekämpfenden Parteien in Krisengebieten. Diese Arbeit wird seit 1952 von "Quäker International Affairs Representatives" (QIARs) ausgeführt. Die Vertreter arbeiten unabhängig von den lokalen Quäker-Zentren und Jahresversammlungen und sind ausschließlich AFSC und dem britischen Friends Service Council gegenüber verantwortlich. Der Erfolg ihrer Arbeit basiert auf der Fähigkeit, das Vertrauen von Regierungs- und anderen Volksvertretern zu gewinnen. Weiterhin ist dafür ein Ausschluß der Öffentlichkeit unbedingt erforderlich. Ziele und Methoden dieser Form der Konfliktaustragung beschrieb David McClelland, ein Berater des Programms, wie folgt:

"The basic assumption is that, especially when tensions are high, people tend to believe about their opponents what fear leads them to believe, especially when their fear and anger prevents them from finding out the facts about what their opponents are thinking."⁶⁾

Vorläufer der QIARs leisteten in den 40er Jahren "conciliation work" zwischen Indien und Großbritannien und zwischen Arabern und Israelis (auf Anfrage der UNO ver-

walteten die Quäker außerdem Flüchtlingslager auf dem Gaza-Streifen nach dem arabisch-israelischen Krieg 1948). In Paris schaltete sich 1952-53 ein QIAR in den Konflikt zwischen französischen Kolonialoffizieren und marokkanischen Nationalisten ein. Von 1962 bis 1973 arbeiteten Quäker-Vertreter in Ost- und West-Berlin, um durch direkte Vermittlung die Entwicklung der Entspannungspolitik auf beiden Seiten der Mauer zu unterstützen.⁷⁾ Sowohl ihre pazifistische Position als auch ihre Glaubwürdigkeit als unparteiliche humanitäre Helfer, ermöglichen es den Quäkern, auf diese Art und Weise zur Lösung einiger Konflikte beizutragen.

Zwischen 1949 und 1955 veröffentlichte AFSC eine Serie von Broschüren, in denen die Außenpolitik der USA und die Ursachen des Kalten Krieges analysiert und Alternativen aufgezeigt wurden. Die letzte Schrift dieser Reihe, "Speak Truth to Power" (1955), stellt den weitestgehenden Versuch dar, auf die positiven Voraussetzungen für den Frieden aufmerksam zu machen, nämlich: die Abschaffung des Welthungers, ein Ende des Kolonialismus, die Entwicklung einer Weltorganisation und die einseitige Abrüstung. Des Weiteren greift AFSC das blinde Vertrauen in organisierte Massengewalt an, weil es ein verhinderndes Element für eine positive Entwicklung darstellt.

In den USA arbeiteten AFSC-Mitglieder nach dem Krieg in Indianerreservaten, in latino-amerikanischen Gemeinden, auf dem Gebiet der Rassenverständigung und an der Entwicklung von ländlichen Gemeinden. Die Quäker warnten schon früh vor einem militärischen Engagement in Südostasien. Während des Vietnam-Krieges demonstrierten Mitarbeiter von AFSC öffentlich gegen den Krieg, boten Beratung für Wehrpflichtige und Kriegsdienstverweigerer an und nahmen an zahlreichen direkten Aktionen teil. Sie führten Friedensseminare durch, forschten auf dem Gebiet des militärisch-industriellen Komplexes und initiierten Programme zu folgenden Themen: Probleme des Nahen Ostens, US-Engagement in Ländern der 3. Welt, Abrüstung und Rüstungskonver-

sion und die Einschränkung der Bürgerrechte in den USA.

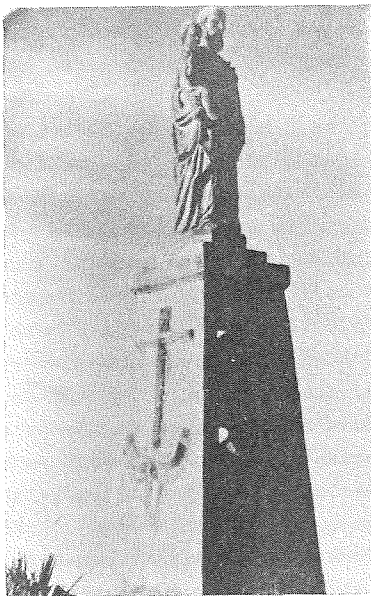
Heute unterhält AFSC ein Nationalbüro in Philadelphia und weitere 10 Regionalbüros in den USA, von denen aus mehr als 40 Einzelprojekte auf den Gebieten Dienst, Entwicklung, Frieden und Gerechtigkeit geleitet werden. In allen anderen Kontinenten werden weitere 19 Programme unterstützt. AFSC ist als gemeinnützige Körperschaft organisiert und führt seine Arbeit im Auftrag von 20 Jahresversammlungen der Quäker aus, die jeweils an verschiedenen Orten und dezentral stattfinden. AFSC selbst besteht aus 160 Mitgliedern. Ein Direktorium entscheidet über Verfahrensweise, Programme und Verwaltung. Angestellt sind weltweit über 400 Männer und Frauen, und die Arbeit wird von einigen hundert Freiwilligen unterstützt. Geldgeber sind mehrere Tausend Menschen, Angehörige der "Freunde" und anderer Religionsgemeinschaften oder Konfessionslose.

Das verbindende Element aller Einzelprojekte von AFSC ist der Quäker-Glaube an das Göttliche ("inner light") in jedem Menschen. Ihre Glaubwürdigkeit und internationale Anerkennung haben die Quäker aufgrund ihrer langen pazifistischen Tradition erworben, in der sie nicht nur durch Worte, sondern auch - und vor allem - durch konkrete Aktionen diesen Glauben umsetzten. Die amerikanischen Quäker, zusammengeschlossen im AFSC, unterscheiden nicht zwischen Verbündeten und Verfeindeten, wenn es um humanitäre Hilfe geht. Sie versäumen es aber auch nicht, die sozialen und ökonomischen Ungerechtigkeiten aufzuzeigen, die überhaupt erst zu Kriegen, Unterdrückung und anderen Gewaltverhältnissen führen. AFSC-Mitarbeiter sehen heute ihre Hauptaufgabe in der Vermittlerrolle. Sie suchen miteinander kämpfende Gruppierungen - seien es ethnische Minderheiten oder Nationen - auf und versuchen, Spannungen und Mißverständnisse abzubauen, um damit eine Versöhnung auf der Basis der Gleichberechtigung herbeizuführen. Sie arbeiten sowohl an der Beseitigung der Symptome als auch an der Beseitigung der Ursachen von Krieg, Not und Gewalt. Damit arbeiten sie auf den Tag hin, an dem solche Hilfelei-

stungen überflüssig werden. Schließlich ist es ihr starker Glaube an die Macht der Liebe, der es den Quäkern seit über 300 Jahren ermöglicht, immer wieder die aktuellen Herausforderungen des Tages anzunehmen, selbst wenn ihre Taten keinen unmittelbar sichtbaren Erfolg aufweisen. Es geht ihnen in erster Linie darum, ein wirksames persönliches Friedenszeugnis abzulegen.

Anmerkungen

- 1) Robert Cooney/Helen Michalowski (Hrsg.): The Power of the People - Active Nonviolence in the United States, Culver City 1977, S. 130.
- 2) Ebd., S. 130.
- 3) Introduction to the American Friends Service Committee, Druckschrift des AFSC-Nationalbüros, Philadelphia.
- 4) C.H. Mike Yarrow: Quaker Experience in International Conciliation, New Haven 1978, S. 35.
- 5) Ebd., S. 38.
- 6) Ebd., S. 48.
- 7) Für weitere Beispiele siehe Yarrow, Kap. 3 und 4.



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SPEAK TRUTH TO POWER

DOCUMENT 18

*A Quaker Search for an Alternative
to Violence*

*

A STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT
PREPARED FOR THE
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

*"For perhaps the first time in history
reflective men have had to grapple with the
pacifists' question: Can national interests and
human values really be served by waging a
war with atomic and hydrogen weapons?"*

—The New York Times column of non-pacifist James Reston,
director of the Times Washington Bureau.

