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THE ANCIENT LOWLY

History of the Ancient Working People from the
Earliest Known Period to the Adoption
of Christianity by Constantine

VOLUME I

BY
C. OSBORNE WARD



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Publisher's Note to Fourth Edition

The first editions of Osborne Ward's great work were printed and circulated privately, because no capitalist publishing house would take the responsibility for so revolutionary a book, and no socialist publishing house existed.

Now, nearly twenty years after the first publication of the book, its publication has been taken over by a co-operative publishing house owned by sixteen hundred socialist clubs and individual socialists. A systematic effort will now for the first time be made to give this author's works the wide circulation they deserve.

Osborne Ward's contribution to the history of the working class movement is unique, and its tremendous value is only beginning to be appreciated. In his chosen field, the period of ancient civilization covered by histories and inscriptions, he speaks with an authority based on a minute and comprehensive knowledge of his subject.

The case is different when he comments on another field of investigation, and it is only fair to warn the reader that the author's statements on page 38, which reappear in various forms elsewhere in the book, are now known to be erroneous. The researches of Lewis H. Morgan in "Ancient Society," popularized by Frederick Engels in his "Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," have stood the test of a generation of criticism, and they show conclusively that a communist form of society existed for ages before the beginning of the era described so graphically in the present work.

CHARLES H. KERR.

January, 1907.

PREFACE.

The author of this volume is aware that a strong opposition may set in and perhaps for a time, object to the thoughts and the facts which it portrays.

Much of its contents is new. The ideas that lay at the bottom of the ancient competitive system, though in their day thoroughly understood, have been so systematically attacked and gnawed away during our nearly 2,000 years' trial of the new institution, that men now, no longer comprehend them. The whole may strike the reader as news. Much of it indeed, reads like a revelation from a sealed book; and we may not at first be able to comprehend it as a natural effect of a cause.

The introduction of Christianity was fought, and for a long time resisted by the laboring element itself; solely on the ground that it seriously interfered with idol, amulet, palladium and temple drapery manufacture. As shown in the chapter on "Image-makers," there were organized trades, whose labor and means of obtaining a living were entirely confined to their skill in producing for the pagan priesthood

these innumerable images and paraphernalia of worship. Indeed, the ultimate introduction of certain unmistakable forms of idol worship to be found lingering in the so-called Christianity to-day, must be considered as having been partly motivated by the resistance of trades unions against any change which would result in depriving themselves and their babes of bread. This has been a potent hindrance to the ever growing but imperceptible realization of the social revolution.

The great strikes and uprisings of the working people of the ancient world are almost unknown to the living age. It matters little how accounts of five immense strike-wars, involving destruction of property and mutual slaughter of millions of people have been suppressed, or have otherwise failed to reach us;—the fact remains that people are absolutely ignorant of those great events. A meagre sketch of Spartacus may be seen in the encyclopedias, but it is always ruined and its interest pinched and blighted by being classed with crime, its heroes with criminals, its theme with desecration. Yet Spartacus was one of the great generals of history; fully equal to Hannibal and Napoleon, while his cause was much more just and infinitely nobler, his life a model of the beautiful and virtuous, his death an episode of surpassing grandeur.

Still more strange is it, that the great ten-years' war of Eunus should be unknown. He martialled at one time, an army of two hundred thousand soldiers. He manœuvred them and fought for ten full years for liberty, defeating army after army of Rome. Why is the world ignorant of this fierce, epochal rebellion?

Almost the whole matter is passed over in silence by our histories of Rome. In these pages it will be read as news; yet should a similar war rage in our day, against a similar condition of slavery, its cause would not only be considered just, but the combatants would have the sympathy and moral support of the civilized world. The story of this wonderful workman is news.

The great system of labor organization explained in these pages must likewise be regarded as a chapter of news. The portentous fact has lain in abeyance century after century, with the human family in profound ignorance of an organization of trades and other labor unions so powerful that for hundreds of years they undertook and successfully conducted the business of manufacture, of distribution, of purveying provisions to armies, of feeding the inhabitants of the largest cities in the world, of inventing, supplying and working the huge engines of war, and of collecting customs and taxes—tasks confided to their care by the state.

Our civilization has a blushing poor excuse for its profound ignorance of these facts; for the evidences have existed from much before the beginning of our era—indeed the fragments of the ravaged history were far less broken and the recorded annals much fresher, more numerous and less mutilated than the relics which the author with arduous labor and pains-taking, has had at command in bringing them to the surface. Besides the records that have come to us thus broken and distorted by the wreckers who feared the moral blaze of literature, there were, in all probability, thousands of inscriptions then, where but dozens remain now to be consulted; and they are growing fewer and dimmer as their value rises higher in the estimation

of a thinking, appreciative, gradually awakening world.

The author is keenly aware that certain critics will complain of his dragging religion so prominently forward that the work is spoiled. The defense is, that though our charming histories from a point of view of brilliant events, such as daring deeds of heroes, battles and bloodshed, may be found among the ancients without encountering much of a religious nature, yet such is not the case in the lesser affairs of ancient social and political life. The state, city and family were themselves a part of the ancient religion and were a part of its property. Priests were public officers. Home life of the nobles was in constant conformity with the ritual. The organizations of labor were so closely watched by the jealous law that they were obliged to assume a religious attitude they did not feel in order to escape being suppressed. A long list of what we in our time consider honorable, business-like doings, was rated as blasphemy against the gods and punished with death.

Nearly all of the idolatry, with its attendant superstition and nympholepsy, its giants and prodigies, its notions of *elysium* and *tartarus*, its quaking genuflections, its bloody sacrifices and its gladiatorial wakes, had their real origin in the torture of the menials who delved, and in the rewards of the favored ones who banqueted on the riches which flowed from unpaid labor; and nearly all the iconoclasm of the later sophists may perhaps be traced to an organized resistance of the working people of pre-christian days. These seemingly curious, if not extraordinary truths will, we are confident, be made clear to the intelligent, careful reader of these pages; and in this humble hope, the

author has set them forth as an indispensable beginning to those who would logically and correctly understand the great problem of labor as it is to-day.

As rightly mentioned by Bancroft and others occupied in the collection and study of monumental archaeology, there is often a readiness among the degenerate natives to ingeniously imitate and palm off for genuine, numbers of fraudulent counterfeit relics upon the unsuspecting and credulous wonder-hunters. This, however, is with us, in our scope of research, placed beyond suspicion. Most of the slabs we mention have already been lying unobserved, on their original sites or in by-nooks of the museums of their own countries, for hundreds of years; but they have long since been recorded, catalogued and even numbered in dingy old books and manuscripts, the importance of their grim inscriptions having been little understood by the capable epigraphists themselves. Besides, no interest having ever been elicited on subjects of which they are so suggestive, there has been no lively demand for them, even as curiosities. They are genuine.

The author may sum up these prefatory remarks with a word on the general lesson taught by this volume; it being one of the first histories yet compiled and written exclusively from a standpoint of social science. That the "still small voice" meant the ever suppressed yet ever living, struggling, co-operating and mutually supporting majorities, is made self-suggestive without forsaking history. The phenomenal fact is moreover brought out, that the present movement whose most radical wing loudly disclaims Christianity, is nevertheless building exactly upon the precepts of that faith, as it was told to us and taught us by Jesus Christ; whatever may or may

not have been borrowed by His school from the immense social organization of His own and preceding ages.

Modern greed with its class hatreds, individualisms, aristocracy, its struggle for personal wealth, dangerous, defiant in our faith and in our political economy, is not Christianity at all; it is the ancient evil still lingering in the roots of the gradually decaying paganism that appears to remain for the labor movement to smother and at last uproot and completely annihilate.

One thing must be solemnly set forth as a very suggestive hint to modern anarchists, however honest their impulses. The historical facts are that the great strikes, rebellions and social wars—if we are permitted to except those of Drimakos and the strike of the 20,000 from the silver mines of Laurium in Attica—all turned out disastrously for the general cause. The punishments meted out to the strikers and insurgents of the working class after their overthrow by the Romans, as in the rebellions of Eunus, of Athenion, of Spartacus, of every one we have treated in this book, with but the above exceptions, was bloody, revengeful and exterminatory to the last degree. An ancient author whom we quote, gives the aggregate number crucified at something more than a million. Crassus and Pompey alone crucified over 6,000 workingmen on the Appian Way as examples of the awful blood-wreaking to be expected from Roman military justice. Twenty thousand were similarly massacred at Enna and Tauromanion. These unscrupulous deeds of retribution that went far toward annihilating the ancient civilization by stimulating a blood-thirsting craze in a long succession of Roman emperors, completely extinguished all hopes of the workingmen for the achievement of liberty by violent means.

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

The author of the Ancient Lowly, on presenting to the public his first and incomplete edition, felt that it was an experiment. It was a mass of facts, withheld for many ages from the human race—some that had been suppressed—and his natural conjecture that there is still a desire to cover and conceal them was verified by a general refusal on the part of publishing firms, to touch it. He published it himself. Large numbers of letters flowing in from kind-hearted readers at every quarter, and a delightful, perhaps overwrought expression of thanks and sympathy in form of sermons, newspaper reviews and lecture themes has been a consolation that cannot be measured by this poor expression of gratitude. Let his loving answer and assurance to them all be, that the book shall not fall into vandal hands for money or for price; but the naked truth shall be unstintedly offered to its generous and appreciative readers who thus announce themselves, after ages of agitation, fully prepared to accept.

Considerable disappointment has been gently hinted, that the author broke off abruptly without writing a chapter of conclusions. The actually written twenty-fourth chapter promised in the table of contents, was prudentially omitted in the first edition. Conclusions are deviations from the historian's compass—this is one explanation. A stronger one is, that the general conviction which overtakes the student, on studying the ancient working people, is of a nature so radical as to be distasteful to many readers.

One curious conclusion is, that the modern and correct doctrine of nationalizing the tools of labor was actually carried out, almost to perfection, especially in the celebrated Spartan state. But alas! the awful incongruity of its system was, that human beings as slaves, were themselves bodily those nationalized tools! though treated with

worse contempt of feeling than we have for machines propelled by motors instead of whips ; and the demand of the nationalists or socialists to-day is in some points of principle, to return to the nationalization of Lycurgus, only with the chattel-slave tools and wage-slave tools substituted, or supplanted by the inanimate labor-saving implements this much-abused workman has invented, constructed and re-duplicated for a higher civilization. When this shall have been accomplished there will be an exact social equality and a status of positive equities—a vast and beneficent revolution! Surely, under these considerations, the working masses, the “two-thirds majority,” can afford to crowd onward until they reach the ambrosial gardens, become themselves masters and re-enjoy the symposium, in a region of equitable distribution and plentitude, the “mansion of the blessed,” longed for in those earlier ages.

