

# ANARCHY

## WITHOUT GOVERNMENT

**ANARCHY** is a word which comes from the Greek and signifies, strictly speaking, **WITHOUT GOVERNMENT**: the state of a people without any constituted authority over them.

\* \* \*

Before such an organisation had begun to be considered possible and desirable, the word **ANARCHY** was used in the sense of disorder and confusion, and it is still adopted in that sense by the ignorant and by adversaries interested in distorting the truth.

\* \* \*

The government is the aggregate of those who have the power to **make law**. It decides upon and claims taxes. It judges and punishes those who break its laws. It supervises and sanctions private contracts. It monopolises certain branches of production and public services or, if it will, all production and public service. It promotes or hinders the exchange of goods. It concedes or withholds free trade. It makes war or peace with the governments of other countries. In short, the government has the power — no matter how obtained — to **make use of the collective force of society to oblige each person to its wishes**.

\* \* \*

In all times and in all places, whatever may be the name that the government takes, whatever has been its origin, whatever its organisation, its essential function has always been oppression and exploitation, and the defense and protection of the oppressors and exploiters.

\* \* \*

Its indispensable instruments are the policeman and the tax-collector, the soldier, the judge, the jailer and the time-serving civil servant and teacher — all supported and protected by the government to **enforce the belief that without government chaos and disorder would reign**.

\* \* \*

When the public becomes convinced that government is not necessary, but extremely harmful, the word **ANARCHY**, because it signifies **WITHOUT GOVERNMENT**, will become equal to saying **natural order, harmony of the needs and interests of all, complete liberty with complete solidarity**.

## IS GOVERNMENT NECESSARY?

WITHOUT GOVERNMENT — ANARCHY.

\*\*\*\*\*

# Anarchist Peril



## The Psychology of the Anarchist

By Augustin Hamon



The PSYCHOLOGY  
*of the*  
ANARCHIST

*by*  
*Augustin Hamon*

*translated by:*  
Jean-Paul Cortane

Anarchist Peril



## THE ANARCHIST PERIL

### INTRODUCTION

In 1894, Flammarion of Paris brought out a book by a certain M. Felix Dubois entitled **Le Peril Anarchiste**. Seventy Illustrations and Documents. The Secret Organization of the Anarchist Party. "Would it not be best to fortify ourselves with patience and await from the years to come and from men of good will the solution to that important problem known as the social question?" By the author of **Life in the Dark Continent**.

The cover illustration for **Le Peril Anarchiste** is a line drawing that depicts a landowner hanged by the neck from an oak tree, right foreground. He is fat. His tongue hangs out. A worker, left foreground, jabs diagonally up at his belly with a pike to release a shower of chubby coins. Gold, no doubt. Surrounding the worker and the base of the tree is an immense crowd of peasants and workers that spreads back across the fields. On the horizon, the sun has half-risen, surmounted by the word **ANARCHIE** and radiating beams of light. And, in the lower right corner of the picture, barely noticeable at first, is the face of a bourgeois, his gaze (horror, fascination) directed at the man with the pike. Or is it at the sun?

To that ubiquitous figure who persistently lurks in the lower right-hand corner of society, anarchism has always posed and continues to pose a double threat: violence and liberty. Of these two, the threat of liberty is the greater — so great as to amount to a monstrous and ever-present act of violence in itself. The possibility of freedom is the nightmare of those who choose to sleep in the chambers of oppression. And is not that violence, which both horrifies and fascinates our little gentleman in the corner, precisely **his own** conception of liberty, that very "liberty" of which he himself constantly dreams and has passed laws to ensure: the freedom to do violence in the form of unbridled cupidity and constraint? For, through the logic of nightmares, that illustration of the anarchist peril might easily be transposed to accomodate the figure of an anarchist (skinny, swarthy, vile) at the end of the rope. There would be no crowd, of course. Our solitary bourgeois would remain in the lower corner: he has done his killing discreetly.

The logic of the State, the logic of all authoritarian power, and the logic of those who put their faith in those artificial forces — that logic is, quite simply, the logic of the

The ANARCHIST PERIL series will publish documents, essays, fiction, poetry, drama or artwork related to anarcho-libertarian movements and figures, past present and future.

Mss. for the series are most welcome, and should be addressed to: Jean-Paul Cortane, c/o Pulp Press, Box 8806, Station H, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

Material contained in ANARCHIST PERIL pamphlets is not copyright and may be reproduced.

Pulp Press  
Box 8806 Station H  
Vancouver, Canada



nightmare. For those who live by this logic, anarchism will remain a peril. Will they ever realize that one can always awaken from a nightmare: with a scream, convulsed, shaking, covered with sweat, but at least — finally — **awake**? Or must they be aroused by the screams of those who can no longer submit to the dreams of others, to that miserable collective hallucination known as the State?

But what, more precisely, is anarchism? Who are the anarchists? What is the future of the Anarchist Peril? When will the sun be fully risen?