I

FACING THE PARADOX

*"An endless pressing, pressing, pressing on the nerve of power . . . if you want a picture of the future, imagine a boot stamping on a human face—forever."*¹

—GEORGE ORWELL

*" . . . our age will be remembered chiefly neither for its horrifying crimes nor for its astonishing inventions but for its having been the first age . . . in which people dared to think it practicable to make the benefits of civilization available for the whole human race."*²

—ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE

The World Scene

We are all engaged in the fulfillment of prophecy. Little less than a century ago the Swiss historian, Jacob Burckhardt, prophesied the coming of a new order of barbarians whom he called the Terrible Simplifiers, who would govern Western society by applications of force and terror on a scale no one had ever used before. And just after the opening of this century, Henry Adams, observing the same social factors at a later stage of development, predicted that in less than half a century "law would disappear as a theory or a *priori* principle and give place to force; morality would become police; explosives would reach cosmic violence; disintegration would overcome integration."³

But the worlds of Burckhardt and Adams, swept up in a blind confidence in material progress, ignored their warnings. We had but to conquer nature, and the Golden Age would be upon us. Now we have succeeded. Man has in large measure mastered the instruments of physical power. He has probed the secrets of the atom. He knows how to manipulate money and markets, machines, and other men to his own advantage. He can fly in the air and sail under the sea. But he has not yet learned how to walk on the earth in peace. Far from giving him mastery over his world, man's triumph

has apparently brought with it only the fulfillment of terrifying prophecy.

More men tremble under the shadow of cosmic violence than ever before. Coercive systems or military demands are, in fact, driving states to replace morality with police. Explosives have become totally destructive. Acceptance of the doctrine of violence is so widespread that man is becoming hardened to mass extermination, and indifferent to mass human suffering. Indeed, man's indifference to violence is almost as disturbing a symptom of our time as his readiness to practice it. This is an age of violence.

It is also an age in which individual personality is being crushed by the spread of totalitarian doctrines. The growth of centralized authority, whether it stems from ideological concepts, from military necessity, or simply from the complexity of industrialized life, is producing a depersonalized society in which men are pressed into a common mold and made to conform to accepted standards of thought and behavior. The noble concept of the supremacy of the individual, so deeply rooted in the Judaeo-Christian tradition, is rapidly losing ground to various forms of totalitarianism. Centralized authority, rather than individual conscience, is the dominant force in large segments of East and West alike.

But this is also an age of revolution. Never before has the door to abundant life, in the physical sense of the word, been so near to opening. We now have the means to supply food, clothing, shelter, health and education to all mankind on a scale never before dreamed. We could abolish at least the more degrading forms of poverty. Moreover, the larger and less privileged portion of the human family now *knows* that this is possible. Such knowledge gives fresh impetus everywhere to man's eternal aspiration for recognition and human dignity. This, in itself, is a new situation and lies at the root of the revolution of the common man.

But the great industrialized nations who are keepers of the door to abundance do not open it; indeed, they even resist its opening. Why? Because they concentrate on satisfying their own desires; and so, on the very threshold of liberation from want and of emergence into freedom, millions of people tremble under the shadow of power struggles between nation states armed with the weapons of cosmic violence. The new technology has been perverted to the deification of the state at the expense of the individual, and for the millions there is neither bread nor freedom.

Whether we will or not, we are all involved. To the United States the central issue appears to be the struggle against coercive communism; yet there exists the paradox that men who long for freedom are willing to accept so easily the doctrines of political totalitarianism. The truth is that the real paradox inherent in our age is more deeply rooted and more widely spread, for it grows out of the very mastery of the instruments of power that man so confidently sought. Poverty and wealth, hunger and food, insecurity and power, bondage and freedom, war and peace—these are the real paradoxes that bewilder men in the middle of the Twentieth Century. Still, hope remains inherent in change. Man was born for freedom, and he struggles in constant conflict with himself to understand and escape the paradoxes that confuse him.

The Response of the United States

Violence, totalitarianism, and social revolution—these are the salient characteristics of our world. They must be dealt with, not only by governments which represent, more or less well, the collective will of geographical groups of individuals, but also by individual men in ordering their own lives and their own governments. One of the most profound problems that man must face arises from the conflict between his individual response to his world environment and the political response of the group of which he is a part. As Americans, we are both individual children of God with deep commitments to the supremacy of conscience, and citizens of a nation that plays a major role in shaping and meeting the issues that surround us. We are the state, but we are also free men. How can we contribute to the solution of the key problems of our day: the peaceful resolution of conflict, the liberation of the human spirit, and the conquest of physical poverty? This is the question with which this study deals. It begins by summarizing the policies this country has actually followed in the years since the war and assessing their results.

During the latter part of World War II large numbers of Americans shared the widespread hope that an era of lasting peace could arise out of the final defeat of fascism. American planning for the post-war period reflected this idealism, and for perhaps the first time in history, government leaders weighed seriously the requirements of peace in global terms. Traditional great power preoccupation with

national self-interest was tempered by altruism. The United Nations was born in San Francisco, and plans were laid for a world-wide and internationally administered program of relief and rehabilitation. Hopes were high that the war-time partnership of great powers could be carried over into the post-war era.

Unfortunately, these hopes were not realized. The melancholy history of twenty years of pre-war hostility had produced in both Russia and the West mutual suspicions too profound to be broken down by an uneasy war-time alliance. As far as the United States was concerned, national interest required that we balance altruism with a military policy designed to safeguard the nation and protect American property, American standards of living, American privileges, and American ideas. Naval and air power was maintained and atomic weapons development pursued with undiminished vigor so that even before the so-called "cold war" began, the military budget of the United States never fell below ten billion dollars. In charting this course American motivation was clearly selfish in part, but it also was generous in part, for we count ourselves trustees and guardians of man's noblest concept of social organization. Moreover, in so far as possible we have tried to achieve our aims without either interfering in the affairs of other nations or rousing their antagonism; but those have been secondary considerations to be sacrificed when national interest seemed to dictate.

This policy quickly brought us into conflict with the Soviet Union. It, too, was projecting a policy based upon the same powerful combination of self-interest and devotion to a social philosophy; and in addition, its policy was marked by the fanaticism and aggressiveness that often accompany newly won power seeking to make itself felt. Thus it was all but inevitable that these two dynamic power centers should clash, when both existed in a world made one by the discoveries of science and rendered explosively unstable by social revolutions of continental proportions. Almost immediately after World War II, therefore, the conflict of interest between the United States and the Soviet Union took the center of the world stage.

The American people, led by their government, came rapidly to see in this new colossus the ultimate threat to both their existence and their democratic philosophy. Soviet leadership, fanatically devoted to communist doctrines and wielding its power through propaganda and armed force, seemed determined to spread its philosophy and its control through all the world. For the United States

to resist this new aggressor, our leaders insisted that it was necessary to build up military power sufficient to deter the Soviet Union from further expansion. Thus driven by the spectre of communist imperialism, American policy makers came early to focus their attention on military alliances, on establishing control over strategic areas, expanding our network of military bases, searching for new and more powerful weapons and exploiting every other means to secure the national interest and safety.

As for the Soviet Union, it obviously harbored from the beginning even deeper suspicions of the United States because, in its case, historical experience was backed up by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of capitalist aggression. The Soviet Union emerged from the war still distrustful of the West, still confident of its world mission, and now vested with new power and new prestige. It apparently determined to exploit its new position through a dynamic foreign policy designed to advance Soviet interests at every point. In any event, the facts are clear. The Soviet Union continued to maintain its army at an inflated level. It announced a series of three five-year plans that focused strongly on heavy industry and arms production. It interfered in the affairs of neighboring states to insure the establishment and maintenance in power of governments friendly to its point of view. In short, it exploited every possible means to secure *its* national interest and safety.

In this situation there is little to be gained by determining which nation displayed the first ill will. Much more important is the fact that hostility has bred hostility until the clash between the two giants has come to dominate the international scene. Military security, rather than concern for the world's ills, has become the principal factor in the planning and execution of our national policy, and its demands have produced ever more stringent measures to counter the moves of the Soviet Union. Military aid to Greece and Turkey was proposed in 1947 shortly before the formal enunciation of the containment plan, which became the cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy. The idealistic economic program associated with the name of Secretary Marshall was unfortunately advanced almost simultaneously with the policy to contain the Soviet state and communism by force. Thus it foundered on the rock of mounting hostility, and gradually was subverted into a powerful weapon in the cold war. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization followed in 1949, the Korean war and U.S. rearmament in 1950, the South Pacific Pact (ANZUS) in 1952,

proposals to rearm Germany and Japan in 1953, announcement of the hydrogen bomb and massive retaliation in 1954, and even in 1955 there are few promising signs of any end to the hostility.