Another conclusion arrived at from the facts in history, and explained in this terminal chapter is, that the ancient rebellions, although fearfully disastrous, as mentioned by way of warning in our preface to the first edition, were, under the circumstances, just. Workingmen who rebelled and bravely fought and lost, had no other friend to appeal to but their own strong arms ; and looking back upon their sufferings and their magnificent resistance, we clearly see that they did not lose after all. They won, though they fell in myriads—a martyrdom, nobler and happier than was their crucial life from which such a death was triumphant relief—for by their fall they taught a lesson to an inexperienced world that is to this day exerting its influence in creating a better era. We may be thankful for their having lived and fought and died ; for they were the true forefathers of these struggling wage-slaves, now making themselves felt and feared in these, though still cruel and hateful, yet brighter and more hopeful surroundings.

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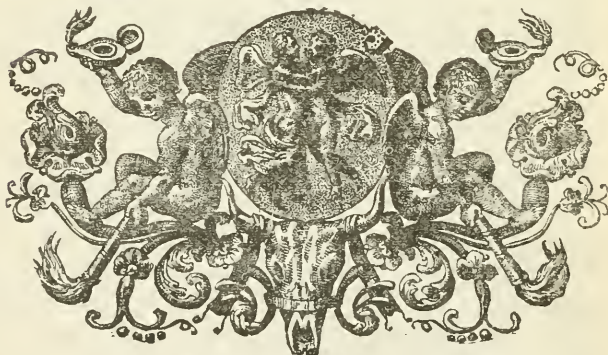
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His Introduction to the Ladies—An Earthquake believed to have been the Spartans' Punishment for Cruelty to the Working People—The Poor and Lowly were called "Slave Souls"—The Great Aristotle's Curse—Lucian's Choice of a Trade—Even Plutarch Lampoons Them—Kings Planting Poisons with which to Destroy Them—Prophets and Messiahs—Eunus the Prophet of Antioch—His Plan of Salvation—No Quarters—Wholesale Extinction of the Wealthy—What Succeeding Ages Learned from the Outcome of this Ordeal of Carnage—Plans of the Anarchists Taught Needful Lessons on Future Political Economy—Drimakos—His Home of Run-away Angels in the Skies—How his Plan Worked—Desperate Plan of Aristonicus in Asia Minor which offers the Toilers the Beatitude of being "Citizens of the Sun"—Sad Outcome—Innocent Plan of Spartacus—His Ideal "Salvation" was his Emancipation Proclamation and Armed Power to Enforce It—He Wanted to Go Home to the Green Hills of His Boyhood—All these Plan-Makers were Messiahs and Prophets—"The Kings Kill the Prophets"—The Great Messiah at Last—Long-Smothered Authors Dragged forth—Their own Utterances Quoted in the Living Tongue—Numerous Excerpts from their Books—Men Growing Wise in Their Understanding—The Vastness of the Revolution from the Pagan Cult which Denied the Majority Bo' h Soul and Liberty, threw the Race into Bewilderment of Two Thousand Years of Trial and Doubt—Plans of the Founders of Government Reviewed—Resemblance of Socrates and Jesus—Paralellisms Drawn—One Agitates by Simile the other, Allegory—Proof that they were Both Great Orators—Their Eloquence—Teaching Precepts that are just Becoming Applicable—The Intellectual Stagnation in after Ages a Natural Consequence upon a Revolution that Overturned the Great Pagan Cult—The Mohammedan Rescue—London's Socialism from Same Old Plant—What two Men Did in Twenty-five Centuries—Pagan Selfishness Exhibited in Prayers—Very Ancient Prayers of Our Germano-Aryan Mothers and Fathers—Specimens Quoted—Prayer of Alcestis—Of Other honest Pagans—All Based upon Self and Family—Prayer of Socrates to Pan for More Wisdom and Humility—Prayer of Juvenal for the Poor Slave's Deliverance—Finally, after many Centuries, the Dying Prayer Begged the Pan of Socrates or Universal Father for Universal Cancellation, to fit the World for a New Era—The Relation of the Jews to the Labor Movement—The Romans, Mad at the Spread of the Christian Doctrines of Universal Equality, Take Vengeance in the Slaughter of the Jews—Progress of Ancient Invention—The Labor-saving Reaper—Conclusion

THE ANCIENT LOWLY.

CHAPTER I

TAINT OF LABOR

TRAITS AND PECULIARITIES OF RACES.

GRIEVANCE of the Working Classes—The Competitive System among the Ancients—Growing Change of Taste in Readers of History—Inscriptions and Suppressed Fragments more recently becoming Incentives to Reflecting Readers who Seek them as a Means to secure Facts—No true Democracy No primeval Middle Class known to the Aryan Family—The Taint of Labor an Inheritance through the Pagan Religious Political Economy.

STUDENTS of history appear to be of three distinct classes: first, those who examine it to enjoy the stirring scenes of war and the exhibit that it makes of popular pageant, pomp and military genius; secondly, those who examine it with an object of gleaning facts regarding spiritual, ecclesiastical and other matters of religion; and lastly those who search for recounted deeds as well as clues to tenets of social movements among mankind. In this last, there has been an increasing interest since the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Among the precious obscurities sought by our generation are historical fragments, obscure hints and allusions and queer palæographs on tablets of bronze, stone, earthenware and other objects, containing inscriptions, symbols and emblems, even rules showing the existence of labor societies all through the past civilization. Especially is research quickened in the hearts of a certain class of antiquaries who are interested in the search of history, for its social phases.

It is evident from all clues obtainable that in the open world there has never existed a social government. Efforts have been made to prove that mankind at various intervals and at various points, once enjoyed conditions of life based so radically upon democratic laws as to resemble those now advocated; but such examples do not bear the test of rigid investigation. Although there have existed republics and paternal governments they have been so tinged with patrician leadership on the one hand and patriarchal dictatorship on the other, as to render it impossible to compare them with the socialism now advocated, where the lowly ascend and the lordly descend, to unite on a common level. The deep aim of these great struggles of our age known as the labor movement is to acquire and to enjoy complete and lasting co-operation. This co-operation, or brotherhood of life economies is expected to be not only political but economical, changing both the government and the methods of creating and dispensing the means of life, from the competitive into the purely democratic or co-operative. A practical adoption of this mutualism by any tribe or branch of the human family has probably never yet occurred and never has such a state of things existed except among those secretly organized, of whom we propose to treat.

All the evidences combine to prove that the only method societies have ever yet used, either in political or in economic life, is the competitive one; and as the change from the purely competitive into the purely co-operative involves little less than revolution, or to say the least, introversion, it becomes a study of gravest importance. In the remote past so meagre was the co-operative and so potent the competitive that there existed no intermediary classes and conflicts were common in consequence. Roscher thinks that middlemen are an indispensable element to peace; and it seems evident that his opinions are not without grounds, when applied to every stage of the competitive system in all known ages of the world. ¹

¹ *Principes d'Économie politique*, Paris, 1857, pp. 175-6. "Tant qu'il existe entre les riches et les pauvres une classe intermédiaire considérable, l'influence morale qu'elle exerce suffit pour empêcher une collision".

Glimpses of evidence reward the researchers into the early history of the laboring masses by establishing the fact that there primarily existed no middle class. But we find great numbers of freedmen or plebeians as early as 700 years before Christ. Men were originally divided into lords and servants. There were masters and there were slaves. The chasm between these two was an empty pit so wide that no leap from one class to the other was considered either practicable or imaginable. As late as the sophists there appears a pronounced aversion to wage taking, especially in all business having for its object educational results. Plato abhorred a sophist who would work for wages. Public servants in the instruction of philosophy and other branches of what was then an ordinary education, were despised when they allowed themselves to belittle their manhood and their calling by this ignoble pay. Plato received gifts from the rich but refused pay. He was a patrician or peer. A statesman of to-day who receives gifts and is not content with his salary is regarded with distrust and aversion, almost as great as that against wages in ancient times. One can account for this metamorphosis of ethics only in the comparative absence in those days of labor among patricians or managers. Although free mercenary soldiers were common who took wages for their recompense, and free hucksters and other petty dealers were known to exist, yet most labor of cultivation, of building, of housekeeping and a considerable amount of the labor of mechanics was performed by slaves.

The law of Moses had partly abolished slavery among the Hebrews as early as B. C. 1400, probably on account of the contempt for that degradation which the Hebrews felt, after the deliverance from their protracted slavery in Egypt. It appears that the Hebrews were the chief originators and conservators of what is now known and advocated in the name of socialism; and their weird life, peculiar language, laws, struggles and inextinguishable nationality scintillate through many of the obscurities of history in a manner to command the wonder if not the awe of all lovers of democratic society. Especially does this remark apply when we consider the intensely and

bitterly opposite character of every other community or nationality with which the Hebrew race has ever come in contact.

The Hebrew people were the *Congregation* and the place where they assembled was called the *Tabernacle*. The Pentateuch that records the great Jewish law, quite sufficiently explains that absolute liberty, or relative socialization was the law of Moses.² Under no other code of laws have equal rights of man with man been possible among other contemporaneous nations or tribes; because the ethics of the family, the city or state, were grounded upon the competitive rather than the co-operative or mutual principle.³ Nearly all the ancients were fighters. The Hebrew branch of the great Semitic family seems to have been a partial exception. It is true that they had wars and competed with outsiders; but their peace-loving traits within their own ranks, prevailed over warlike ones, probably somewhat as a result of their long captivity in Egypt, but principally from the peaceful and humane code of laws which they received from Moses. But it appears very certain that Jewish monotheism, together with the social or mutually protective habits of this people and their comparatively mild laws made them the object of hatred among the more competitive and consequently fiercer nations with whom they came in contact.

It is not then, from this Semitic branch of the human family that our struggling, warlike and competitive characteristics are derived. A close observation of the Hebrews discloses that although they were often engaged in strifes it was generally because attacked. The aggressiveness which characterizes mankind springs not from the Semitic so much as from the Aryan germ.⁴ Two distinct ideas have been contended for from the dimmest remoteness either of the provable or the conjectural history. One is the co-operative, which means the mutually protective or socialistic, the other the competitive or warlike and aggressive.

² Leviticus, xix. Mann's History of Ancient and Mediæval Republics, pp. 3-10.

³ Fustel de Coulanges, Cité Antique, Chap. I. Croyances sur l'ame et sur la mort.

⁴ The Phœnicians are excepted from this remark.