And, of equal importance, what is the State? What are the tortuous laws of its nightmare? How can we know when it is dreaming **us**, and how can we awaken from its trance?

What is the physiology of the scream?

These are the questions with which the **ANARCHIST PERIL** series will deal.

#1 in the series has been issued as a poster entitled **ANARCHY — WITHOUT GOVERNMENT**. This pamphlet is #2. It seemed to us that it would be of interest to give our readers, near the outset, a translation of "The Psychology of the Anarchist," a chapter extracted from M. Dubois' book and presented here with the same degree of irony with which we have appropriated the title of that volume for this series.

Calculate that degree of irony.

The sun continues to rise.

—J-P. C.

## THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE ANARCHIST

It seemed to us that it would be of interest to give our readers an impartial psychology of the anarchist. We put our request to M. A. Hamon, social scientist and the author of **France, Social and Political** and of the **Psychology of the Professional Military Man** which has recently caused a considerable stir. This scientist has agreed to summarize for us a short book which he will soon publish under the title of this chapter.\*

[Felix Dubois]

Anarchists are recruited from the most diverse social surroundings. Scholars, peasants, doctors, menials, journalists, architects, shop and office employees, workers, authors, businessmen, professors, industrialists, lawyers, landlords, craftsmen, engineers, functionaries of all types: all supply their contingent to anarchism.

They are about ten thousand strong, disciples of the philosophical doctrines of Reclus, Kropotkin, Grave, etc.

Born in different areas of the world, sprung from the most distinct social classes, instructed in diverse religions and practising the most varied professions, individual anarchists must, in order to adopt common theories, present common psychological traits that are determined by the organic disposition of the mental apparatus. Indeed, a characteristic mentality exists among all adherents to a particular doctrine: this requires no demonstration.

This mentality is, of necessity, formed by the action of environment upon a mind predisposed to such-and-such a manifestation. The influences of climate, landscape and social and professional surroundings either atrophy or encourage an excessive or average development of certain tendencies manifested by the intellectual organ. The environments of the anarchists are so diverse, that it would be of little interest to study the influence of these environments on minds predisposed to anarchism. On the other hand, it would be of considerable interest to discover what psychic manifestations are common to all anarchists, no matter what their origin, social class, religion or profession. In establishing these, we will learn those causes that predispose towards anarchism.

\* Augustin Hamon, *Psychologie de l'Anarchiste-Socialiste*. Paris, 1895.



As for the determining causes, they are often minor and utterly impossible to locate precisely, being so numerous. It seems to us, **a priori**, that they are harbored by the social environment, above all other environments, and furthermore, that of these social surroundings, the familial does no more than cultivate a congenital seed already implanted in the mind and develop it into a hardy growth.

Research into psychic manifestations common to the anarchists proved a delicate matter. Apart from the cases of terrorist "propagandists by deed," we could not have recourse to the method adopted in our establishment of the **Psychology of the Professional Military Man**: the use of official and historical records. We were obliged to make use of a variant on this inductive method, consisting of an inquiry. We requested of a certain number of anarchists to tell us: "How and why they became anarchists?"

It is in these replies that we find proof of common psychic manifestations. It is these "confessions" that will allow us to construct the psychology of the anarchist, that is to say: to determine the ideal or average type of the anarchist.

\* \* \*

Examination of these "confessions" proves immediately that the most important characteristic of the entire anarchist mentality is the Spirit of Revolt. While this tendency is latent in all men and most often atrophies under the influence of environment, in the anarchists it is extremely pronounced from the beginning. Environmental influences do nothing but exacerbate it.

The spirit of revolt shows itself in various forms in anarchist thinking: the spirit of opposition, of examination, of criticism, of innovation.

"I read Victor Hugo," writes S., **commercial employee, thirty-one years, primary education, former gardener**, "and, I tell you sincerely, that poet had an enormous influence on my ideas....Victor Hugo put the **spirit of revolt** into my heart. He showed me the path I've followed since then...."

"I suffered the greatest misery. I went for two days without eating. My spirit of revolt showed itself...." [D., **works at a jeweller's, twenty-four years.**]

"It was the bourgeois family setting that gave birth to my spirit of revolt." [Andre Veidaux, **author, around thirty years.**]

"Always, I had a horror of authority; everything I was ordered to do was hateful to me. A command I found abominable, and never have I been able willingly to submit to what was demanded of me. I was, throughout the long years at school, the very model of disobedience: not the bad boy, but the rebel who will not obey." [Bernard Lazare, **author, twenty-eight years.**]

"My childhood was spent in various institutions. I always left at the request of the authorities. It was one rebellion after another." [Ph. D., **hospital intern, twenty-four years.**]

Here, we have an undifferentiated spirit of revolt. The individual reacts in a general manner: he **revolts** against the authority of the family, the professor, society and, in the end, against all authority, whatever it may be. But with certain persons this tendency to revolt becomes specific, and then takes on the form of the spirit of examination, criticism and opposition.