Recognized Inadequacy of the Response

This situation has troubled many who sense that a policy oriented predominantly around the military containment of a single rival cannot deal adequately with global problems. Is it possible with this concentration of material power, they ask, to take sufficient notice of the underlying ways through which ideas are spread and influence exerted? How can this American response meet the needs of Asians, whose great social revolutions are now treated in terms of their strategic relationship to the cold war? How can we speak to the world-wide longing for the liberation of the human spirit, when our own spirits are infected with fear? When we arm ourselves, are we not also provoking others to arm, and has not this process in the past ended in war? What reason do we have for believing it will be different this time? Is it possible for us to wield such power without ourselves becoming corrupted by it and falling victim to the same evils we deplore in others?

These are profound and disturbing questions—profound because of their far-reaching implications and disturbing because we believe the answer in each case must be, on the basis of the evidence, other than what we might hope. It should be clear that in reaching this judgment we are aware of other more positive aspects of American policy that are aimed directly at meeting underlying problems and building understanding among peoples. But these other measures have had less attention and less emphasis than that which has been given to military preparedness. It is the latter which has come to dominate American policy formation, and because most men make their judgments only on what is most obvious, it is our military policy that is the basis for much of the world's judgment of the United States. This is the impact we want to examine, and without at this point questioning the necessity for the policies themselves, we suggest that the following are facts that need to be recognized:

1. *The influence of the Soviet Union, and the appeal of its communist doctrines, have grown steadily since the end of World War II. While there has been some holding back of the tide, notably in Iran, Greece, and Latin America, the world balance is clearly in the other*

direction. United States military policy did not keep China from falling into the hands of the communists. The influence of the communist parties in Italy and France continues strong, and conditions favoring the growth of communism in Latin America and Africa remain unchanged. In Southeast Asia communist influence has increased steadily, despite American arms and a developing bulwark of military alliances. Most tragic of all is the example of Korea where the climate of cold war first erupted into bloody violence. Here, after disastrous attempts by both sides to reunite Korea by military force, all that is left is a devastated nation, more bitterly divided than ever, and at least as far from democracy and freedom as it was in 1945.

Moreover, the way we have responded has led to a weakening of our own position in the world. American prestige abroad has declined seriously, and we have lost much of the good will that was formerly ours. Our preoccupation with anti-communism, our insistence on dealing from military power, our determination to rearm the very nations that millions fought and died to disarm, our hydrogen bomb experiments—these have not cemented our relations even with those nations whom we call allies. Thus, at the very time when we are confronted with the fact of communist expansion, we find ourselves with fewer friends.

Many thoughtful men insist that Soviet expansion has at least been deterred by the weight of American power. A case can indeed be built to support such a thesis by pointing to isolated fronts at given moments of time, but we believe the world-wide scene is still one of growing communist influence. Moreover, the history of attempts to keep peace by amassing fearful weapons has not been encouraging. Their deterrent value has been real, but it has been temporary, for sooner or later resentment and anger have outstripped fear, and war has broken out. It may be that the ultimate horror of atomic weapons will prevent history from repeating itself, but no such outcome can be assured, and we feel little confidence in any policy that rests on such an uncertain hope.

2. *Our policy has confirmed Marxist doctrine and hardened attitudes within communist countries.* Suspicion of the capitalist world is inherent in communist doctrine, and it would undoubtedly have existed in great measure in Soviet Russia and China regardless of external developments. Unfortunately, our American response to the

world situation has tended more and more to give them material for the confirmation of their attitudes. Repression and absolute authority are made easier to institute and maintain when a dictator can point to a hostile outside world. Encirclement, inflammatory speeches and maneuvers may be necessary aspects of military preparedness, but they serve to harden the attitudes and fortify the tyrannies of dictators.

3. *The principles for which the United States stands have been seriously undermined at home and abroad.* Since 1945 there has been a steady erosion of the values that were formerly considered the very foundation stones of American democracy. Proceeding from the false assumption that whatever is anti-communist is therefore democratic, many Americans have supported or acquiesced in measures that have generally been considered central characteristics of totalitarianism: spying on fellow citizens; anonymous denunciations; restrictions on freedom of movement, speech, and press; prosecution for beliefs rather than acts; the reversal of the traditional presumption of innocence until proof of guilt; the gradual militarization of our minds and our society; and the growing confusion of our thought and language until we no longer feel any astonishment at the use of a phrase like "the free world" to include all nations, however dictatorial, and colonies, however exploited, that are not under Soviet control.

Moreover, this impact on democratic values at home has led to a weakened respect for democratic values abroad. When a great democracy cynically enters into alliances with totalitarian governments, when it supports openly a corrupt *status quo*, or when it displays a thinly disguised contempt for those who resist taking sides, the result is to undermine confidence in the philosophy that permits these things to happen. We believe that anti-communist hysteria, whether reflected in foreign policy or in domestic policy, is exacting a heavy toll on the standing of American democracy at home and abroad.

4. *Far from making us more secure, our policy is increasing the insecurity of the United States and of the rest of the world.* Military weapons have been developed to the point of such absolute power that the entire world is now approaching absolute insecurity. Even before the advent of the hydrogen bomb, some military experts had reached the conclusion that progress in the development of super-weapons made war no longer a feasible instrument of national policy.

The production of the hydrogen bomb, which makes it clear that man has within his hands the power to destroy all life on our planet, marks the end of a road. The nuclear physicist has now written, in letters so large that none can fail to read them, the Twentieth Century corroboration of Jesus' assurance that all who take the sword will perish by the sword. It has been truly said that as our strength approaches infinity, our security approaches zero. The H-bomb gives us, not power to secure ourselves, but only the power to destroy the world.

5. *Our moral standards have been debased.* Here we come to a final and most terrifying result of the use of military power as our chief instrument of international policy. Though it is as yet hardly perceived, it is the spiritual price that man pays for his willingness to resort to violence that is its most tragic aspect. We ask our fellow citizens to consider what has happened to the soul of America in less than two decades.

In 1936 the Italians bombed the Abyssinians, and a sense of shock swept over an America outraged by such barbarism. In 1940 came the Nazi bombardment of Rotterdam, and again we cried out against wanton destruction and the needless loss of Dutch lives. But this was war in which our own interests and later our own men were involved, and somewhere in between the attack on Rotterdam and the utterly unjustifiable destruction of Dresden four years later, we experienced the ultimate horror that there was no horror. Dresden perished almost unnoticed, and we were ready for Hiroshima. Today our strategists suggest that, under our policy of massive and instant retaliation, it may be necessary to loose our atomic arsenal on China, and few voices cry out in the moral wilderness. We pride ourselves on our Judaeo-Christian heritage, and all that it represents in moral and spiritual achievement, yet one must go far back into the history of man's search for truth in the Book of Genesis to find in the story of Lamech the counterpart of the doctrine of massive retaliation. Have we really advanced so little in these countless centuries of search?

Nor is cheapening of life the only price. Moral values everywhere have been debased by the strategies of national interest. In 1953, needing an election victory in Germany and a propaganda victory in the cold war, the United States government invited hungry East Germans to cross the border into West Berlin to receive free American food in a well publicized and well conducted distribution

that lasted until the elections were safely over and won. In connection with this operation, the words of Dean Grueber from the pulpit of the Berlin Cathedral should be carefully pondered by all Americans: "Verily, when the members of the church help each other it is like the miracle of the loaves and fishes. . . . But when a charitable project is undertaken without the true spirit of love, the blessing turns into a curse. . . . We absolutely refuse to cooperate with those persons or powers who use works of charity to disguise their political and propaganda warfare."⁴

We find other sobering examples in the American offer to pay \$100,000 for the delivery into our hands of a Russian jet plane, and in our cool decision not to allow Chinese students to return to their homes and families on grounds that their talents might be exploited to the ultimate detriment of the United States. What is happening to our whole standard of values? It is true that money will buy the allegiance of some men, just as food will buy that of others, and atomic power that of still others, but none will purchase their respect, which is beyond price. America must take care, lest its growing insensitivity to suffering and its faith in dollars and explosives rob it of its moral strength. This is what resort to violence must eventually do to a people, whether in the name of fascism, nazism, communism, or democracy. This is what militarization is doing to America.