Through thousands of ages men have vigorously contended for these antipodal results, especially in Europe. They have contended for them through religious beliefs, through social inculcation and philosophy, through rigid scholastic training, and through the most implacable hatreds, bloody persecutions and race-wars ever recorded in the annals of mankind. Until we become better acquainted with the history of the poor classes and divest ourselves of clouds that have hitherto obscured the vision of all historians; until we study the past especially the somber life and strange career of the Semitic family, from a standpoint of development or evolution, and analyze their strangely tenacious and persistent views unbiased by the views through which we are still taught to regard others; until we can catch the practical advantages of co-operation, mutually one with another and thoroughly see the savage nature of competitive life, must we remain blind to the true object which inspired the greatest advent of this world;—the visit and labors at Palestine and the movement whose undying germs there planted the world still loves and cultivates.

These words are expressed preliminarily to announcing facts which have perhaps never before been observed and certainly never enough considered:—that the Aryan or Indo-European branch of the human race has always, in private and in public life, in religion, in society conventionalism, in methods of reasoning and in its political economy, been *competitive*, whilst the Semitic branch has ever been *co-operative*. For thousands of years these two great families have lived over against each other, sometimes mixed, sometimes by themselves, have struggled and fought, have built up and torn down, each with its own inexorably fixed notions; and never as we shall prove, did they show anything like a fusion or even a conciliation of the two systems until three hundred years after the death of Christ. They are warring still; and the direct causes of this warfare as well as its direct results are the great labor movements of today. We hope in these pages to show that the natural bent of the lowly majority of mankind is toward co-op-

eration; that race hatreds ran so high that it became necessary to have an Intercessor or mediator to act between the two races and their two ideas, in order to bring about a mutually co-operative system under which the large majorities, including working people could better subsist. It became necessary to have this Intercessor not merely to arrange a religion based upon salvation of the soul or immortal principle, but more likely, as our train of evidence goes to prove, to introduce an organizable method for the economic salvation of the downtrodden and realize practically the promised "Heaven on earth."

We mean by this that from the days of Moses, dating something above fourteen hundred years before Christ, there have existed two distinctly opposite sets of ideas or of thought upon which mankind—the arrogant blooded family with its competition on the one hand and the slave with his rebellions, and freedman with his formidable unions on the other—have been struggling to build up civilizations. The transition from a completely competitive to a mutually co-operative system involved complete revolution. The channels in which human thought has run since man has been a mere animal, occupying as the theory of evolution daringly asserts, a hundred thousand or more of years, have, except in the case of the persecuted and sometimes almost exterminated unions, been purely competitive.

The competitive is the oldest system known. It is profoundly aged. It is the system employed by all living beings by which to procure for individuals, each for itself and its species, the means wherewith to subsist. It is, without the least shadow of doubt, the original. It consists in methods of the individual, whether a weed, a tree, fox, reptile, hawk or human being, of subsisting, as an isolated creature or *ego*, independently of others. It has recognized self as uppermost and taken upon its own responsibility for others' sake their care only for gratification of self, as that manifested in preservation of species.

Back in the remote past, as reason began to dawn upon creeping cave-dwellers or troglodytes of our race, when

thought was inspired by suspicion and methods of subsistence were based upon cunning, nature, in the vagueness of his understanding was full of terrors. As he began to realize the certainty of death, man established the first religion; but it was purely upon the competitive basis, always with this aristocratical ego uppermost.

Not until uncounted ages had passed, nor until this pagan religion was inconceivably old did another appear, arising from the mutually protective or co-operative idea. This was at so late a period that by groping back into the misty past, we are enabled to know its founder and trace its history. That it was an innovation, intolerably antithetical to this more aged, original competition or brute-force underlying and inspiring both business and religion is proved by the hatreds borne against it, which have so stamped themselves, not so much upon the religion as upon the whole race that kindled its flame, spoke its tongue and cherished its ideas.

The great struggle going on to-day seems best understood by the laborer.⁵ Persons brought up under the purely competitive system which governs human affairs, see with difficulty the idea of true socialism; but the Jews even of our day, grasp it with ease. We are at a loss to comprehend this. Why should the two founders of the labor party in Germany have arrived while young, at the same conception of a method which involves a revolution from the prevailing ideas of political economy? Marx and Lassalle had been born and educated under the Mosaic law. Ricardo, a Jewish speculator in stocks, was brought up in strict obedience to the Jewish law by his father; but finding the Hebrew doctrine very adverse to his speculative tendencies, notions of wages and political economy, he withdrew or seceded from his ancestral religion and joined the more numerous ranks of the competitive one.⁶

The Mosaic Law, divested of its idiosyncracies such as

⁵ See Prof. Ely's *French and German Socialisms*; Chap. xii. pp. 189-203; Lassalle's *Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiter Verein*. Ferdinand Lassalle and Karl Marx were Jews; and it is conjectured that their ease in comprehending the true theories of the working people emanated from their early training.

⁶ McCulloch, *Introduction to The Life of Ricardo*; London, 1876.

thirty-two hundred years ago, when men were simpler, were suitable enough, condensed into fair English, reads about as follows:

It is compulsory upon every man to stand in awe and obedience before father and mother and to keep the sabbath. Do not turn in favor of idols nor make molten gods for your worship. All sacrifice of a peace offering must be offered of your own free will, and eaten the same day and the next; for if any of it remain until the third, it must be burned as unhallowed and abominable.

When you reap the harvests of your land, leave some in the corners of the field and do not gather the gleanings of the harvest nor glean the vineyards. Leave something for the poor and the stranger.⁷ All stealing, false dealing and lying, one to another are forbidden. You must not swear by my name falsely nor profane it. You are forbidden to defraud or rob your neighbor. Pay without delay the wages agreed upon, to those whom you engage to labor for you. Never ill-treat the deaf nor put a stumbling block before the blind. Be careful and discreet in your judgment and your word of honor, treating neighbors with righteous equality. Never go about tale-bearing among the people, nor stir feuds with neighbors. To hate your brother is forbidden and to prevent him from falling into error you should call his attention to his fault. Abstain from revenges and grudges against the people and love your neighbor as yourself. Cultivate your stock after the natural law of selection. Let the seed of your fields be pure. Let your garments be un-mixed; if linen, let them be of pure linen; if wool, let them be all wool.

Then follow many details minutely describing what constitutes crime and what the punishment. Many of the punishments, while probably in very good keeping with an early and semi-barbarous age, appear to us brutal and distasteful in the extreme. The severe punishment of death⁸ visited upon all who defiled the peculiar people by mixing their blood with Moloch,⁹ has gone far toward preserving the Hebrew stock from admixture with other races of mankind. The purity with which the Jews have

⁷ *Leviticus*, xxiii. 22.

⁸ *Leviticus*. xx. 2. 7.

⁹ *Leviticus*, xxi. 14.

thus maintained themselves amid vicissitudes, such as would have swallowed up and annihilated any other family of the human race, is readily pronounced one of the most remarkable phenomena encountered in the study of ethnology. The command is severe against witch, wizard and spirit-worship.¹⁰ This must be partly accounted for by the fact that the Egyptians, under whose domination the Jews had chafed for 400 years as slaves, were among the most superstitious in their belief in, and worship of all sorts of prestigation. Charms, incantations, witchcraft and all the sleights of the wand were so popular that the art was for ages interwoven with their religion. However much we may desire to ignore all mention of religion in this history of the ancient lowly, we find this impossible because of the prevalence of priest-power and dictum in political economy. The Hebrews were the only ancients who worshiped one deity;¹¹ and as that deity is represented to be the very one who dictated the law of Moses, he would naturally be severe against false gods. "I am a jealous God," is an expression often repeated in the bible;¹² and such a one in giving a code of laws for the government of men would scarcely do otherwise than make idolatry a crime. Immodesty also receives a full share of condemnation from the great Hebrew law, which thoroughly defines¹³ what constitutes unrefined or immodest actions.

It is thus seen that a lofty spirit of chastity and of moral purity is inculcated into all the Mosaic law. There is nothing in it that binds the Jews to the practice of anything like close community of goods. The law of Moses is not communistical. Competitive methods then as now, were the reigning ones. But the law was mutually protective. The condition of society to-day is toned in a great measure by the practice of the demands of this aged code. Nearly all of the above cited paragraphs are now being obeyed by us; and they act alike, among Jew and

¹⁰ *Leviticus*, xx. 6. Witch hanging by our fore-fathers originates here.

¹¹ By this is meant; one animate, all-powerful being. Ancient *Heliotry* and other Pagan forms, most of which treated the working class with contempt and cruelty as we shall show, paid homage to *inanimate*, representative gods.

¹² *Exodus*, xx. 5.

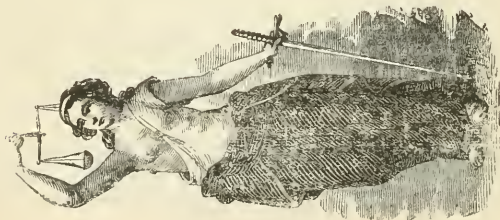
¹³ *Leviticus*, xx. 17.

gentile, an effective part in keeping our civilization pure. The command¹⁴ that the people when harvesting their grain and grapes, should not forget those who are less fortunate, but should leave some for them, is a touching rebuke to the niggardly system of these more enlightened times. One remarkable habit, that of buying and selling, owning and profiting upon slaves, even of their own kindred,¹⁵ seems inconsistent and cannot again enter into practice. It also, to our critical understanding, brings into severe reproach and doubt the sacred or divine authorship of the law of Moses. Jesus rectified all this.

Most of the customs of the Hebrews are fixed. The same rules established in Palestine thirty-two hundred years ago are still adhered to. It is true that at that time Judæa was a farming or pastoral country; and that the Jews of to-day, having been separated by defeat and persecution, scattered and distributed to all portions of the world, cannot continue their original pastoral and agricultural vocations and so have become merchants and money-lenders and have assumed the various methods of obtaining a living similarly to other people. It is also true that being thus isolated, having no country, and obliged to exist in the competitive world, under the competitive idea, they act among outsiders competitively.¹⁶ This they do; and they do it thoroughly.

¹⁴Leviticus xix. 9, 10. ¹⁵Exodus xxi. 2—8. Our object in bringing the Jewish question in here, is to arrange the groundwork before bringing forward the great movements of the lowly, enslaved working people, who, as will be seen, had not only their grievance but their distinct *Plans of Salvation* from trouble, which they for ages followed.

¹⁶See Millman, *History of the Jews*.



CHAPTER II

THE INDO-EUROPEANS.

THEIR COMPETITIVE SYSTEM.