"For as long as I have been able to do some thinking for myself, I have had the anarchist spirit. By that I mean that I have always hated undisputed authority, dogmatism and conventional ideas — those ideas which, most often, one does not seek to justify, even to oneself." [A.—F. Herold, **author, thirty years.**]

"I was led, almost without knowing it, to reflect on anarchist teachings and, above all, to study my own ideas and submit them to a **severe criticism.**" [Darnaud, **property owner, former officer, around fifty years.**]

"My earliest memories of childhood make me aware of a spirit of contradiction present from the very beginning: sometimes stubborn, but still never sarcastic or criticizing just for the sake of finding fault, and never hardening into an unchangeable attitude." [M. Pujo, **author, around twenty years.**]



"My father was an inventor, a very intelligent man imbued with the spirit of examination. I was raised in a liberal atmosphere. At college, I didn't work at the subjects I didn't like. Still, my rebellion against the program and the professors was completely passive. I have an eminently critical mind, and also a sense of opposition. I often strive to prove to myself that I am wrong in holding such-and-such an idea." [O., scientist, around thirty years.]

"When they beat me at public school, I rebelled and ran away. Later, at the lycee, I enjoyed criticizing the authors I was reading. I couldn't submit to accepting ideas without a discussion, even with professors for whom I hadn't the slightest respect. I did my doctoral thesis on a surgical operation which the professors declared to be absurd and foolish. It has since become a classic." [Dr. H., thirty-one years, surgeon at a hospital in the provinces.]

These quotations are typical, and demonstrate quite well the spirit of revolt in its manifestations as the spirit of opposition and criticism.

In the confession of Dr. H., we see the spirit of innovation rearing its head: he did his doctoral thesis on an operation declared absurd!

This spirit of innovation is an essential part of the anarchist mentality.

"At the School of Fine Arts," writes f., "I was dissatisfied with the professors' methods. I did some exploring — and found my life in Impressionism." [Around forty years.]

"I went all-out in the journals against schoolmasters of all descriptions, declaring that the poetic artist must translate his emotions according to an individual rhythm and not through second-hand formulas." [A. Rette, poet.]

"I invented various machines, even though scientists declared them impossible." [C., engineer, sixty years.]

But why cite further extracts? Are they not, of necessity,

inventors, these men who rebel against the present social order while dreaming of a new one which they consider to be better? Individuals of the anarchist mentality are identifiable by their love of whatever is new in the arts and sciences, and by their feverish search for novelty.

It might be objected here that this spirit of revolt, with its derivatives (spirit of examination, of criticism, of opposition, of innovation), can in fact be found in the several persons questioned by ourself, but that this proves not at all that this particular tendency constitutes the essence of the anarchist mentality.

We do not believe that this objection carries. Rational deduction demonstrates, in fact, that men who wish to render existing social institutions *tabula rasa* are fatally endowed with intellectual processes of which one of the characteristics must be the tendency to revolt against whatever might presently exist. Thus, logically, the very fact that one is an anarchist — that is to say, that one dreams of a certain social ideal conformable to certain doctrines of which the readers of this volume will have been able to gain an idea from the preceding pages — this very fact that one is an anarchist means that one is in revolt, that is to say, that one is impregnated with the spirit of revolt, and that in the diverse forms which it can assume.

Observation confirms the *a priori* asserted by this deduction. In fact, if, in this brief essay, we reproduce the confessional responses of only a few individuals, we must indicate that our inquiry has extended to a much greater number of persons.

The diversity of areas where individuals were born or raised, the social classes from which they came, the religions in which they were instructed, the professions they have practised or still practise: all these elements assure us that the individuals questioned may be justly considered an exact representation of the anarchist world. No preconceived idea has influenced this inquiry for, as in all our previous work, the sole end was the search for truth. The spirit of revolt, we can now affirm, is a characteristic common to all anarchist thought. It is one of the predisposing causes which, logically, leads men to the adoption of anarchist theories.

\* \* \*

If the spirit of revolt forms an essential part of anarchist mental life, it is nevertheless not to be found solely in this type of mentality. All anarchists are men in revolt, but not all persons who tend to revolt are anarchists. Thus, in the social and political



world, a number of partisans of former regimes - royalists, imperialists - are men in revolt. We must therefore search for a new characteristic common to the entire category of individuals who may be classed as anarchists. This characteristic must differentiate them clearly from others who may be more or less impregnated with the spirit of revolt.

Analysis of the confessions made to us shows that this new characteristic is an ardent Love of Liberty. The anarchist wishes to live in freedom. He hates laws and authority.

"There is no morality except in liberty; it is, moreover, through liberty alone that rebirth remains possible." [Elisee Reclus.]