Positive Alternatives

While not everyone assesses the results of present policy in the sharp terms that we do, we believe there is no longer any doubt in the minds of concerned men that the American response to its world responsibility in the years since 1945 has been inadequate. Our leaders have stated time and again that the real hope of peace lies in disarmament, in developing world organization, in fundamental attacks on poverty. President Truman lifted the hopes of the world in his 1949 inaugural address with the "bold new program" that became known as Point Four. President Eisenhower followed with his celebrated disarmament speech before the American Society of Newspaper Editors and his atoms for peace address at the U. N. The note struck in these presidential utterances has been warmly echoed by the American people. Resolutions on the positive requirements of peace have poured in a steady stream from church conferences, labor and farm conventions, academic associations, women's clubs, civic and

veterans' groups, and from many other points where concerned Americans assemble.

The almost forgotten art of pamphleteering has been revived in the serious effort to assert ideas and put forth constructive suggestions as to how our country could more adequately meet the responsibilities with which it is confronted. This Committee itself has issued three such pamphlets—analyzing problems of world order and suggesting approaches to peace. One of the striking factors about all this concern and effort is the relatively high degree of agreement among these diverse groups as to what should be done.

In the first place, almost all of them suggest the need for an expanded program of economic assistance to help underdeveloped countries help themselves. We know that peace ultimately depends on raising the level of life of sick and hungry millions, and many point out that beyond the desire for peace lies the responsibility to minister to those in need. Proposals for technical assistance or economic aid are often linked with suggestions regarding free trade and capital development, but in any event, there is wide agreement that the United States could make an important contribution to peace by more vigorous support of programs of an economic nature aimed at raising world living standards.

A second series of proposals focuses on the need to renounce colonialism. Exploitation and white domination of Asian and African peoples must be finally eliminated if peace is to emerge and national aspirations are to find their legitimate fulfillment. Suggestions in this general area have found particularly strong support because the United States has always been relatively free of colonial involvements abroad, and is making notable progress in eliminating its own internal colonialism, in the growing emancipation of the Negro.

A third series of proposals relates to the general field of disarmament. These range all the way from suggestions endorsing simple standstill agreements to elaborate plans detailing the steps, the safeguards, and the timetable of a universal disarmament program. Others deal with specialized problems of atomic arms control or with suggestions for breaking the immediate deadlock in great power discussions of the problem. All urge renewed efforts to achieve progress, and nearly all envisage as the goal a complete, enforceable

and universal disarmament down to the level necessary for the maintenance of internal policing.

A fourth series relates to the United Nations and the growth of world government. There is wide agreement that the U.N. needs to be "strengthened" to become a more effective world organization. Some propose that this will require revision of the Charter in the direction of real world government, others that the U.N. must be made into an agency for collective military action, and still others that the best hope lies in its operating agencies and in developing its functions of peacemaking and mediation. The various proposals all serve to emphasize the wide recognition given the United Nations as the best organizational instrument we have, and one which somehow has been too little considered in the rapid pace of world developments.

These are among the main threads that run through the proposals for peace that have been made in recent years. However, suggestions of other kinds are legion. Studies of mediation problems, critiques of post-war negotiation, proposals for creating a united, independent, and neutral Germany and for aiding in the economic rehabilitation of Japan, suggestions for the building of a United Europe—all these have been brought forward through the period.

Our Failure to Act Constructively

Americans have not been lacking in ideas or in interest, but the results of their efforts are meager. The world continues to drift uncertainly on the edge of war, with each new crisis threatening to topple it over. The conditions that breed violence and the hatreds that divide men continue unchecked, despite the ebb and flow of tension at high political levels. Economic assistance programs grow smaller rather than larger and are more and more designed to meet strategic considerations instead of human need. The arms race continues unchecked and even in the midst of disarmament discussions, we proceed with vigor to plan the rearmament of Germany and Japan. The United Nations continues to languish, used too often as a cat's paw in the implementation of cold war strategy, and too little in the important moves of the great powers. Many millions of the world's people remain beyond its influence either because they live under colonial rule or because their governments are deemed non-admissible. The tragedy of this decline is only heightened by the

reality of United Nations' accomplishment. The work of its specialized agencies and its notable success in international mediation are indications of what might be, were we but able to alter the world climate.

The tragedy of this situation is all too apparent. Though we try to congratulate ourselves on our economic prosperity, our welfare programs, and our great ideals, we are forever haunted by the spectre of nuclear power. The people of the United States are uneasily aware that carefully nurtured international hatreds and the fear that flows from bomb tests and arms races must some day erupt in violence, and that when they do, all that we love and cherish will surely be swept away. They are aware, too, that something other than military preparedness is needed to prevent disaster, and there is a sense of urgency about the search for a more adequate policy.

Why?

What is it that blocks our efforts? Men of good will both in and out of government ought to be able to arrest this spiraling pattern of futility. Why is it that hopeful proposals have so often remained only idle, intellectual exercises printed in pamphlets or embodied in Congressional resolutions or enunciated from lecture platforms? We believe the principal cause lies in a crucial factor that has either not been recognized or has been rejected as too unpleasant to face.

III

THE ENEMY REDEFINED

*"To consider mankind otherwise than brethren, to think favors are peculiar to one nation and exclude others, plainly supposes a darkness in the understanding."*⁹

—JOHN WOOLMAN

The Devil Theory

If the United States has not been able to translate its desire for peace into policies that will actually achieve it, and if, as we have suggested, the underlying cause of the failure is our commitment to violence, is there any other policy that could be pursued which would offer more hope? A considerable number of our fellow Americans insist there is not. When it is suggested that reliance upon military might may well bring about our national ruin, they respond: "Perhaps you are right about that, but we have no other choice. The Soviet Union and communism are trying to impose upon us an evil so inhuman that under it life would not be worth living at all. To submit to this evil is to condemn our children to a degraded existence, and this is something which Americans cannot in honor accept. And since the Soviet Union will not be deterred by anything but force, we must be prepared to meet force with force, even though the process may end by destroying us."

We are not insensitive to this dilemma in which so many Americans find themselves. It arises at least in part from the conviction that for nations, as for individuals, there are values greater than physical survival. Moreover, we cannot brush aside the extent of evil within the Soviet orbit. The police state, government by terrorism and thought control, slave labor, mass deportations, and a monolithic party that demands unconditional obedience and denies the right of private conscience—all these are characteristics of any totalitarian system of government. In the face of such facts, it is understandable that most Americans have concluded that Soviet communism is the great evil abroad in the world, and that it is the prime responsibility

of the United States to wield its vast power to protect mankind from its destructive influence.

This is the point where we believe many Americans misread the problem. Without overlooking the evils of communism, we must still reject the devil theory in history. It is an easy theory to accept, for men have made devils out of those they feared since the dawn of time. Indeed, in all the great conflicts of history, each belligerent has tended uniformly and insistently to attribute a monopoly of evil to the other. So in the struggles between Athens and Sparta, Rome and Carthage, Christian and Moslem, Catholic and Protestant. So in our own time in two world wars, and now finally in the growing conflict with the Soviet Union.

It should be a sobering thought to recall that in every case the verdict of history has been to reject or modify drastically the heated judgments of the moment. Frequently these judgments have not even been shared by contemporary opinion outside the area of immediate belligerency, as is indeed clearly the case in the present conflict. We believe there could be no better antidote for the hysteria of our times than for every American and every Russian to read the speeches of the Athenian and Spartan leaders to their respective peoples in Thucydides' *The History of the Peloponnesian War* or the utterances of Martin Luther and Pope Pius V on the subject of coexistence between Protestants and Catholics in the Sixteenth Century. It is man's tragedy that he cannot see himself as others see him, nor judge others when he and they are in dispute. "Our antiquarians," Edward Gibbon wrote in *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, "would spare themselves and us much exertion if they would but observe that similar conditions will produce similar manners." When men are afraid, they make devils out of those they fear. And as men are, so also are states. For, as Plato pointed out long ago, states are not made "of oak and rock," but of men, and as the men are, so will the states be.