RELIGION and Politics of the Indo-Europeans Identical—Reason for Religion mixing with Movements of Labor—The father the Original Slaveholder—His Children the Original Slaves—Both the Law and Religion empowered him to Kill them—Work of Conscience in the Labor Problem.

HISTORY began to register facts and to throw its earliest light on the actions of the human race about the time that slavery began to take its leave. But enough of the slave system always remained to cast its dark shadows upon life. There had, previously to the historic record and ages before the breaking up of slavery, been an immense, an immeasurable period of time through whose trackless swamps humanity had trod; for the weak, uncertain story of a once happy reign of Neptune,¹ we are forced to ignore for want of evidence. When we reflect that there were freedmen or emancipated slaves two thousand years before the beginning of the Christian era, and that consequently the laboring classes have been struggling for four thousand years, writhing out from their slave fet-

¹Plato says (*Laws*, iv. 6, Bekk., L. ed.), that a great while before cities were ever built, as is told, and during the reign of Saturn, there existed a certain extremely happy mode of government to regulate the dwelling of men. . . . It had all things unrestrained, yielding spontaneously. . . . It was governed by Dæmons of a diviner, more perfect race. Plutarch (*Numa Pompilius*), also speaks of such a time and states that Numa desired to bring back those happy days to men. Plutarch (*De Definitione Oraculorum* 18.), also says that Saturn slept on an island of the blessed. But it was in ancient Italy, Cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, (*Antiquitates Romanæ*, i., 34.), that the mythical Saturn and Janus chained down the god of war and closed the temples against belligerency and want. The conclusion, after all our research is, that the whole story is a myth based upon the well known longings which gave shape to thousands of Utopias and Messiahs.

ters without having yet fully succeeded, we may at least, establish a basis of conjecture as to the time it required for the laboring denizens of the ancient slave system to grow to a conception of manhood and womanhood, sufficient to break their first bonds. Of the purely slave epoch which preceded the art of annals we have little but conjecture. There must have been a comparatively high civilization at the dawn of manumissions, where history and archæology find human society and begin gracefully to transmit to us its deeds. An inconceivable space of time must have intervened. Let us attempt to make history for the laboring classes from conjectural data in order to connect the link binding the known with those dark abysses of the unknown in antiquity.

The supposed original cradle of the Aryan family from which comes the Caucasian or Indo-European type, is Central Asia. Greeks and Romans were Aryan Europeans; Arabs or Ishmaelites, Jews or Hebrews, and Phœnicians belonged to the Semitic family. We have already seen that the Semitic races, especially the Jews, were using a low and very imperfect and unsatisfactory form of the co-operative ideal in place of the Pagan or purely competitive one, as a basis upon which to build their society and their civilization. The Aryans, especially the Greeks and Romans on the contrary, built their society and their civilization upon the extreme competitive idea. The one ever was and is, mutual, interacting, loving, charitable, rigidly reverential and non-destructive; the other fierce, warlike, excessively egoistic, combative and destructive. Both brave, lofty, intelligent, capable, and susceptible of a higher development of physical type and of intellectual culture than any other branches of the human race.²

It appears from all the evidences that the first form of society was that of masters and slaves.³ The extreme

² Under the ancient idea, religion which governed political as well as private habits, was exclusively based upon man-worship. Zeus or Jupiter was a man god. *Dæmons* or *Lares* were dead men, imagined, all through Pagan times to be still influential for good or evil. Cf. Pausanias, *Description Græcicæ*, v. 14. At Olympia the first two prayers were offered at the focal fire, always burning in honor of these dead men and of Zeus.

³ Granier de Cassagnac, *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières et des Classes Bourgeoises*, Chaps, iii. iv. v.

lowliness of the laboring man's condition at that remote period can easily be imagined when we consider that all the children of the aristocratic household except the oldest son born of the real wife and legal mother, were totally unrecognized by law. All except this heir, were originally slaves. In fact this was the origin of slavery. The first human law was, long before being written, a law of entailment upon primogeniture. When the patrician or owner of the property, which in those times, mostly consisted of lands, died, the property did not fall to the children or by testament, as is now the case. It fell to the oldest male child. No other person of that household had any claim upon it. The deceased father may have had many other children, but these became subjects to the manor; and frequently they were very numerous.⁴

This eldest son and inheritor was, by usage of that day, obliged to bury his father within the house or court and worship him as a god. The original workingman was not even a citizen.⁵ There is no lack of testimony regarding this curious custom which was really the religion and the rule or groundwork upon which stood the ancient competitive regulation of labor. Let us now trace this new family in order to get at the origin and perpetuation of human slavery.

There being in primitive ages no power as now exists, behind this new heir and administrator or despot of the paternity, he easily becomes an absolute lord or monarch. To make this unjust and wonderful civilization appear more comprehensible and home-like, we may assume familiar names. A rich farmer, one who has inherited his property from his father, dies, leaving many children,

⁴ Fustel de Coulange, *Cité Antique*, c. vii. pp. 76—89 *Droit de Succession*. Granier, *Hist. des Classes Ouvrières*, p. 69: "Ainsi, nous pouvons dire maintenant que nous avons trouvé les premiers esclaves qui furent; c'étaient les enfants." As to the great numbers in families, see *Iliad*, XXIV. v. 495. 6. 7;

Πεντήκοντά μοι ἦσαν, ὅτ' ἤλυθον υἷες Ἀχαιῶν

Ἐννεκαίδεκα μὲν μοι ἰῆς ἐκ νηδύος ἦσαν,

Τόυς ἄλλουσι μοι ἐτικτον ἐνὶ μεγάροισι γυναῖκες.

So also Plutarch, *Theseus*, 3, says that Pallas had 50 children. Gideon had 70, according to Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book V. Chapter ix. Apsan had 60; Jair 30 children.

⁵ Bücher, *Aufstände der unfreien Arbeiter*, S. 11. "Der beste (antike) Staat schliesst die Arbeiter vom Bürgerrechte aus; und wo sie dasselbe erhalten konnten, blieben sie stets eine misachtete und einflusslose Klasse."

boys and girls. There may be several daughters senior to his oldest son. This latter, however, because the first-born male, comes into sole possession of the paternal estate. The girls are of a sympathetic, unsuspecting nature and being also less physically powerful, they make little or no resistance. The boys are young; and being in this tender age are, after a certain amount of struggle, in shape of battles, with words and other weapons, also compelled to yield. This bully moreover to accomplish his purpose, also draws upon the superstition of the unfortunate children and hides the wickedness of his avarice behind the sanctuary of religious rites over their dead father who practiced the same cunning, force and craft before. The bully thus originated the great law of entailment upon primogeniture, and has never once loosened his grip to this day.

To resume our home-drawn, practical illustration of the origin of this ancient law of usurpation, it may be said, that not a penny can possibly fall to one of the many sisters and brothers thus cast out, although they had contributed their labor toward the creation of the estate. He becomes the supreme ruler over the property. By virtue of the arrogant law of primogeniture, ancient and hallowed as the adoration of the vestal fires, this unique successor becomes, without formality, the monarch. But his possessorship is not confined to the ownership of the real estate of the paternity. He also owns the stock and fixtures thereto belonging. Among the rest of the stock and fixtures are the brothers and sisters; both those who are pure, or born of his own mother whose character and chastity, especially in ancient times, were always beyond reproach, and also those more numerous children otherwise born.⁶ These all fall to him also, as part of the inheritance! He is monarch absolute.⁷ He has become a *pater familias*; and as such, has the power of his father before him. No law exists that can restrict his will.

⁶In ancient days, as shown in note 4, they were often very numerous for the law giving license to concubinage, see Galus, *Twelve Tables*.

⁷Dionysius of Halcaruassus, *Archæologia Romana, or Roman Antiquities*, liber II. cap. 25; *Seven Essays on Ancient Greece*, Oxford, 1832, p. 52: "The state gave parents the power, atrocious and unnatural, to kill them; he—the father—could refuse to preserve and rear his own offspring." See likewise Aristotle, *Politie*, 4.

He cannot liberate his poor slaves;—for it is an assumed episode in prehistoric conditions that we are describing; it antedates the era of manumissions, although the same wrongs existed long afterwards. But he can punish his own slaves—his brother, sister or his child—with death. He can sell them. He can whip them and impose upon them the most cruel of tortures. Tiger or lamb is his option.

His religion is as aristocratical, as brutal and exclusive as his economic and social policy. Unlike the mild democracy infused into the worship of present civilizations, his religion cannot tolerate even the thought that all may do homage at a common shrine or adore a common Father. To allow this would be to cancel the distinction between master and slave.⁸ The father of this autocrat, buried under the hearthstone, has himself become the only god whom this man may worship. Thus every nerve is active in perpetuating, glorifying and rendering aristocratic and lordly the prestige of his house.⁹ The sacred altar is his father's grave over which is kept a fire that is never allowed to be extinguished.¹⁰ His own father thus becomes his tutelary god and guardian, watching, like a veritable spook, with a jealous eye over his interests. Should this sacred fire be extinguished, the accident is punished with an ignominious death.¹¹ This parent-god, like the man when walking on this earth, is believed to be subject to hunger and thirst. He must consequently be fed with actual food; with bread and wine, butter, honey and the purest delicacies of the table. If this be neglected, the propitious smiles and favors which

⁸ Fustel de Coulanges, *Cité Antique*, chap. iv. p. 83. Here this student explains the Pagan modo of sacrifice, including the whimsical old superstition of the *Laves*, or the remains of said parent after burial, to which this living heir gave offerings of food, such as milk, clarified butter, wine, ect.

⁹ In Greek, this altar was called *Βωμός* and *Ἑστία*; in Latin, *Ara*, *Focus*—the focus of all thoughts, prayer, moral concern; the shrine.

¹⁰ This statement is not absolutely exact; for the fires were, on certain rare occasions, renovated. See *Fustel, Cité Antique*, p. 23, *Feu sacré*.