"Authority, its value, its reason for being - that is what I have never been able to understand. It has been, and still is, inconceivable to me that a man should assume the right to dominate his fellows in any fashion." [Bernard Lazare.]

"As for myself, I hold above all to being free, to being myself. . . ." [O.]

"Man is born to live without boundaries, without chains, in the full freedom and expanse of nature. . . . How could he remain, of his own will, in surroundings where the natural life of freedom is replaced by the artificial life of obedience?" [Darnaud.]

"I came quite late to the social question, but if I retrace the successive stages of my life, I see there the same principle developing: I might say, the same instinct for liberty which I have recently carried over to the social realm. . . ." [M. Pujo.]

"My character was marked. . . by the love of liberty. . . ." [A. Veidaux.]

One notes that all possess a profound love of liberty. **A priori**, one might affirm this, since the anarchist doctrine is, in its very nature, libertarian. They have the most lively desire to live in freedom, to live without laws and authority in order to develop themselves freely. For, they all declare, the entire apparatus of the law restricts the human being, hinders his development, atrophies certain portions of the organism while developing others to excess, and deforms the entire intellectual organism in the same fashion that those iron boots employed by the Chinese deform their feet, or the corsets of European women distort their figures.

\* \* \*

Thus, the individual wishes to live in freedom, and from this desire is born individualism, a simple development of that egoism or love of self that is possessed by all beings as a form of the self-preserving instinct.

We witness the existence of this egoism in various responses. Here we give several specimens:

"I've learned to know myself better, to show more pride in my dignity as a man." [S.]

"The development of the anarchist conception intrigued me, so I was one of the first propagandists of Individualism, the happy end and sole reason for being of anarchism." [A. Veidaux.]

"It was this [anarchy] that answered to my hopes for truth, for emancipation. I gave myself over to it completely." [K., around thirty years, without primary education, former shoemaker.]

"If Anarchy is, considered fundamentally, the reform of Ethics according to the principles of **individualism**, I can say to you quite briefly that anarchy was born in me through the study of metaphysics, the awakening of my sensibility, and the development of my consciousness. This development of my spirit was both cause and means together." [C. Maclair, author, 22 years.]

"Artists are naturally individualists. They cannot exist without asserting their personality." [M., painter, around 40 years.]

"If by anarchist you mean the man who derives his moral law from himself. . . I am an anarchist, and wish to remain so for as long as I have the intellectual force to conceive of a human way of life more attractive than this present commercial and police-ridden society. . . ." [T. P., around thirty years, musician and author.]

All these individuals, the workman as well as the artist, cultivate their "I" intensely. They ceaselessly attempt to develop, to create for themselves a personality and, in fact, each one has. This is above all noticeable in the artists, intellectuals and scientists for, as the painter M. says: "they cannot exist without asserting their personality." And assert it they do, these artists,



these intellectuals, these scientists! Do we not find them hunting for new techniques, for new forms, for new truths, separating themselves from the crowd of other artists, intellectuals and scientists? They are, to employ the popular expression, "somebody." But this individualism, which one would not be surprised to find among intellectuals, is to be met with among unschooled persons as well: among workers deprived by the misery of their parents of secondary, sometimes even primary, education - workers whom the necessity of earning their daily bread has not prevented from learning, from study, as we shall soon witness.

At this point in our enquiry, we are in a position to designate the characteristics of the anarchist mentality as:

1. The spirit of revolt.
2. The love of liberty.
3. Individualism.

\* \* \*

In the same manner that revolt is not a constituent element of the anarchist mentality alone, love of liberty and individualism do not form an integral portion of none other but anarchist mental processes, even when linked to the spirit of revolt.

Really, how many individualists are not anarchists!\* Thus, this extract from the letter of a young poet, M. Vielle Griffin:

"My aesthetic convictions are based on this axiom: art is individualist and natural. That is to say, that the artist worthy of that name carries within his own mind the rules necessary to that expression for which he was born, and that, on the other hand, all pre-established dogma is detrimental to Art. This led me to consider whether libertarian teachings would not be connected to these convictions.

"I am far from having elucidated all the points which have occupied me until now. My essentially theist philosophy can accept without strain a sort of basic anarchy which I am prepared to discover, perhaps, in the various libertarian works I consult. **La Revolt**, however, called me a bourgeois poet, and I do not know, really, if it was right or wrong. Indeed, it was doubtless a good judge of the issue...."

Of how many artists, of how many intellectuals might not **La Revolt** say what it said of M. Vielle Griffin! All these young

\* "All anarchists, of whatever leaning, are in a certain sense individualists. But the reverse is far from being true: all individualists are not, of necessity, anarchists." Errico Malatesta at the anarchist congress in Amsterdam, August, 1907. [J-P C]

aesthetes are individualists and men in revolt; they are predisposed to anarchism, but they have not yet adopted its doctrines. They have, most often, a profound disdain for the mob, for the people: at a lecture, one of them, M. Laurent Tailhade, wished for the happy age of anarchy, the time when **the rabblement would kiss the footprints of the poets!**

They disdain the very ones whom anarchist doctrine teaches them to love: the people. Logically, they cannot declare themselves anarchists for, in the mentality of these latter, we must find the characteristic of Altruism, that is to say: the love of others.