Like primitive people attacking the problem of disease by amputating the affected part, the world has tried to rid itself of the evil that plagued it by cutting off whatever member of the body politic seemed most virulently affected. Should we not learn, as medicine has, that when disease is in the organism itself, it cannot be localized? We believe it is appropriate for all Americans to consider afresh whether the evil that must be overcome resides in Spartan man or in Soviet man, or whether it resides in Man.

Men tried to make the world safe for democracy by destroying Imperial Germany. But the devil reappeared in the Germany of Hitler, and so that Germany, too, was destroyed. Now once again the devil comes to life, and this time Americans are told his nationality is Russian, while Russians are told he is American. We think both are guilty of tragic oversimplification. We think the basic assumption of many of our fellow Americans as to the location of evil is wrong. We think, therefore, that the simple moral dilemma to which they point is false.

Our Real Enemy

The real evils that have driven the world to the present impasse, and which we must struggle to overcome, spring from the false values by which man has lived in East and West alike. Man's curse lies in his worship of the work of his hands, in his glorification of material things, in his failure to set any limit on his material needs. This idolatry leads him to lust for power, to disregard human personality, to ignore God, and to accept violence or any other means of achieving his ends. It is not an idolatry of which the communists alone are guilty. All men share it, and when it is examined, the global power struggle is given a new perspective. Let us be specific.

1. *Lust for power.* One of the things that the United States fears most about the Soviet Union is its expansionism. The communist revolution proclaims itself as a global revolution, and in its seemingly insatiable lust for power has already brought much of the world within its orbit. Americans see this expansionism as something that must be halted at any cost and by whatever means.

But no less an historian than Arnold Toynbee has pointed out that a dominant factor in world history from about 1450 on was *the expansionism of the West*.¹⁰ It was the peoples of Western Europe, driven by their lust for power and possessions, who pushed out in all directions, subjugating or exterminating those who blocked the path, and resorting in their colonial operations to bloodshed and slavery and humiliation whenever it appeared necessary. Nor can the United States escape responsibility. Our history has also been marked by a dynamic, persistent, and seldom interrupted expansionism.

Less than two centuries ago the nation was a string of colonies along the Atlantic seaboard. Now it straddles the continent, and its military bastions are found in over half of all the nations in the world. Its navies cruise the coasts of Russia and China, and its bomb-

ers are based in Germany and Japan. It is easy for Americans to regard this as normal, though they would be outraged and terrified if Russian warships cruised our coasts and Russian bombers were based on Canada or Guatemala. It is also easy for Americans to forget that this expansionism was often as ruthless as that which we fear in others. The Indian was almost exterminated, the Negro and later the flood of European immigrants were cruelly exploited; violence was threatened or provoked with Mexico, with Spain, with Colombia, with Nicaragua—all in the name of expanding the power and influence of the United States.

To point out such things is not to justify either Russian or Western expansionism, nor is it to underestimate the human suffering and the social cost that are involved in new embodiments and contests of power. But it suggests that the disease is not geographical and that to build ever greater instruments of power is not to end the disease but to spread it until it destroys the whole organism of civilization.

2. *Denial of human dignity.* Another of the fundamental evils in modern totalitarian regimes that is often cited is the degradation of the human being into an impersonal object to be manipulated in the interests of the state. Men become mere cogs in the machinery of a monolithic party which recognizes no higher authority than its own. The concept of man as a child of God, possessing dignity and worth, and vested with inalienable rights, is patently denied.

It is clear on the other hand that this noble concept of man, and the limits it imposes on the power of government, still has vitality in the West. But the West has been quick to ignore it when the situation demanded. The tendency toward centralization of power, toward subjugation of men to the demands of an impersonal technology, did not originate in modern Russia or the Orient, or in the minds of Marxist theoreticians. It was, and is, a part of the process of industrialization and technical development of the West. The tragedy of material progress is that nowhere in the world, any more than in Russia today, has enough original capital been accumulated for both industrial development and military expansion without subjecting men to some degree of exploitation and indignity. Indeed, the process of Western industrialization made virtual slaves of vast multitudes of peasants and laborers in undeveloped countries and often imposed on them in addition the humiliation of "white supremacy." There is obviously room for much freedom and material well-

being to flourish in the more highly developed countries, but as we noted in the preceding chapter, even these blessings are endangered as the demands of military preparedness make inroads on liberty and accelerate the drive toward centralized authority.

Again, this is in no sense to condone the invasion of human personality wherever it may occur, but only to indicate that the virus is not localized. The elimination of communism would not eliminate the evil we see in communism. Indeed, it may safely be predicted that the waging of atomic war against the Soviet Union, far from providing a cure, would itself be a virulent, if not final, instrument for the destruction of liberty and the dehumanizing of men.

3. *Atheism.* A third charge against Soviet communism is its atheism. Religion is rejected as the "opiate of the people" and in its place is put the Marxist doctrine of materialism. However tragic and blasphemous this denial may seem to us, it is relevant to remember that it, too, is a product of the West. Karl Marx denounced religion on the basis of his observation of Western, not Russian, society. Arnold Toynbee, in *The World and the West*, points out that Western culture has become in recent centuries ever more materialistic and secular, and has moved steadily away from its Christian or spiritual origin. More recently the Evanston Assembly of the World Council of Churches recognized the "practical atheism" of much of life in the so-called Christian countries.

Communism has simply carried to its logical conclusion, and expressed in theoretical form, what the West has practiced. "It seems in many ways," says William Hordern, in his *Christianity, Communism, and History*, "to be nothing but one particularly unruly expression of the modern view of life. While condemning communist 'materialism' in theory, the rest of the world has lived by materialistic motives. The communists have been hated primarily because they have dragged the skeleton from the closet of Western culture."¹¹ This is a harsh judgment, but we believe it is an accurate one, for the power of Hydrogen is clearly trusted among us more than the power of Love. Like the communist East, therefore, the Christian West is secular, and the secularism that unites all men in its bondage will not be ended by the simple expedient of destroying those nations where the disease is most virulent at the moment.

4. *The cult of violence.* Finally, we come to the acceptance of violence as the essential means of social revolution, and the corollary

doctrine that the end justifies the means. Here again for many Americans are decisive reasons for citing Soviet communism as an absolute evil, which must at all costs be destroyed.

Violence has, indeed, reached unsurpassed proportions in our time. The outbreak of the first World War marked the beginning of this modern orgy of uncontrolled violence, and it has continued ever since. But no reputable historian has ventured the idea that either the first or the second World War was spawned by communism. Nor are the Russians responsible for the concept of blitzkrieg, or obliteration bombing, or for the first use of atomic weapons. These have all been loosed upon the world by the very nations which now profess outrage at the cynical Soviet concept of the role of violence and the validity of *any* means. Western theory is indeed outraged, but Western practice has in this area, too, belied Western theory. We have, in fact, been prepared to use any means to achieve *our* ends. Here again, as in so many other points in the exposure of the devil theory, we are reminded of the words Shakespeare put into the mouth of Shylock: "The villainy you teach me, I will execute, and it shall go hard, but I will better the instruction."¹²

Moreover, military leaders are apparently ready now to use any means, even the ultimate immorality of hydrogen bombs, to stop communism. Is it not clear that to resort to immoral means in order to resist what is immoral is not to preserve or vindicate moral values, but only to become collaborators in destroying all moral life among men? Especially if the issue is a moral one, we must renounce modern war. If we say that any means are justified, we adopt a completely amoral position, for there is then no ethical line that can be drawn anywhere. All morality has been discarded. Only if we ourselves completely reject the doctrine that the achievement of *our* ends justifies any means is there any hope that we may be able to bring healing to a world caught in the fearful dilemma of our time.

The conclusion seems to us to be clear that the real evils at the root of the tragic conflicts which threaten to destroy mankind are those that flow from man's idolatry: lust for power and the inability of power to set limits to itself; the violation of human personality and infringements on its freedom and dignity; the "practical atheism" of a pervading materialism and secularism; the spreading cult and practice of violence and the poisonous doctrine that *our* ends justify any means. These evils will not be rooted out, or so much as disturbed, even if we succeed in cutting off all their heads in one geo-

graphical area or another. On the contrary, the recent experience of two victorious world wars for democracy, with the subsequent decline of the democratic spirit in the world, is evidence which all who run may read that resistance to evil, when evil is attributed exclusively to the occupants of this or that geographical or ideological area, is futile.