¹¹ Centuries afterwards, when there had become many such aristocratic houses, such masters as were friendly with each other, found it necessary for mutual protection largely from the wrath of these very outcasts, to form a city of aristocratic houses. A central city-altar or focus was adopted, a central city-fire kindled and a *Vigil* or maiden watcher was stationed, to keep its fires glowing forever. Punishment of a most horrible death was inflicted upon her for letting these sacred fires die out.

prayer invokes, are turned, by the slighted and angry ghost against the perpetrators of the negligence. The law of agnation or descent in the male line, rules severely in this family; and consequently the female portions of it are the especial objects of the master's power. The lord himself being supreme, may commit acts of libertinism such as would consign others to the punishment of death. Should his wife, the *mater familias*, vary from the rules of family regularity, it would place in doubt the descent of the paternity. It would cause it to become a question whether her first-born son, the inheritor, were really his own and of the pure blood—the agnate. Should the deception be so veiled as to escape the master's knowledge, there yet remains a still more terrible source of disclosure. The buried gods themselves, omnipotent and omniscient, jealous and disturbed, feeling the dignity of their noble line defiled,¹² their august prerogatives encroached upon by a pretender who might in turn at death usurp the beatitudes of the *penates*¹³ and the holy altar, are aroused. Conscience in the guilty mother becomes too galling to permit of life's longer endurance and death must be the consequence after the confession, and the error rectified by the destruction of the intruder. Here is the key to that extraordinary tenacity of ancient ladies in wedlock with the noble or *gens* families, to virtue.¹⁴ The *Lares*, or redoubtable ghosts, are, as we now begin to understand, charged with the office of chastizing such criminals; also of watching all the thoughts, words and deeds going on in the sacred penetralia—*penates*—of the living lord's household. So egotistical and selfish is this religious culture that none but the family can pray at that altar and no one can be prayed for except members who have been in high standing. A thing so degraded as a being compelled to subsist by labor has no place there, no family, no shrine. Family initiation made it worse.

But we have only entered upon the description of this despot. His most revolting attributes are yet to be put into history. All the creatures of his household, with

¹² From this may be traced the origin of blood-distinctions still boasted of and tenaciously cultivated; in dynasties, as divine right; in families, as prestige. The horror against this sin was inexpressible; and a lison with one of the outcasts rendered the crime trebly heinous.

¹³ See Livy's *Lay of Lucretia*.

¹⁴ Pintarch, *Questiones Romanæ*, 51.

the exception of the noble mother and her first-born male child, are slaves.¹⁵ They may be, as we have said, brothers and sisters, or even children born to amorous coercion¹⁶ of this thus privileged despot; yet they have no claim to anything but his sympathies. Having no legalized rights they are menials; left without education they become sycophantic and unmanly. Their food is coarse. Only the lord and lady of the house are entitled to wheat bread. They are glad to get peas and second-rate bread.¹⁷ Should too many infants be born, a council is called and it is deliberated whether the little innocents shall be saved or killed.¹⁸ The children being slaves, are not supposed to be supplied with a thing so dignifying as a soul.¹⁹ The most abject superstition reigns. For a slave or a stranger to enter the apartments of this lord, is an offense, impious and unpardonable. The lord's own parents and ancestors before them for generations back, are buried under this enclosure soul and body; and their jealous *manes* or ghosts,²⁰ are believed to be omnipresent and on guard, with power to repel or punish the sacrilege. The manor house is situated within the holy court. The common slaves and the children constituting the true laboring element, are taught the most extreme reverence. Should they violate any of the rigorous rules they are subject to punishment; if the lord of the manor wills it, with death. Thus deep superstition, hard, unpaid labor, hard fare and degradation are enforced by the cunning wiles of priestcraft; for love of profits from labor seems to originate or urge ancient priest-power. This superstition is the more necessarily rigorous, since lack of faith is known to be dangerous, leading to sedition and rebellion.

¹⁵ Fustel de Coulanges, *Cité Antique*, I. c. 1.-iv. *Antiques Croyances*. From these phenomena of the ancient family may be traced the origin of the belief in ghosts, spooks, spectres, haunted abodes etc.; *idem*, pp. 127-30

¹⁶ Plutarch, *Solon*, xiii ¹⁷ Horace, *Epistole*, lib. II. *Epist.* I. v. 123: "Vivit siliquis et pane secundo." Poor fare for labor continued late. Of course, where much harmony and love existed the despot could be generous.

¹⁸ This practice held good among the Dorians even after Greeks began to acquire the art of making historical records. See Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, xvi

¹⁹ Homer, *Odyssey*, lib. XVII. The passage here alluded to refers to a comparatively enlightened period. As late as Plato, when emancipations and resistance had created a middle class, it was doubted whether working-people had all of the attributes recognized in true members of the human family. Cf. Plato, *Rep.* vi. 9: lxxi *Laws*, vi: Homer, *Odyssey*, xvii 332. Plato wanted slaves and believed in the inferiority of all laborers

²⁰ Cicero, *Pro Domo*; *Tusculanarum Disputationum Libri*, I. 18: "Sub terra censebant reliquam vitam agi mortuorum." Euripides, *Alceste*, 103; *Hecuba*.

The lord of the estate permits of no social or religious mixtures with other people or other estates. There are no tenants, no neighbors, and consequently few sociabilities. Egoism is so severe that little of the kind can be tolerated. It is master and slave; no intermediaries. Communities are unknown. Promiscuity which makes the village,²¹ the community, the social gathering, the free sports of children and general merriment are interdicted by this profound solemnity based upon an adoration of, and implicit obedience in one central ruler; a man who is the inheritor; who, by virtue of this inheritance giving him power, and of this egoism giving him will, assumes, as through the countless ages his ancestors assumed, to be the sole owner in life, and the immortal to be worshiped, caressed, entreated, propitiated, glorified, after death!²²

We have thus described, as if actually existing among us at present, a scene whose stage was once this earth;²³ whose unhappy actors were workmen and women and whose managers were then as now, the capitalists; a scene which mankind, grace to an eternal resistance, in turmoils, servile wars, and innumerable social communes, has largely outgrown. It is a scene which no civilized society could at present tolerate. Yet it was the almost all-prevailing one among mankind of the distant past in Greece and Italy.

Lordship, therefore, was the very first condition in the establishment of society; slavery its antithesis, the second. Of the middle class occupying the great gap widely separating the lord from the slave there was none.

²¹ The ancient house was situated within the sacred enclosure. This enclosure was divided, among the Greeks, into two parts; the first being the court. The house was in the second part. The sacred *focus* was placed near the center of the enclosure. It was consequently at the foot of the court, near the entrance of the house. The Romans had it differently, though essentially the same. The *focus* remained, as in Greece, in the center of the enclosure, but the buildings were placed around it leaving an inner court; the walls of the houses rising around it on all sides. The Greeks used to say that religion taught them how to build houses. Fustel de Coulanges, *Cité Antique*, pp. 62-85.

²² In Greek the *ἑστία δεσποία*, in Latin the *Lar familiaris*, were key-words of the ancient pagan family. Etymologically this is the origin of the term *despot*.

²³ We have not space to make copious quotations from the numerous authors whose descriptions and hints we have ransacked in search of the proof of this condition of ancient affairs; but recommend the doubtful to the following commentators and original writers: Granier de Cossagnac, *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières* &c. Chapters iii. iv v. De Coulanges, *Cité Antique*, *passim*; to the poems of Homer; to almost any of the voluminous works of Cicero; to the *Orationes* of Demosthenes; to Orelli's *Inscriptionum Collectio*; to Böckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*; to Euripides, *Alcestis* and especially *Hecuba*, *passim*; to Plato's *Creation*, *Protag.* 30-4, *Theat.* 30-2, *Rep.* 21; to Pausanias, *Descriptio Græcæ*; to Macrobius, *Somnium Scipionis & Saturnatorum Libri* and many others.

That came later. For fully six thousand years it has been growing more and more numerous until in the nineteenth century it may be said to have almost filled the great cavity and is now pressing in all directions to force the extinction of both those aged originals.

Theoretically, this middle or intermediary class betwixt lord and menial, owner and outcast, immortal and perishable, is perfect; occupying the ambrosial vales of Utopia where men are no longer struggling for existence against despotism, ignorance and death. In theory we should suppose it an altruistic state in which men looking upward to wisdom and mutual love, and backward to past ignorance and competitive greed and hatreds, would erect their society and their government upon a plan wherein neither lords nor menials could have law or foothold. Such would be the revolution realized—the revolution that began with manumissions. But practically—although many are dreaming of this ultimatum—we are far from it. Lords still exist though with milder domination and slaves yet remain though on a higher plain.

M. de Laveleye informs us that communities held lands in common for the people in times past²⁴ and cites an abundance of instances in proof; but while this may all be true, it is none the less true that the original condition was that of masters and slaves. Particularly was this the case with the people from whose records we extract these data—the Aryan race. It is the perfectly natural condition, explainable in the theory of development. In the Aryan, especially its Indo-European type, we see the original theory of development verified; and it comes to us from prehistoric data which philology, archæology and reason harmoniously combine to verify. What would man, primitively a wild animal, naturally do? Would he not be just like all animals? It wants only the observation of an hour to note that a group of barnyard fowls, soon after being put into a yard begin fighting for mastery or lordship; and this conflict will not stop until the strongest, cleverest chanticleer has mastered every adversary. This also

²⁴ De Laveleye, *Primitive Property*, pp 137. In attempting to prove these notions about primitive property, this author is confronted at the outset, with the fact that he is seeking to rebut the principle of development; his village communities are a late, not a "primitive" condition.

must be said of a herd of cattle grazing on a common. The strongest steer, after a full test of its muscular forces, becomes master of the flock and remains so. With perfect truth it might be further remarked that should no individual of the herd be of the male gender, the contest for mastery will be between the heifers; thus seeming to prove the principle of the survival of the fittest without any reference to the instinct of perpetuation of species. Even plants, in their struggle for existence are constantly in the competitive field, warring with each other—the tares rooting out the wheat—until the hand of the reasoning cultivator lays low the obnoxious weeds. Thus it is shown that the principle of individual ascendancy with its acknowledgement, is the original and natural one. It is the *quiritare dominium*. The law of natural selections and survival of the fittest applies without the aid of reason. Naturalists who have lavished great care and honest pains in search of proof of this philosophy in plants, animals and men,²⁵ have scarcely brought their investigations to bear upon that new, almost supernal power of reason, which some admit to have come later, as a result of evolution.

If we are allowed to tread the *penetralia* of this philosophy with the eye and ear of a critic we shall find in the law of natural selections the bed rock of brute competition. While beholding this with the conviction of its truth and forced to admit it as the fiat of growth, we shall see that it rests upon the toppling trestles of brute force. We shall find that the superstructure resting upon these abutments is time-worn and rotten. Its spans are becoming unsafe; its planking hoof-worn; its stringers sway with the winds of newer things and we find ourselves dizzy peering into the angry foam of progress below. As long as there are only masters and slaves the strongest brutes may survive; but when the new idea of manumission arrived which was forced upon the masters by the growth of population, the survival of the fittest changed hands. If we accept the doctrine of natural

²⁵ We here incorrectly place man above animals in deference to the egoism he has not outgrown. Especially is man to be considered and classed among animals under the philosophy of the fittest, since this very survival is mostly the result of the competitive struggle, akin to brute force and antedating the milder forces of reason.

selection based upon brute force we accept the survival of the fittest as its corollary. So long as the doctrine is so based it remains undeniably true. Reason is not there.