In the statements of all those calling themselves anarchists, analysis bears witness to the presence of altruism, thus confirming the **a priori** logically deduced from anarchist doctrine. But we will allow these individuals to speak for themselves:

**Bernard Lazare** writes: "I might easily have given myself over to that common brand of egoism which simply wills to liberates oneself from the bonds with which one is burdened or threatened.... At first, I considered myself alone in the face of circumstances, alone against the treacherous will of others. I went on to consider mankind in general, and, from my own sentiments, deduced the emotions of those who, more or less, perpetually or for one sole moment of their existence, are in bondage. That which, for myself, had appeared odious, now presented itself to me as odious for all."

"**Pity for the dispossessed**, hatred for their despoilers: this is a point of honour among the few decent people remaining." [C. Mauclair.]

"I set myself to questioning all those unfortunates with whom I rubbed shoulders in that hell (the hospital) that was worse than Dante's.... It was terrible... and I understood the meaning of solidarity." [A. Rette.]

"Reasons that led me to anarchy:.... 3, the sufferings of certain people.... 9, the need to feel a measure of happiness around me...." [Paul Signac, painter, thirty years.]

"... Filled with great admiration for the doctrines of **charity** and of universal love...." [Ph. D.]

"Why am I an anarchist? To get down to earth, first of all, alas, it's the whole matter of cold, hunger, weariness, despair and that lot of unfortunates that get themselves trapped by



the miserable conditions they live in. If their lousy wages come in regularly, its already bad enough. But it get worse when the wages stop being regular because of the economic problems of this rotten civilization. Its because I've seen poor people with fear in their eyes looking for some terrible murderous job that means a scrap of bread for them. When something comes up, circumstances that force them for once to rebel and refuse to work, I've seen them walking out disheartened, with sweat on their brows, and they can hear the boss laughing and saying 'He's not hungry enough yet.' You can make that **he** plural, behind these unfortunates there were wives and children. This sort of misery in all the jobs and in all lands should be one of the 'Whys' for the man with a heart to feel. . . . " [A., **molder, 31 years. We have preserved the orthographical errors.**]

Briefly, an intense love of humanity is revealed in these extracts: a profound pity for the humble, the weak and for those whom they term the despoiled, the exploited. Come from a rich or well-off class, without having suffered misfortune themselves, they feel the sorrows of others, participate in them and truly suffer with the unfortunates; thus is revealed in them a way of thinking that demonstrates great sensitivity. By the same token, this great moral sensitivity can be observed in anarchists who emerge from the poorer classes. Having themselves suffered, their sufferings are added to by those of their "brothers" in misery. The statement of A. is typical in this regard. This moral sensibility, most often embittered, is a consistent characteristic among anarchists, all of whom engage in a sort of cult for Life itself, a cult which strives never to make another suffer, even if that other be a lower form of life. Are not some anarchists vegetarians?

\* \* \*

Altruism, the sense of pity, has for its necessary corollary the sense of justice. In effect, the man who considers the sufferings of some is driven by contrast to consider the well-being of others. The comparison is inevitable; and this comparison develops in the individual, in all instances, the sense of justice inherent in all beings. Among the anarchists, this sense is greatly intensified, for the anarchist is, by nature, observant, as proved by all the replies cited so far or yet to be cited: all social phenomena of which he is the witness of agent are carefully registered by him and, due to his moral sensibility, produce strong repercussions in his mind.

The spirit of revolt now makes its appearance, and intensifies these repercussions, creating a veritable hyperexcitation of the sense of justice.

But, better than all reasoning, the voluntary declarations of some of the anarchists will clarify this matter:

"We are revolutionaries because we desire justice, and because all around us we see injustice reign. . . . All this seems to us infamous, and we wish to change it." [Elisee Reclus.]

"I had, moreover, a horror of injustice. . . ." [A. Veidoux.]

"From childhood on, I was shocked by injustices. . . ." [Dr. H.]

"Why some children dressed so warmly, so coddled, while there are others so miserable, looking so ragged. Why?" [K.]

"As a member of my profession's union -- I'm a molder -- I was delegated to an observers' committee. I didn't spend much time before noticing how the workers had to overcome great difficulties in order to organize. I had a sense of the futility of their efforts, of how weak they were in comparison to the capitalists. I felt the injustice of that. . . ." [L., 31 years.]

"Well, quite a vague socialism, but it satisfies my general desire for justice. . . ." [O.]

"I learned. . . to consider my being exploited. . . as nothing but the consequence of a social system where the strong enslave the weak, where justice does not exist." [S.]