The Moral Basis of East-West Conflict

The result of this redefinition of the situation is to recast our problem. No longer can it be discussed in simplified terms of good and evil, and no longer can the military approach be regarded as a way of challenging evil. This is not to say that the conflict between the democratic and communist worlds has no moral content. We have insisted that judgments cannot be drawn between geographical groups of men, but if the focus is shifted from men to the social institutions they have created, the situation is altered. Here, in two radically different forms of social organization, lies the moral basis for conflict between the democratic and communist worlds.

Through certain fortunate accidents of history and geography and through the sacrifice of individuals who have lived before us, Americans are the heirs of a political and cultural tradition that is profoundly colored by the Judaeo-Christian philosophy of man's innate worth and dignity. From this has emerged a gradually developing concept of government based on law and justice that protects us from the arbitrary use of power, and insists that the state is the servant and not the master of men.

Communism, on the other hand, has been perverted by other accidents of history and geography into a totalitarian framework that denies this concept and substitutes for it the rule of force. Man is treated as essentially an instrument of the state, which demands unquestioning obedience and limits individual rights to those it may see fit to grant. The military code is applied to *all* of life, and this necessarily makes regimentation and authoritarianism the characteristics of communist society.

Thus it is precisely the factor of Judaeo-Christian philosophy that lifts the conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union to the moral plane. In so far as we deny it by ourselves falling victim to the doctrine of force, just so far is the conflict stripped of its moral quality. Now, as for centuries past, the philosophy of violence and the Judaeo-Christian ethic exist side by side in Western culture. The

Society of Friends has always insisted on the basic contradiction inherent in this dualism, but as long as war and preparation for war made only partial demands it was possible for both philosophies to exist within the same society. It was even possible at the time of the first World War for nations to believe that the world was to be made safe for democracy by means of war. In any event it has been true that a state could pursue its search for power and possessions, and employ violence to gain its ends, while at the same time giving at least partial allegiance to the Judaeo-Christian ethic. That time is drawing to a close, for war and preparation for war now require total effort and involve total destruction, not only of life and property, but of spiritual integrity as well. It is clear, therefore, that we must seek some other method than violence to resolve the conflict that besets us.

It may be suggested that a way out is to attempt to coexist without war and without resolving the conflict. This course envisages an indefinite armed truce in the hope that time will produce changed conditions under which a more fundamental solution will be possible. To many thoughtful persons this is the most that can be hoped for, and certainly it is preferable to an attempt at violent resolution, but we believe no one should regard it as more than a temporary expedient. The dynamic nature of the principal contending powers and the basic conflict in their social philosophies promise continuing crises unless a more fundamental solution is found. Moreover, with each succeeding crisis will come new impatience and new temptation to resort to violence. Coexistence under such circumstances is possible only as long as one side or the other is prepared to make concessions, and the record of history offers little encouragement that this flexibility can be indefinitely maintained.

A First Requirement for Solution

This emphasizes the importance of continuing to search for a more fundamental solution. We have insisted that violence is not the answer, but violence will persist until men rid themselves of the attitudes that justify it. As long as they remain blinded by self-righteousness, clinging to the dogmatic assumption that we-are-right-and-they-are-wrong or we-may-not-be-perfect-but-we're-better-than-they-are, so long will they justify a resort to violence. We believe, therefore, that any proposal to resolve the conflict without violence

must begin with a recognition of the humbling fact of man's common guilt and common nobility. Without this recognition, the diplomatic representatives of the major contending powers, even if they can be persuaded to talk to one another, are bound when they negotiate to try to negotiate one another *out of* something which, ultimately, neither is willing to surrender. Negotiation on the assumption of moral superiority may succeed in marginal conflicts, but in central conflicts it is self-defeating. Self-righteousness is a rock on which negotiation always founders.

As the conflict between our country and the Soviet Union can in no case be resolved by might, so in no case can it be resolved by any method chained to self-righteousness. We who write this statement maintain that the only realistic hope left is to find a new basis for the resolution of the USA-USSR conflict, a basis that will free us for the truly creative action our times demand. The recognition that the evil is in Man is the basis and the only basis upon which efforts to reach a peaceful settlement can be saved from the fatal corruption of self-righteousness.

We are aware that the very urgency and bitterness of the power conflict may discourage many from serious consideration of a radically new and different approach to its resolution. The cold war is, indeed, a fact with which we must daily reckon. But Quakers, who through their history have clung to the conviction that evil can only be overcome by good, are not without experience in dealing with conflict in a creative and non-violent way. This experience leads us to be hopeful that such an approach is practical even in the present critical situation.

To an attempt to explain and illustrate these non-violent ways of overcoming evil and dealing with human conflicts we now turn. We do so aware of the danger that those who profess non-violence may be tempted to self-righteousness. No one can be more wrong than those who are complacent about their own virtue or believe they have a simple and painless solution for the crisis of our age.

VI

THE POLITICS OF NON-VIOLENCE

"The best politics is right action."—GANDHI

We believe it is practical, and politically relevant, for men and women to move the world toward peace by individually practicing peace themselves, here and now. As was indicated at the beginning of this study, each of us is both a part of the state and an individual child of God, and we are obligated to act responsibly in both capacities. Since we have now asserted that acting responsibly in this day involves the rejection of militarism, what is the meaning of this for us as individuals, and what is its political relevance, immediately and for the future? This chapter will deal with these questions. It begins with the individual implications, takes up the political impact of a minority, speculates on a period of transition, and finally outlines the content of a pacifist policy.

Implications for the Individual

A personal commitment to practice peace begins with the effort to live affirmatively. Here is no simple decision to say "No" to military power and carry on business as usual in every other department of life. If we are to be respected of God and men, we cannot invoke the law of love when it comes to war if we ignore it in our relations with family, friends, and community. It is, indeed, a contradiction in terms to renounce mass violence and retain the seeds of it in our conduct toward others, for war grows directly from the accumulated prejudices, selfishness, greed, and arrogance of individual men. A commitment to practice peace thus requires first a commitment to rid ourselves of those qualities that destroy it. That is why John Woolman was constantly advising his fellow Quakers "to look upon our treasures, the furniture of our houses, and our garments, and try whether the seeds of war have nourishment in these our possessions."¹⁴ We must be concerned about the injustices of racial discrimination and economic exploitation. We must be sensitive to the needs and

aspirations of individuals in less fortunate parts of our communities and of the world. We must live simply, that we may share generously. We must, in short, so live that men will know that our faith is in man's divine potential to live nobly when nobility is expected of him.

It is, of course, impossible to express this faith, and at the same time deny it by supporting war and preparation for war. If our faith is to be in men, we cannot prepare to destroy men. Thus, we believe that the man who would practice peace must refuse to participate in war. In so far as he can, he must also refuse to profit from war, or prepare for war. A demonstration of faith in the capacity of men to respond nobly to the expectation of nobility is valid only to the extent that no limits are set on the demonstration. As long as we keep a gun within easy reach, our protestations of good will are empty. We must either have enough faith in the overcoming power of love to stake our lives and our fortunes on it, or we must seek some other basis for ultimate personal security.

These personal affirmations thus have a profound bearing on attitudes within the sphere of daily community life. They also carry implications for international attitudes. The man who dares to reject violence in his own life—unilaterally and regardless of what others do—must also be prepared to have his nation reject violence—unilaterally and regardless of what others do. Similarly, he must be prepared to see his nation share its resources just as he must share his own as part of his personal commitment. He must press for substantial assistance to needy peoples everywhere, regardless of its effect on his own living standards at home.

It takes faith for an individual to live this way—faith in the "impossible" ideal of a world community. We can expect some to scoff at this kind of personal commitment, on the grounds that it has no practical, political relevance to the world of today. We respond to this skepticism by recalling the history of Thomas Garrett, a Delaware Quaker who dared to practice brotherhood in a world of slavery. Haled into court and so heavily fined for his activity in the underground railway that he was left financially ruined, Garrett stood before the Court and uttered these words, "Judge, thou hast left me not a dollar, but I wish to say to thee and to all in this courtroom that if any one knows a fugitive who wants a shelter and a friend, send him to Thomas Garrett and he will befriend him."