But with the advent of reason there came also sympathy, civilization, enlightenment; and these have already so filled the world with mutual or altruistic sentiment that the working classes of both Europe and America are now combining with a determination to drive from the world the whole brute force upon which the old theory is based. They will not longer hear to the competitive principle which holds up the shrewdest and strongest as fittest to survive. They demand the extinction of competitory force and insist upon equal opportunities for co-operation such as will result in the survival of all. They are thus ushering in the era of reason. In disenthraling their species from the competitive system of the isolated individual and establishing them on the co-operative or altruistic system they procure the revolution. They usher in the era of the survival of all and banish from the world the culture of darlings, the reign of partiality, the prestige of masters and the servility of slaves. But as force lies at the bottom of the law of natural selections and the survival of the fittest, so reason, its moral antithesis, must be the bottom rock upon which the new mutualism is founded.

We cannot leave this theoretical dissertation without some reflections upon the ghastly immorality and the return to insatiate selfishness which this new philosophy of the survival of the fittest inculcates; and must submit that it not only logically inculcates an arid dreariness of words, but has already produced and is producing withering and demoralizing effects. We shall submit that the religion of Jesus, planted by a manual laborer and forming the basis of hope upon which stands the great labor movement of our own time has been severely attacked, stamped as a calamity and trodden under foot, notwithstanding the fact that this plan of faith has been the power that openly struck the first well organized blow at the system of masters and slaves and boldly championed it as a principle; and in essence it has never since shrunk from its prodigious task toward realizing the much contested doctrine of human equality.

Viewed from a standpoint of mere comparative strength of organized muscle and brain, or of the low cunning and prowess which wrench from the weak and unwary what they do not contribute to produce, this theory of survival is undeniably logical. But these forces are the old, original ones and strictly belong to a period prior to the advent of a society enlightened and refined by reason. They are animal and are of the ages of bullies and of clubs. Why we confront such theorists is that this philosophy does not keep march with the very power that gives them insight into it—reason. The original state was egotistical, with brutal force—forcible possession. The next was arbitration, discussion, conciliation—all the struggles of reason. The former occupied an immense, unmeasured period of time, the latter has also had its vista of tedious, unhappy ages; for since the first glimmerings of history and archæology it has numbered between four and five thousand years and its millennium is still far away. It is the transition period; the passage from pure brute force and labor ordered by masters and performed by slaves with survival of the fittest, to the pure era of reason, mutual love and mutual care, with the survival of all. Such is the revolution.

Whoever, therefore, at this enlightened day, forgetting his reason, the very weapon he wields with which to grasp his inspirations, allows this aged original, because it is yet true of the beast or the plant, to usurp the domain of reason self-won in the struggle of ages,²⁶ returns to the dogma that because the survival of the fittest has been true of snarling beasts, of the plants and of the club-and-weapon age of men, it is also true of men in a state of reason and refinement, is going backward dragging reason with him into the caves of the troglodyte.

Let us glance at the moral effect upon the mind, of persons in search of wealth and other means of happiness natural to our lot in the competitive world. A student of evolution is constrained by perusing the pages of Lucre-

²⁶ Mr. Darwin, a thoughtful and thoroughly careful writer refrained from pushing his argument on this subject farther than it applies to energy without reason. A careful student of Darwin will perceive that he always uses the lower order of life as proof; such as plants, birds, fishes, and the other animals. He clings to this, not venturing into the domain of the reasoning power, which is alone capable to grasp the labor problem.

tius, Vogt, Spencer, Darwin and others, to view man as a creature without an immortal soul. Through the doctrine of development as explained by Darwin, men are taught to understand this perishability merely as a logical corollary of the premise itself.²⁷ The theory carries with it the irrepressible deduction that if man has an immortal soul he has, himself, been the maker of it. The theory from the first, assumes that he is a creature grown from a long line of consequents, each an effect of causes natural to this world. This is evolution. It holds that motion and heat acting upon the material spread out upon this earth will of themselves, generate life; and that from cells or matrices of slime it calls protoplasm—the assumed earliest forms of life—come shape, growth and variety, some of which in time have reached as high a development as reasoning men. Nor are these ideas confined to, or the work of, the benighted and superstitious. They are gaining ground among the most thoroughly respectable and learned; so much so that it is already dangerous for the followers of the old belief upheld by Plato and Moses, to criticize or compare arguments against the ponderous weight and increasing multiplicity of proof in its support. So irrefutable is the evidence which our indefatigable diggers in science have accumulated, that from the timorous hispings of a few years ago it has become a creed for the army of science; and is claimed by naturalists, by comparative philologists and historiographers, by archæologists and others in the field of ethnical research, to be the key of the new discovery.

What then can science do for the immortal soul? Man, certainly, away back in that night of time of which we are going to write a history, while yet an animal and brute, a *homo troglodyticus*, not yet knowing how to build a fire or hardly to wield a club, could not have possessed so noble and highly developed a thing as an immortal soul! Or if we can conceive this to be possible, what shall we think of him during the still earlier cycles of his existence in forms yet cruder and more remote? Further than this

²⁷ In making these reflections we do not set up a disclaimer against the theory of development. The object is to show the pernicious effect upon the mind of masses, should this theory become universally acknowledged, and taught, before the competitive system is superseded by the co-operative or socialistic.

we may in our play of fancy measure him at the dawn of his development of reason, which is a faculty higher but less unerring than instinct. Reason is a gift which must be guided by social laws. Not having these, man must have been a maniac; either thus, or he preserved enough of instinct to guide reason. The reason of a madman turns to cunning.²⁸ Cunning, we are told, is the weapon this ferocious, selfish, competing, primeval being first used to work his title clear to the realms of immortality!

Thus in reading rare records of the ancient lowly we cannot be too thoughtful or too careful when contemplating the subject of immortality. Though old in life's ephemeral span, the human race is still in the dawn of its day; and the sun has yet to rise higher and illumine many a still dark chasm of our belief. The great aphorism of Lucretius:

"Proinde licet quotvis vivo lo condere sæcla:
Mors æterna tamen nilo minus illa manebit,"²⁹

though it has been parried and fought in darkness, is like that of Proudhon—"La propriété c'est le vol," still respectable; and so long as our standard cyclopedias speak of the *Rerum Natura* of Lucretius as the "greatest of didactic poems"³⁰ even now, when the grand sun of man's morning of life has lit up all the grottoes but that of fate and rendered radiant many a dark belief, just so long is it wisest in us to withdraw cavil, polemic and concern from a post mortem future and throw our whole religion into practical doings for the improvement of ourselves upon the mortal stage. But most especially are these words wise counsel to all engaged in a study of the labor problem.

Such is this wonderful man, says the theorist, developed from a protoplasm of slimy earth. Then up to this stage he was without a soul—an animal. He further developed to the stage of reason—mind. Cunning must then have secured for him the boon of an immortal soul; a thing

²⁸ Plato, *Laws*, vii. 14. "The boy, without being fitted by education, becomes crafty and cunning and of all wild beasts the most insolent." Plato knew the fierce nature of men and his seventh book of laws is a thoughtful code of precepts for equalizing habits among the people, and punishing with means in use for doing so. Plato even doubts the possibility of a soul in such wild creatures.

²⁹ Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, lib. III. 1088-9.

³⁰ *American Cyclopædia*, vol. X. p. 717, ed. of 1867.

which most people agree in believing that the reasonless animals do not possess!

This sort of speculation may appear quite innocent, even popular; for such is the freedom of thought in these days that men delight in catching at the gossamers of skepticism. Where the danger to the moral sense arises on this new philosophy, is in the fact that the revolution is not yet realized. The world is still in its competitive stage. Man is still combating with his blind egoism in the struggle for existence. It is not altruism or mutual love and care that governs his career. He is yet fighting against odds for survival; and if his fitness to win the means of life prove insufficient he does not survive, but perishes. Knowing this, he is too ready to apply his reason in the direction of selfishly actuated cunning, and thus wring out a living recklessly. One thing however, has always barred him from the exercise of dishonest cunning. It is *conscience*. From the earliest data we find man building upon conscience as the foundation of ethics. As we have shown, it began with the mother's virtue. True, it was absurdly imaginative, figuring the rage of the *lar familiaris* in case that weird omnipotent was offended by an evil deed of the living. Thus to commit an evil deed used to cause conscience to fill the imaginations of men with horrid appearances rising from the grave. Goblins and spectres of a thousand shapes. Elfs and haunting terrors appeared. Conscience was thus the origin of ghosts. Conscience, even under the most aristocratic and tyrannical religion, held base actions in check. Under the prevailing religions of the world conscience at this day holds evil doing in check. Ethics is now, as in ancient times, based upon conscience. All laws are largely the outcome of it. It is the inner counselor of outward actions and conscience of the individual must never give up its scepter so long as the competitive, egotistical state dominates. When the revolution has been accomplished, when society shall have arranged the getting of the means of life on the mutual or co-operative plan, when it shall no longer be the survival of the fittest but the survival of all, when it no longer becomes necessary to fight in the cruel, dreary old field of competition and the struggle for existence ceases, then we may find some vague grounds for

imagining ourselves no longer compelled to apply the check of conscience; since wrong doing will have lost its incentive.

But now, in the height of the great competitive struggle when working people, goaded at the sight of their own labor products falling into the rapacious hands of monopolies, are again on the rally and are forming the most compact and extensive organizations that have yet existed; just at this moment when the restraining counsels of conscience are most needed to check and withhold what else may become mobocracy, with results more furious and sanguinary than the deeds of Eunus and Cleon or of Spartacus and Crixius which we are going to relate, and at the very moment the moral world seems riven and quails before the swelling legions of aggrieved labor organizing in the struggle for existence with the multifold weapons of an advanced enlightenment at their command, what do we see?

A new thing in the world. A stranger in form of a *philosophy* which denies the immortality of the soul. A codex which seeks its precedents back of religion or law, beckoning into the world a totally new scheme of dialectics. In denying the old belief in immortality it stamps the ancient conscience;³¹ for what further use has ethics or morality for conscience, after the cherished hope of earning some longed-for compensation in the hereafter, has been lost?

The only conscience left to man would be that based on cunning! This invites him back to the law of Lycurgus, which made stealing a virtue but being caught, a crime. Conscience the foundation rock of religion, ancient and modern, is ground to powder by this new giant philosophy³² whose arguments seem fortified by the chemist, the archæologist, the comparative philologist, the palæontologist, the geologist and all naturalists now devoting themselves to labors which are to prepare for a study of ethni-

³¹ We refer mostly to that moral side of conscience which has hitherto so powerfully actuated and restrained men by force of belief in awards and punishments.