"Why am I an anarchist? Why will I remain one? . . . because it is unjust to countenance the exploitation of man by man." [P., 33 years, architect.]

"If I question my feelings, my sense of duty replies: you must denounce everything in this world that is unjust. . . ." [A.]

Thus, the characteristic, **sense of justice**, is found to be more strongly developed in the anarchist mentality than is usual among human beings. **A priori**, one could deduce from the doctrines the necessity for their partisans to possess an intellectual structure differentiated from those of others by a notable development, sometimes exaggerated -- I mean, with regard to the mass of humanity -- of the spirit of revolt, the love of liberty, the sense of self and a feeling for others. In the same manner, one could, from



these same doctrines, deduce **a priori** the presence, in the anarchist mind, of the sense of justice. And, in fact, appeals to justice can be found in the teachings: a bitter criticism of unjust social organization, and a description of what they term an ideal society where justice reigns. It was thus fated that all believers in these theories should possess such a strongly developed sense of justice.

\* \* \*

Every being affected by the development of this sense beyond what is normal must necessarily also possess a sense of logic, that is to say: the faculty of constructing a chain of reasoning, of having a sequence of ideas. We advance no hypothesis as to the truth or error of the basis of this reasoning. In effect, this natural disposition to link ideas together and to reason indicates, in those who possess it, a notion of justice: they can reason, and this reasoning, with its sense of **rightness**, will develop in line with the development of the sense of justice. Thus it comes about that, as the anarchists display, as a characteristic, a **sense of justice** in their mental processes, they must also display, developed to a greater or lesser degree, the characteristic: **sense of logic**.

This conclusion, arrived at deductively, is confirmed by the inductive method.

"My character was distinguished . . . by the sense of logic."  
[A. Veidoux.]

"Over a period of time, I disputed with the anarchists who had opposed me during my election campaigns, and found them more **logical** than my friends, the politicians, who were too narrow-minded and inclined to petty grudges." [K.]

"I am rigorously logical; I follow a process of reasoning right through to the end, without stopping or turning aside, no matter how daring the conclusion is destined to be. Most of my critics have born witness to this 'excess of logic'." [O.]

"As the inventor of a number of mechanical devices which have found some application, you will understand that I must possess a logical mind. In fact, it was through the observation of the nature of things, the comparison of various machines, and through reasoning that I was led to the construction of my different inventions." [C.]

"I became an anarchist through reasoning, through logic . . ." [Dr. H.]

"I betook myself to the most conscientious and profound examination of anarchist communism, and I was shortly **constrained** to realize that this libertarian conception was, at last, the solution I sought." [Severin L., journalist, dramatic author, around thirty years.]

"Reasons that led me to anarchy: . . . 5, logic, goodness, honesty . . . 10, physiological laws (rights of the stomach, the brain, the eyes, etc.)" [P. Signac.]

"My spirit has never been able to accomodate ordinary solutions, and I always press ahead to the 'outrageous' extreme of my ideas, right to their final, logical consequence."  
[Ph. D.]

"Certainly, the more I saw and learned, the more I recognized and refused to accept prejudices . . ." [A.-F. Herold.]

Under analysis, all these extracts expose quite well the sense of logic that exists in anarchist thinking. In some, even, this sense of logic is developed to such a degree that its possessors are known as "outrageous" logicians. This mental characteristic is a general one: it is to be found in the unschooled as well as in the intellectual.

In the same fashion as the preceeding characteristics, the existence of this sense in the anarchist mentality could be deduced from anarchist teachings. Nothing there will contradict this: writings such as Kropotkin's **Anarchist Morality** and Jean Grave's **Societe Mourante et l'Anarchie** reveal an incontestable logic in their authors. The reasoning is rigorous, penetrating, without flaws. One could say the same of many anarchist pamphlets, at least of those that concern destructive theories. With theories of social reconstruction, the reasoning sometimes presents flaws and the logic is less rigorous. It is thus reasonable that individual mentalities apt to adopt these doctrines possess the characteristic of logic, which most often imbues these teachings. We have seen that examination of the confessions of anarchists has led us to the same conclusion

\* \* \*

In the course of the preceeding pages, we have noted that anarchists are observant; many quotations prove this. This quality indicates, in those who possess it, a curiosity for knowledge. The anarchist is, thus, investigative: he wants to learn and, to this end, observes society and studies in the real world as well as in books.

There is no need to dwell on this curiosity when treating of men



whose scientific fame is such that none can be ignorant of them. Elisee Reclus, Kropotkin, S. Merlino, Jean Grave, C. Malato, etc. are scholars and, hence, investigative. Further, read these absolutely typical passages:

"It was only through examination, out of curiosity, of the 'forbidden' books, and in selecting thoughts from each ancient and modern author... I had occasion to read Darwin, Letourneau, Proudhon, Blanqui, a bit of Spencer, **La Revolte**, and various authors from all periods and all countries...." [A. Veidaux.]