Such defiance was regarded then, as it would be regarded today, as a foolish and impractical gesture, calculated only to have its perpetrator held in contempt. But men's judgment was in error then, as we believe it to be in error today, for it neglected to calculate the impact of stirring example. It is precisely the demonstration of this kind of unlimited faith that shakes men's souls, and when this happens, the impossible moves nearer to the possible. Garrett's act was politically relevant in the most profound sense because it opened up new dimensions, new power, and new life beyond man's capacity to predict, and the forces thus released served to burst the bonds of practical politics. This is what has always made relevant acts of civil disobedience and the conscientious refusal to take loyalty oaths, to do military service, to inform against others, or to suppress opinion. And so we say to the skeptic of our time: Just as there could be no release from the scourge of slavery, there will be no release from the scourge of war until men's souls are shaken, and this cannot be done save by practicing our faith in men with the same unlimited commitment as did Garrett in his day, and Gandhi in ours.

The Practical Meaning of Commitment

We have said enough to make clear that the commitment to practice peace is an absolute commitment. The individual must be ready to trust all the way and unreservedly in man's capacity for goodness. But it does not mean that he will necessarily be called upon tomorrow or next month or next year to pay the ultimate price. For this absolute, like all other absolutes, is never wholly realized in action. The man who relies on force as his ultimate refuge and security is driven to produce a hydrogen bomb, but his absolute does not require him to drop the bomb tomorrow, or next month, or next year. Indeed, he hopes that he will never have to inflict such suffering on an enemy, just as the man who relies on non-violence hopes that he will never have to accept suffering from an enemy.

However, although daily living does not usually require us to demonstrate our ultimate faith, *our daily choices are made on the basis of it*. Thus, an ultimate willingness to resort to violence determines the day to day policy decisions of Americans on the national level. In certain colonial situations, for example, though we often struggle to do otherwise, in the end we support the *status quo*,

because we have made an ultimate commitment to force. Only as military strategy permits are we free to advocate change. The same commitment undermines our search for a disarmament formula, for we are blocked on one side by our faith in force, and on the other by a hostile world. We have no freedom of movement, and no recourse but to pile up more arms even as we talk of disarming. We hope some day to reach agreements for universal, enforceable disarmament that will involve no risk for ourselves and no changes in our values, but the hope is dim, for the very process of rearming so poisons the climate that agreement is made ever more difficult.

The writers of this pamphlet, therefore, believe that the immediate impact of a commitment to non-violence is to liberate *individuals* to act morally and responsibly on these daily problems of the world community. Herein lies its immediate political relevance. The man who has renounced his faith in force is freed to support the cause of colonial independence, and by just so much frees America to express her concern for self-determination. What would it mean, politically, to the cause of democracy, if the world's depressed and dependent people could feel again as they once felt that they had a champion in the United States? What new loyalties would be forged, new energies released, and new "situations of strength" created! This cannot happen save as Americans, individually, give up their faith in violence, liberate themselves from the crushing demands of strategy, and add their voices to the cause of freedom.

The same moral liberation and political relevance awaits the one who practices peace in the realm of disarmament. His new commitment does *not* mean that the United States unilaterally disarms tomorrow, nor that he should expect it to do so against the majority opinion of his fellow citizens. It means that another individual is freed from the demands of an arms race, and that he adds his weight to the political balance favoring serious negotiation, the end of recrimination, and a positive attack on the causes of violence.

Thus in individual terms, a commitment to non-violence frees men from the painful dilemma that otherwise arises whenever the demands of justice conflict with the demands of power. This dilemma is a real one for those who must make national policy decisions in a power-centered world, and their task in any given situation is not made easier by pressures on behalf of justice from those who have not measured the cost in terms of "security." It is only when

material power has been rejected as the basis for security that men can give both unreserved and responsible support to the claims of justice. We believe that such support is needed if a climate favorable to peace is to be created, and, therefore, that the individual commitment to practice peace means much more than adding to the useful witness of a permanent minority. It is rather the essential moral and political act of our time, the initial impetus for the pioneering effort that man must make to escape disaster.

Implications for the State

It is manifestly impossible for a democratic state to change its standard of values until a substantial number of its people first change theirs. The government of the United States could not now begin to practice peace in the revolutionary terms of this pamphlet, for there is not the substantial support among the American people that would be required to sustain it.

This does not mean that men in government should not be challenged with the full weight of a program for peace. On the contrary, Quakers have always believed it was necessary to speak truth to power. Our concern is to reach all men, the great and the humble, and though power in America ultimately rests with the humble, the great wield it, and must, therefore, carry peculiar responsibility. Quakers have tried to be sensitive to the special problems of those in high places, avoiding harsh criticism, and offering counsel out of whatever insight was given. But the burden of the Quaker message has always been the power of redemptive love as applied in real situations, and never was it so pertinent and so urgent as it is today, and never so important for individuals to be committed to it. Obviously, if any man in government is led to accept the philosophy of non-violence, he has an obligation to assert his convictions publicly, and use his position of leadership to persuade others. We believe that government officials in a democracy have a responsibility to lead as well as to serve, and as long as they are subject to removal by the electorate, there is little danger of tyranny. In the event that resignation becomes necessary because of a direct conflict between an official's convictions and his duties in connection with power policies or military preparations, the resignation itself would have great political meaning. The voluntary surrender of power for the sake of principle could have the same impact as Thomas Garrett's courageous statement: it would challenge men to re-think their own values.

The Political Relevance of a Minority

Further implications for the state will appear as the minority of its citizens who resolve to practice peace begins to grow. The larger the minority, and the less self-centered and self-righteous it is, the greater the impact and the greater the accommodation that will be made to it. A government which reflects the will of the people must modify and adjust its policies in accord with the growth of opinion, and this is precisely the reason why a minority view has political relevance. Indeed, the presence of vigorous, pioneering minorities has been generally recognized as essential to a healthy democracy. In the first World War the United States government originally made no provision for the rights of conscience, but the fact that it was confronted with a minority that refused military service was a political reality that could not be ignored. As a result, some recognition of conscience was embodied in executive regulations, and conscience was recognized explicitly by Congress in World War II. The act of conscientious objection in 1917 was, in fact, politically relevant. Or, to cite a current example, we point to the political impact of extremist leadership in the fields of anti-communism and Asian intervention. Although it seems clear that senatorial spokesmen in both these areas represent no more than small minority viewpoints, their positions actually set the poles and pull the whole range of public discussion toward them. In short, we believe a vocal minority has an important polarizing effect that makes it politically relevant in a very practical way.

The Content of a National Non-Violent Policy

A growing pacifist minority, and the gradual modifications of national policy that it produced, would also make an impact on the international scene. Our world is a dynamic world, with men and nations altering their habits, their attitudes, and their responses as the international climate shifts and changes. The pacifist wants to recognize this fact, and build policy around its existence. He suggests, therefore, that the more a minority could succeed in modifying belligerency and encouraging restraint, the more striking and unpredictable would be the resulting mutation in international relations. We have referred to the new power and new life that is released by the example of individual commitment, and which is also its political

justification. We now suggest that the more a nation focused on reconciling differences, the more creative would be the power and the life that would flow from it. A whole new dimension would be introduced into the world community just as elementary experiments have sometimes introduced whole new dimensions into the scientific community. Who could have predicted, for example, that Benjamin Franklin's early experiments with electricity would end by revolutionizing man's whole way of life? It is a long jump from Franklin's kite to television, too long for the human imagination to have fully encompassed. Similarly, it is a long jump from our present expressions of international good will, such as the Fulbright program for student exchange, to its fullest possible expression in world affairs. Is this, also, too difficult for the imagination of our generation to encompass? We are certain only that its impact on the world would be fully as profound in the sphere of human relations as the impact of electricity has been in the sphere of science. Beyond that is speculation, but we can venture suggestions of the broad outlines of such a full policy of international good will.

1. *There would be revolutionary changes within the United States itself.* Since the non-violent insight underlines the necessity of first attacking our own evils, it is clear that the American people would be obligated to move farther in overcoming racial discrimination and religious intolerance. We would insist on maximum freedom of thought and expression, as demanded by our democratic philosophy, and would not tolerate tendencies toward transforming the nation into a police state. We would be more sensitive to the deadening impact of our industrial life, and to the inadequacy of prison systems, medical care, and housing. Instead of thinking of our democracy as something which is final and complete, and therefore belonging essentially to the past, we would think of it as a growing and developing vision, belonging essentially to the future. We would know that it cannot be guarded behind a radar screen, but must be shared freely and dangerously with all men, whose contribution is also needed for the realization of the vision. We would discover again the wisdom of Jefferson that error may be tolerated, as long as truth remains free to combat it. Any nation which, in this fear-ridden age, had the courage to trust the democratic process instead of bartering democracy for the illusory security of an atomic stockpile would speak with undreamed power to enslaved men the world over.