³² Arnobius was in great doubt on the question of immortality. Lucretius, author of the celebrated didactic poem on nature, believed that the soul perishes with the body. Aristotle, now known as the greatest of teachers, could never promise anything to those inquiring of him on the problem of immortality. Darwin was equally silent on the subject.

cal science. The boldest of these claim, as we have shown, that when in the long course of evolution, man, then a brute but with a stature more erect and a cranial organism more capacious than other creatures with which the forest teemed, began to experience the first scintillations of reason, he exercised this new and growing gift for his own advantage and to secure his own personal survival; sacrificing all others for himself through prowess and strategem or cunning. Conscience came later and established ethics which has developed society, law and order and kept him somewhat restrained. Religion is the handmaid of conscience and both groped together up to the present time inseparable—neither able to exist without the other.

Thus the new philosophy finds man. Religion rests upon assumed immortality; conscience upon religion. The philosophy, by proving that belief in immortality is an illusion, that the soul is an ethereal delusion, that with the decease of body comes our eternal quietus, proves also that there is no religion. The great bulwark of humanity, moral law, order, hope, restraint, is annihilated at one stroke. Conscience, resting upon religion,³² is also shattered with it, and man goes back to his primeval cunning and brutal instincts.

Now, in coloring our description of the revolution in a history of the lowly, let us select an average workingman who has been converted to the new philosophy as thousands are—and picture the effect upon him as an agitator of the labor question.

Belief in the doctrine of development is belief either that man is without an immortal spirit or that through his own genius and cunning he has evolved or developed one out of his original beasthood, independently of an almighty power. The latter is not even pretended. Consequently immortality is denied. The belief also stamps out religious conscience; leaving in him the consciousness that, as there is no responsibility before God—there being none except insentient law which regulates the universe, the only thing to consider before the commission

³² Conscience resting on punishments and rewards for actions in the physical world, as effects of causes, is not here taken into consideration.

of a deed, is *caution, for safety's sake*; first that the act may not recoil upon himself, and second, that he be not caught in it and discovered. These are affairs of cold reason. Conscience with its compunctious concomitants, is ruled out of the affair; and rigid experimental knowledge, aptitude, tact, adaptiveness take its place. No matter how horrible the work to be undertaken, he is totally absolved from danger of punishment if cunning enough to elude the natural and the statute laws and succeed. With cold reason and in cold blood he fearlessly undertakes the deed, knowing that to succeed is to survive his victim and be happy.

Lions, dogs, wolves, hyenas, vultures are constantly doing this for they are in the world of competition and have no conscience; and he is not a whit above them morally. Had he the restraint of religious conscience in the same field of competition, he would be lifted by it above these brutes. It teaches him the survival of the fittest and inflates his egotism with presumption that he is superior to his victim. It thus unhinges the little enlightenment which mutual co-operation and social interaction have by great agonies of effort and with the labors of conscience, sympathy and belief in immortality, brought into the world. Does it indeed, threaten our civilization?

One will say this shocking description may apply to the workingman; but we think it too often applies practically to the most educated. It especially applies to them; for such revolting immorality seldom penetrates the ranks of laborers who from remote ages of the past have been religiously inclined and rather prejudiced in favor of religion. No tale of ancient labor can ignore its religion.

But admitting the workingman and agitator to have become a convert to this philosophy, we still have the same revolting consequences. Such consequences are now constantly transpiring. The present century is producing some reformers who are believers in the doctrine of development and are scoffers of religion. Few of them expect to live beyond their grave. Many have no conscience regarding a future punishment, and are too honest in their earnestness when they conspire against great wrongs and argue to destroy this civilization. Any person

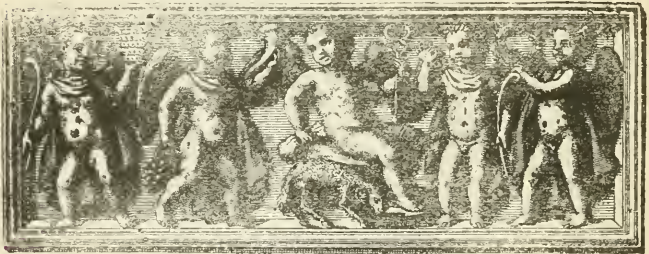
shielded from restraints of conscience by a logic which poses on the dignity and grandeur of science, may guard himself and his legions from detection by buckling on the life-preserver of cold reason, and boxing himself into some sequestered laboratory and with recondite presumption, construct infernal machines. He may sally out with these and if there come conflicts between him and unjust jurisprudence or even tornadoes of destruction, it is but the recoil of a philosophy that is driving men's conscience from the earth.

This lack of conscience is seen in the brutal treatment of poor slaves by Damophilus to which we devote a long chapter of this book. It is a want of feeling that marks the social ages of the past and rightly does not belong to modern days.

It were difficult to describe the terrible depression of moral sentiments to which a man naturally sinks under this doctrine, if really convinced by it that his own cunning, aptitude and ambidexterity are legitimate forces upon which he must depend for success and survival. Freed from the fear of punishment beyond this life, he finds that the conscience within his breast has fled. There is no everliving, responsible soul and consequently no responsibility. He finds himself completely absolved from any danger except that of failing in the attempt. He depends entirely upon adroitness or cunning. Egotism lends him faith in this; for men are enterprising and glad to undertake innocent adventures and in this philosophy every act is innocent which does not recoil upon its author. Thus stimulated and shielded he goes back to brigandage and hardened to fratricide, is willing to do devil work of whatever manner that promises to gratify greed, whim or caprice, in cajoling the transient hour. In the competitive struggle for existence, it is true, every one has the same chances but the survival falls to him who possesses the most of force, tact and cunning. Reason has not yet changed the moral aspects of things from this fighting, competitive state, to the mutually co-operative condition wherein all harmoniously agree to care for each other as the best means of caring for themselves. This great epoch is fast coming. Until its arrival men are in

the competitive, transitionary state whose progress depends upon every possible advantage known in civilization; and one of the most powerful agents for transforming such into noble, sympathetic beings, and quickening them into the sweet emotions of love and care, is and always has been conscience. When the time arrives that reason shall have become wise, shall have massed its wayward individualism into collective solidarity, pruned off its egotism, dressed itself in robes of charity and mutual love, outgrown its benighted gropings and adapted itself to a seat in the Christian temple of equality, then there will be time for further and more scientifically investigating the crowning problem of immortality.

SYMBOLS OF THE ANCIENT FARM.



Ca. Ceres and Tellus. Diobonensis.

From an Inscription at Ravenna; age of Caesar.

CHAPTER III

LOST MSS. ARCHÆOLOGY

TRUE HISTORY OF LABOR FOUND ONLY IN INSCRIPTIONS AND MUTILATED ANNALS.

PROTOTYPES of Industrial Life to be found in the Aryan and Semitic Branches—Era of Slavery—Dawn of Manumission—Patriarchal Form too advanced a Type of Government possible to primitive Man—Religious Superstition fatal to Independent Labor—Labor, Government and Religion indissolubly mixed—Concupiscence, Acquisitiveness and Irascibility a Consequence of the archaic Bully or Boss, with unlimited Powers—Right of the ancient Father to enslave, sell, torture or kill his Children—Abundant Proofs quoted—Origin of the greater and more humane Impulses—Sympathy beyond mere Self-preservation, the Result of Education—Education originated from Discussion—Discussion the Result of Grievances against the Outcast Work-people—Too rapid Increase of their Numbers notwithstanding the Sufferings—Means Organized by Owners for decimating them by Murder—Ample proof—The great Amphycyonic League—Glimpses of a once sullen Combination of the Desperate Slaves—Incipient Organization of the Nobles.

THE history of the lowly classes of ancient society must begin with manumissions,¹ although slave labor seems the most ancient. There have come to us very few traces or accounts of the slaves of high antiquity. Except some relics which have been found in caves, some hieroglyphs carved not perhaps by themselves but by masters portraying their low condition,² we have no landmarks to guide

¹ Granier de Cassagnac, *Hist. des Classes Ouvrières*, Chap. v.

² The typical strikes and uprisings of slaves do not come to us in their dreaded form except through vague, uncertain evidence, until about 600 years before Christ. See chapters on Strikes and Uprisings; *infra*.

our groping inquiry through the long night of time which lasted till the dawn of manumissions. Unlike the African slaves of modern times who were the property of a class of masters not of their own race or kindred, the ancient slaves were, in race and consanguinity, the equals of their masters; and there can be little doubt that the causes of their emancipation were in many instances, their own resistance to slavery. At present the laboring classes of the same races we are describing—the Semitic and Indo-European—are organizing in immense numbers and with skill to resist the forces which modern wage servitude inflicts; and it is therefore very similar to the great struggle humanity passed through in ancient times, to resist the oppressive system under which nearly all were born. The difference between the two struggles however, lies in the fact that the ancient one had to deal with the lowest, most debased and cruel species of subjugation which the ancient religion stamped into its tenets. Both these great struggles are of long duration. When the first was partly won Christianity came with its doctrine of equality³ and brought the struggle into the open world. It went hand in hand with the emancipation movement until chattel slavery and its vast, aged system may now be pronounced extinct throughout the civilized world. The struggle has continued; but from emancipating chattel slavery it has shifted to the enfranchisement of competitive labor.

Notwithstanding the profound learning and research devoted by M. de Laveleye⁴ in proof that the primitive condition of mankind was of patriarchal form, we find that the great slave system always prevailed among the Aryans from whom we are the immediate descendants; and indeed he sets out⁵ with a confession at least that the early Greeks and Romans never had any institutions of the communal or patriarchal nature. Prof. Denis Fustel de Coulanges makes

³ Granier, *Hist. des Classes Ouvrières*, pp. 392-4; Laveleye, *Primitive Property*. Introduc. to 1st ed., pp. xxvi., xxvii., xxx., xxxi. Here M. de Laveleye again admits slavery to have been earlier than communism.

⁴ *Primitive Property*, Eng. trans., pp. 7-25, chap. ii.