"By chance, I happened on a pamphlet of Malato's at a friend's house. It pleased me greatly, and from that day on I was changed completely from my pleasure-loving, womanizing self. I thought of nothing but reading, of instructing myself. I devoured the materialist philosophers, the economists...." [D.]

"At school, I was an excellent worker, so much so that they pressed me to gain a scholarship for college. I obtained it. At first, I was a good student, then I stopped working on my courses and gave myself over to general reading; all books seemed good to me. Later, I read the materialist philosophers, notably Buechner who had an enormous influence on me.... When I entered medicine, I kept myself up-to-date on all the latest scientific news. I loved to read and study, and I still do." [Dr. H.]

"I eagerly studied everything that fell into my hands.... with my very meagre resources, I bought myself books, newspapers, writing materials, and sometimes I tried to write poetry, attempting in that way to communicate the thoughts that obsessed me." [K.]

"I entered medicine... at the same time, I became involved with Buddhism, like so many others.... It was at this time that purely artistic preoccupations led me to read the 'Political and Literary Discussions' in the 'Mercure de France' and the 'Revue Blanche' where authors...." [Ph. D.]

"After leaving the lycee, I began writing for scientific journals on questions relative to the physical sciences. I undertook research on electricity. Later, after my military service, I abandoned this field of study to some extent in order to devote myself to the medical sciences and sociology." [O.]

"Leibnitz and Aristotle, my two favourite authors, were a marvellous preparation for understanding those theories known as anarchist. Proudhon, Guyau and Ibsen, whom I studied next, did not alter my opinion." [L. Malquin, author, around thirty years.]

"And yet, like so many others between the years of twenty and twenty-five, I wandered in a philosophical labyrinth, and was by turn an Hegelian, a Kantian, a follower of Spinoza, etc., until the day when Darwin became known to me. Certainly, I didn't understand him all at once, but the basic law of evolution struck me forcibly, and I amused myself by finding social applications." [P.]

One can see that all, whether educated or unschooled, have a lively desire for instruction. How suggestive in this regard are the declarations of D. and of K.!

This curiosity, which we have pointed out in scholars known as anarchists, which we rediscover in an examination of the works of anarchist authors (the Mirabeaus, the Paul Adams, the Bernard Lazares, etc.), which we note in individuals deprived of primary instruction, this curiosity could have been foreseen **a priori** in the partisans of anarchist doctrines.

In effect, this desire for learning has, as its end, the perfection of the individual: the person cultivates his Self through learning that of which he was ignorant and through involvement with various forms of science, of letters and of the arts.

Now, what is it that anarchist theory teaches, if not the cultivation of the self, the continued perfection of the individual?

Thus, the anarchist must have the desire to know. Observation has demonstrated to us that this is so, proving once more that the anarchist is not deprived of a sense of logic for, if it were otherwise, he would not seek to perfect himself at all, to learn those things of which he is ignorant. He would be an individualist in theory alone, and not in fact.

\* \* \*

In the various manifestations of the Spirit of Revolt, a characteristic of the mental constitution peculiar to anarchists, the



philosopher might discover some combative tendencies: due to his mentality, the anarchist cannot fail to react against that which infringes upon his liberty, his self, and against that which offends his sense of justice and his altruism. Led, most often by logic, to the adoption of anarchist doctrines — his particular character proves it, as well as the extracts which it seemed to us permissible to cite — the anarchist believes that he possesses the truth or, it little matters which, does indeed possess it.

His altruism obliges him to make this truth known to others. Little by little, through a sort of auto-suggestion, this truth and its propagation become his sole objectives. He thinks of it ceaselessly, he rehearses it without end: it is a fixed idea that blossoms into an ardent faith, that faith that can move mountains. He then spreads his notions, wherever he may happen to be: in the studio and the salon, at table and before the court, in prison as well as at liberty. He speaks at meetings, writes for newspapers, holds forth in groups, publishes pamphlets, brochures, books. Consciously or not, he propagandizes! He is the veritable apostle of a doctrine of which it little matters whether it be modern or ancient, good or evil.

The characteristic of active propagandizing is plainly visible in these anarchist declarations:

“Every injustice, every attempt to infringe on humanity, will find us always prepared and ready for battle. For as long as inequity persists, we — anarchists, communists, internationalists — will remain in a state of permanent revolution.” [Elisee Reclus]

“I gave myself over entirely to anarchy. I have paid dearly for my presumption. My road to Damascus has lacked for flowers, but my conscience does not reproach me with anything and, for as long as there remains near me one person rendered miserable by the organization of society, I will be the enemy of that organization.” [K.]