2. *The United States would give its support to the great social revolutions, which are both a major problem and a major hope of our time.* Regardless of whether men strive to overthrow domination from without or outworn feudalism from within, their determination is to achieve new dignity and status as human beings and to banish the physical poverty that has so long condemned them to misery. They deserve the support of every democratic society, and they would receive the support of this country if it were freed from its preoccupation with defense and the military power struggle. If this took place, men who seek freedom would no longer conclude, as many already have, that the only source of support is from communist nations, and they would cease to be available for communist armies. American support, moreover, would make it more possible for these revolutions themselves to be non-violent.

3. *The United States would devote its skills and resources to great programs of technical and economic assistance, carried on under United Nations auspices and with full participation in planning and administration by the receiving peoples.* The resources needed for these operations are so large that our own standard of living might be seriously affected, but the dividends would also be large. The mere fact of reducing the great economic imbalance between the United States and the poverty-stricken masses of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, would itself remove one of the major sources of embitterment and strife. Our willingness to share our material blessings, without ulterior motives and to an extent well beyond our unused surpluses, would bring men to us as friends and cooperators, rather than alienate them as does present policy.

4. *The United States would get rid of its military establishment.* Various avenues might be taken to achieve this result. Many suggest that the most probable and most practical approach would be through the simple transfer of the security function to a world organization. The United Nations would assume the responsibility for defense, and might well be converted in the process into a federal instrument in much the same manner as the thirteen American colonies substituted a federal government for the unsatisfactory Articles of Confederation.

Others less insistent on the importance of world federation suggest that disarmament would occur as the result of multilateral agreement: universal in character, enforceable in practice, and complete down to the level needed for internal policing. Both of these

approaches are valid, and both could be supported by the United States in the era about which we speculate, but in the last analysis a pacifist policy would require unilateral action if agreement could not be achieved. There is no escaping the necessity to be willing to act first ourselves if we are to have solid ground for getting others to act with us.

It will be said that for a nation to consider disarming alone in an armed world is madness; but the fact that obviously stares men in the face today is that *an armed world in this age is itself madness*. To refuse any longer to labor under the delusion that it is anything else is the beginning of common sense, as it is the counsel of divine wisdom. Moreover, it is quite possible that the Soviet Union, confronted with such a change in American behavior, might startle us with a new response. At the very least, the example of a people living without the burden of militarism and offering friendship to all, would call forth the impulses to freedom that exist in all men. What might have happened, for example, if the remarkable East German uprising of June 1953 had had as its inspiration a United States free from involvement in the effort to rearm Western Germany and in the tragic perpetuation of an impossible division? As it was, the United States' position was a discouraging one. We welcomed the revolt, but could only stand idly by, unwilling to risk unleashing war, and yet unable to offer any other kind of encouragement. Moreover, we were so preoccupied with power concepts that one of the most striking aspects of the uprising was largely overlooked: *the fact that a group of Russian soldiers refused to fire on the unarmed and non-violent demonstrators.*¹⁷ Not only were the demonstrators spared violence, but a number of their grievances were recognized and corrected. How can this outcome be squared with the familiar argument that only naked power is respected by the Russians?

Nor must it be forgotten how this whole non-violent era, about which we are speculating, would be brought about. Under our democratic philosophy, as we have already pointed out, it would not be created by fiat, but as the result of insistence on reconciling measures by a gradually growing pacifist minority. The writers are convinced that this process in itself would so change the climate of world opinion that no power on earth could oppose it effectively. The influence of growing programs of economic assistance, freed from the compulsions of strategy and carried forward by dedicated men and women through the operating agencies of the United Nations, would

lift the heart of the world. Increasing support of the United Nations itself, as a world forum for peaceful settlement, universal in membership and inviolate of selfish national pressure, would create a new basis for an emerging world community of law. The earnest desire to negotiate differences, backed by a gradually increasing willingness to abandon our military posture, could open the way for the relaxation of tension and the achievement of disarmament. Nations which are at present hostile and threatening, would be relieved of any reason for being hostile and threatening, and would face a world opinion so warmly approving of the United States that continued hostility would be difficult to maintain.

Non-Violent Resistance

We must, however, face the possibility that hatred has gone so far, and injustice penetrated so deeply, that even a revolutionary policy of peace could not prevent international aggression. A nation which had disarmed would not in that event abjectly surrender and let an invader run over and enslave it as is often alleged. On the contrary, it would have open to it possibilities of non-violent resistance that offer more prospects of a creative and genuinely victorious outcome than is the case with violent resistance under modern conditions. It is the nation whose reliance is upon arms that now faces the bleakest prospect in the event of international aggression; for victory in any ensuing holocaust is clearly impossible for anyone. Both "victor" and "vanquished" would dwell together in a brutalized and devastated world in which the values of democratic civilization would have been largely swept away.

Non-violent resistance, as has been demonstrated on a large scale in India, and on a smaller scale in many other places, offers greater promise of confounding and overcoming an enemy without destroying our values or our world. While there are limits to the extent to which a program of non-violent resistance can be spelled out for a nation which is quite unready to adopt it, and for a future situation whose character cannot be predicted, it is nevertheless possible to suggest the broad pattern that it would follow. The first necessity is *non-cooperation*. The population must resolutely refuse to carry out the orders of the invader. They would not run trains to transport troops. They would not operate factories to provide the invader with military supplies. They would not unload his ships. They would perform no services of any kind for him. At the same time, they

would try through their words and their lives to show the meaning of a free and democratic society. Second, the population must maintain *good will* toward the individual soldier of the invading forces. However difficult this is in practice, it is clear that the effective use of non-violent resistance has always demanded that a clear distinction be drawn between hatred of an evil policy and respect for the human instrument who is caught up in its execution. Good will is the spiritual weapon of non-violence just as civil disobedience is its physical weapon. Finally, the population must be well enough disciplined to *refrain from individual acts of violence* no matter what the provocation. The whole success of the resistance depends on meeting the enemy on a level and in a manner against which he cannot retaliate effectively. He understands violence, and he is prepared to cope with it ruthlessly and drastically. He must be given no excuse to do so.

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In summary, it is certain that whatever circumstances exist in a specific instance, any campaign of non-violent resistance will include these three elements of non-cooperation, good will, and non-violence. The technique is effective because it undermines the morale of the enemy and removes his will to conquer. When a soldier is received kindly, it is hard for him to continue to hate. When he faces no threat, it is hard for him to continue to kill. Moreover, he has no way to compel cooperation when faced with civil disobedience, and without cooperation the enemy will find his existence difficult indeed.

All of this is not to suggest that everything would proceed in idyllic fashion and that no suffering would occur in a non-violent resistance campaign. We have tried to make it clear that readiness to accept suffering—rather than inflict it on others—is the essence of the non-violent life, and that we must be prepared if called upon to pay the ultimate price. Obviously, if men are willing to spend billions of treasure and countless lives in war, they cannot dismiss the case for non-violence by saying that in a non-violent struggle people might be killed! It is equally clear that where commitment and the readiness to sacrifice are lacking, non-violent resistance cannot be effective. On the contrary, it demands greater discipline, more arduous training, and more courage than its violent counterpart. Without preparation, non-violent resistance will fail just as surely as an untrained and undisciplined army would fail in war. Not even a beginning can be made in assessing the potential of non-violent

resistance as a means of national defense until a people ready to pour billions into military preparations are prepared to put some effort into research and training of a different nature. This in turn can happen only as we make a new commitment to practice peace, and recognize that the freedom worth saving is the freedom of the spirit, which can neither be protected by guns nor enslaved by tyrants.

Such is the program we would chart for the individual and for the state of which he is a part. We have not denied that it involves risk, but no policy can be formulated that does not involve risk. We have not suggested it will be easy, but only that no policy that aims at achieving peace can be easy. Finally, we have made no sweeping claims that it would work, but only that it appears to us more workable and more relevant than the barren doctrines of violence that now enslave us. We believe that it merits the consideration of thoughtful men.