“This kind of examination of one’s conscience . . . can force a certain number of men to reflect . . . It is to those that I address myself. If there exist, among the bourgeoisie from which I come, sincere men who . . . I hope that these lines will come to their attention and inspire them to profitable reflections . . . My thought now extends to those admirable men who, in all lands, struggle to spread the Truth and pay,

with life or liberty, for their devotion to the great anarchic idea . . . In the measure of liberty granted me by my surroundings, in the circumstances among which I find myself, my heart is with those who today are struggling — and who, I have every faith, will triumph tomorrow.” [Darnaud.]

“I am convinced that I am in the right to be an anarchist. Moreover, I am happy! I try to make the truth known to as many people as possible . . . With my bourgeois clientele, I lose no opportunity to spread the good word.” [Dr. H.]

“Utterly convinced of the truth, the grandeur and the nobility of the anarchist Idea, I love it to the extent of suffering cruelly when I see it misunderstood, and of sacrificing to it my tranquillity, my family, even connections that are dear to me — and my future!” [Severin L.]

“ . . . On that day, I was happy like a man freed from a heavy burden, and immediately went to share my discovery with some friends that I had then. I had the pleasure of convincing two or three. The others gave me the cold shoulder, and our friendship has slowly vanished.” [P.]

“Before going to the hospital, I was a theoretical anarchist; after leaving, I was a militant, as I hope always to be.” [A. Rette.]

Each line of these confessions reverberates with this urge to propagandize. All the effort of which each is capable goes towards this end: leading men to see as they do.

In the newspapers that are so hostile to the anarchists, like the **Figaro**, the **Journal**, the **Echo de Paris**, read the stories, the novellas and the chronicles of Mirbeau, Bauer, Descaves, Paul Adam, Bernard Lazare, Ajalbert, Severine, etc., and you will note the anarchist tendencies that appear there. Follow the new journals that have been mentioned in another chapter in this book, and you will verify that there is, so to speak, not one piece of verse, not one story, not one essay that does not tend to the destruction of what the anarchists term social “prejudices”: patriotism, family, religion, the judicial system, the army, etc.

All the intellectuals of this age: scientists, authors, artists, etc. — it is almost permissible to say all, so rare are those who



sequester themselves in their ivory towers, or who profess doctrines approving of the **status quo** — I mean to say all those young men come into their majority since 1870: all these have libertarian tendencies. The result is widespread propaganda in all its most diverse forms, in the most different areas.

\* \* \*

In conclusion, the inductive method, confirmed by deduction, has led us to the establishing of an ideal anarchist type whose mentality is formed by an aggregate of common psychic traits. Every anarchist has some part in this ideal type, which is a means of permitting us to distinguish him from other men. This typical anarchist can be defined as follows: a man affected by the Spirit of Revolt in one or several of its forms (spirit of opposition, of examination, of criticism, of innovation), endowed with a great love of liberty, egotistic or individualistic, possessed of a great curiosity and of a lively desire to learn. To such a mentality are added: an ardent love of others, a highly-developed moral sensibility, a profound sense of justice, a sense of logic and strongly combative tendencies.

Such is the average psychic type of the anarchist.

He is, in summary, an individual in revolt; libertarian; individualistic; altruistic; logical; desirous of justice; investigative; propagandizing.

\*\*\*\*\*

## AFTERWORD

Liberty, revolution, irony. This is the nature of the peril advanced by our series.

And irony does not mean being, as M. Pujo puts it, "sarcastic or criticizing just for the sake of finding fault." It is, rather, a means toward understanding, a confrontation with the problem of thinking for oneself, a way of dislocating the nightmare which pretends to dream our lives down to the slightest detail.

Is it **reasonable** to present as an anarchist text this translation of a mediocre essay culled from a sensationalist book, a muddled self-parody of Cartesian rationalism that might best be left to disintegrate in some obscure corner of history? No, not reasonable. "I have wasted my days in the company of reasonable men. From now on, my sport will be with futile things," says a character in Nagib Mahfuz's **The Other Side**. And when we talk about anarchy we are not talking about **being reasonable**, not talking about the inductive and deductive methods as grotesquely abused by Augustin Hamon. We are talking about a way of seeing this man's miserable piece of so-called scholarship as a large measure of the threat. We are talking about laughing it out of existence. Because, in the end, we are talking about **the other side**, about futile things. For does not the entire anarchist project seem futile? Are we not wasting our time in even discussing the possibility of anarchism?

Let it be futile, then. But let it also be libertarian, individualistic, altruistic, logical, desirous of justice, investigative: like certain characters in an old book. Let it bespeak sufficient irony to see clearly and the revolutionary impulse to apply that clarity of vision. Let it assume the liberty to step out beyond the pages of a book to a world where the actual sun of anarchy might rise at the end of an all-too-real nightmare. Let our project be futile enough to hope for nothing and to work towards everything.

"If I were you," wrote Hubert Aquin to a friend, "I would discover for myself a secret obsession vast enough to prevent boredom and violent enough to absorb my rage."

You, reader, are Augustin Hamon. If I were you, I would destroy this book having read it. And do whatever — logically, deductively — comes next.

—J-P. C.