⁵ *Idem*, p. 6. "From the earliest times the Greeks and Romans recognized private property as applied to the soil and traces of ancient tribal community were already so indistinct as not to be discoverable without careful study." M. de Laveleye might better have said such traces are not discoverable at all; and indeed, the most of the instances he cites are of a comparatively recent era, the probable development of resistance, thousand of years after the manumission of slaves had set in as a result of their strikes and uprisings, of which we get cines.

no hesitation in saying that the Aryan religion, as already described, made the first born son, by the law of entail, the owner of his own children who thus became slaves.⁶ References to this old custom are very numerous in the ancient writings.⁷ Under Lycurgus⁸ the Spartans tried the system of communal proprietorship from the year 825 to 371 B. C. Although every deference was paid to the tenets of the Pagan religion that this celebrated code of laws established by the great lawgiver should not interfere with worship, yet worship itself being interwoven with property was seriously disturbed; because to divide among the people, the rabble, the profane, that which fell to the god who slept under the sacred hearth, or to his living son, seemed to be a sacrilege too blasphemous to endure. The scheme fell to naught. The probable fact is, that the ancient *paterfamilias*, perceiving himself robbed of his paternity, united with other patricians in similar trouble and succeeded in working the overthrow of the innovation. We propose to establish that these great innovations, like the laws of Lycurgus and many similar attempts at reform, the detailed causes of whose mighty commotions sometimes shook Rome and Greece like the eruption of a volcano, were often caused by the multitudes of secret trades and other social organizations existing in those ancient days

Historians seldom mention them. The reason for this is quite clear. This disturbing element was made up of the outcasts of society. How did it come about that there were such outcasts? The answer to this involves a detour of discovery into phenomena of evolution. Of a family of say thirty persons—there exists abundance of evidence that there were often thirty and more persons born to one patrician or lord⁹—there is but a single owner or director, the first-born son. The other children and servants by purchase or otherwise, are slaves. It was a crime to leave the paternal estate. They might be clubbed to death for dis-

⁶ *La Cité Antique*; *Leviticus*, li. 4.

⁷ Plato, *Minos*, also Servius *In Æneid*, v. 84, vi. 152.

⁸ Roscher, *Histoire de l'Économie Politique*, French tr. Paris, p. 192. "He adopted a common property; education in common, eating in common, stealing authorized, commerce interdicted, precious metals proscribed, land divided equally among the citizens etc."

⁹ Granier de Cassagnac, *Hist. des Classes Ouvrières*, p. 70

satisfaction with their lot but they must not leave or desert it. That entailed certain death. In extraordinary circumstances they actually did leave the bondage of the paternal estate and become wanderers or nomads. This was the probable origin of the second estate. We mean by this the freedman. Whether they obtained their freedom by revolt and bloodshed, by running away from their masters, or by emancipation as per agreement, makes little difference. In the Asiatic races of later times mentioned by Le Play,¹⁰ they seem to have never relinquished their allegiance to some lord, patriarch or ruler. By a tenacity of habit to which we shall refer, the very most ancient customs thus sometimes come down to us. The power of human habit is astonishing. There linger to this day, in the religion worshipped by the most enlightened of mankind, many rites and forms common in remote antiquity; for although the tenets and the sentiment are no longer the same, the old rites befit themselves to the new ideas.

Desertion from this bondage is known to have been a very risky affair; because the deserter or runaway slave had not only the perils of the act of desertion to run but he also forfeited his right and title to the small hope of bliss accorded him by the gods after death. Even at emancipation the right of worship ceased,¹¹ and a new altar had to be erected. This was in case of marriage of a daughter when no one was injured or offended. But a deserter was treated with terrible malignity both by the father or owner and by the injured deity whose relationship in pedigree or consanguinity he severed, desecrated, disgraced by the blasphemous act. They had curious opinions on death; and religion to those ancient working people, was a part of life.¹² The fear of not being buried with the right of sepulture was greater than the fear of death itself.¹³ Although comparatively no consequence was attached to a slave, yet the slave himself being by lineage and by entailment a chattel, evidently had some right to sepulture. Of what kind

¹⁰ Le Play, *Organization of Labor*, chap. i. §. 9, Eng. trans., assures us that among the nomads, the direct descendants of one father generally remained grouped together. They lived under the absolute authority of the head of the family, in a system of community. Some of them are living in this method still.

¹¹ Fustel de Coulanges, *Cité Antique*, chap. iii.

¹² *Idem.* chap. i. p. 12 "L'opinion première des antiques générations fut que l'être humain vivait dans le tombeau; que l'âme ne se séparait pas du corps et qu'elle restait fixée à cette partie du sol où les ossements étaient enterrés."

it is difficult to determine,¹⁴ because historians who recorded military deeds and legal transactions which in later days were considered work for noblemen, were themselves almost always of noble blood and would not mention so mean a thing as a slave who performed labor. This fact accounts largely for the scarcity of written record in regard to labor in ancient times.

Compelled by the darkness of this unwritten age of slavery which must have lasted infinitely longer than seven thousand years of whose events we catch an occasional glimpse, we first find the great philosopher Aristotle acknowledging,¹⁵ in his startling prediction that "slave labor may become obsolete." So again Rodbertus of our own times, looking at and judging from the organized resistance of laboring men, predicts that society will outgrow wages or competitive slavery.¹⁶ Here are two seemingly parallel cases; the one representing a condition of affairs 350 years before Christ, the other taken from actual conditions before our own eyes, in both cases, given against the stubborn will of the ruling wealthy by two of the profoundest and most daringly honest philosophers the world has produced. At the time Rodbertus von Jügetzow made this startling prediction, Germany under Bismarck, was stifling every effort of press, legislation, trade-unions and socialists, to give the dreaded fact to the world. The freedmen at the time of Aristotle were forming an innumerable phalanx of combined strength. It is not hard for students of sociology to understand why in ancient times no mention was made by historians of the wonderful organizations which then existed. But for laws necessarily recorded for the use of government and for the habit which labor unions of those times entertained, compulsorily perhaps, of inscribing their name, festivities, the tutelary saint they worshiped and the handicraft they belonged to, upon slabs of stone, there would be no means of knowing or even conjecturing the history of a transition period which launched mankind, after long centuries of struggle, out of a passive submission to abject ser-

¹³ *Idem*, chap. I. *Antiques Croyances*.

¹⁴ Later we find cremation; but only the poor who possessed no ground burned their dead. These were the outcasts supposed to have no souls.

¹⁵ Aristotle, *Politics*, I, 4.

¹⁶ Rodbertus, *Normal Arbeitstag*; Ely, *Hist. French and German Socialisms*, pp. 176-7.

vitute into the true competitive system. We shall farther on have more to say in detail of the hatred and contempt which the ancient slave masters held toward their poor working chattels.

There was a taint upon labor. So there is now. Thus far then, there is no progress. We shall attempt to analyze the original cause of this taint upon labor and prove that the progress of to-day consists in its diminution.

Admitting the theory of development we go back to man at the dawn of reason, when he was still a beast. We even imagine a group, such as Professor Oswald Heer has pictured in the frontispiece of his masterly scientific work on the fossils of Switzerland.¹⁷ Prowling around this group of naked human forms—some upon trees, others crawling, others walking plantigrade, or gorilla-like—we see wild animals, birds and reptiles, all in search of food. Just as the steer after a desperate encounter with its rival comes out the victor and ever holds the mastery over the rest of a herd, so the most powerful and ferocious of this group of primeval men wins with his club, his fingers, or fists the mastery over the rest. These are first impulses. They are entirely animal in character. Wild geese and ducks seek in conflict the means of knowing which of their flock shall be leader in their flight; and him of the most magnetic or muscular or intellectual powers they follow. The purely animal, then, is the form which primitive, animal man assumes. This strong master of the group is the prototype of the patrician and inheritor of the estate as thousands of years afterwards we find him lord of the manor with his slaves about him. It would be absurd to suppose that immediately at the dawn of reason, this wild animal actually assumed one of the highest types of civilization. The communistic or even the patriarchal is one of the highest forms which human beings have attempted. They have, it is true, been attempted but mostly to prove failures; simply because they were of a type even in their crudest state, too far progressed for others to appreciate and apply. The master or as we may better characterize him, the bully has always been too jealous. That Abraham and Moses tried a very low form of it, and isolated themselves so as not to

¹⁷ Dr. Oswald Heer, *Urwelt der Schoels*,

interfere with others, is true. But it is too well known that the Hebrews were not appreciated in their good work. Their very attempt to institute the patriarchal system even in its imperfect, half competitive form, brought against them the jealousy of the world of heathendom. It was an intolerable innovation upon the more ancient, aristocratic, brutal system of masters and slaves. And it was no mere individual, but this gigantic system which massed its powers to drive the presumptuous Hebrews from the face of the earth.

The mere animal form of government must have come first. This reasoning, says the law of evolution, must have born very brutal forms. Surely enough, so we find it at the dawn of history and at the highest discernible antiquity not only in Greece and Rome but in Egypt. It was the slave system under which the Egyptian monuments were built; and no thinking person can doubt that thousands of years of this slavery must have elapsed before the Egyptians arrived at the art of architecture in which recorded history finds them. Advancing reason had already been of millennial date ere those people could have known how to carve their hieroglyphs with nice precision upon the monuments. Again, we fail to see that these inscriptions mention any mode of a more ancient communal or patriarchal government. The simplest form of governing the primeval race must have been the one adopted; and the simplest was the one common among the animals of to-day. There was at the head of every group, or tribe, or family, a master; and him the rest obeyed, afterwards adored.

It next seems natural that surrounded by wild and fierce creatures of the waters, glades and forests, the first reasonable thing to protect this master would be to select some place of security—some rock or cave or height, whence he might go or send forth into the forests, the swamps and shores in search of fruit, roots, shellfish and game. Another thing; it is natural for man to settle permanently somewhere. This is peculiarly the case with the Aryan races. It is the form of life almost universally adopted by the Indo-Europeans. They select a seat and conquer and subjugate in all directions. This also corresponds with our proposition that the first idea was to obtain a home. With the growth of experience in the application of reason came egoism which it is said the brute does not often man-

ifest. Now with animal prowess, a little reason and a large egoism, we have what the present labor movement calls a "boss." He is endowed with the three great attributes which our modern authorities on moral philosophy denominate *irascibility* and *concupiscence*.

Given the right of proprietorship wrung through superiority in physical power from his tribe and his children, and he unhesitatingly uses them as slaves. This the true beast cannot do, since it requires reason. The first impulse, that of cupidity, makes him a tyrant and the second, that of irascibility, fills him with cruel ferocity, accounting for the well known fact that the ancient slave-holder could and often did kill his own children.¹⁸ The first impulse, that of concupiscence and acquisitiveness combined into one, makes him desirous to enjoy and accumulate. So his children are numerous. These two nearly allied sources of human desire or greed filled him with a rivalry to accumulate and often to sequester the stores which the toil of his slaves produced.

A third impulse, that of sympathy, being yet mostly wanting, man reasonably was thus filled with pomp and greed. These whetted his yet unbridled passions, making him ambitious to embellish his estate, caused the land to be fruitful, inspired him to build better houses, select and multiply his concubines and otherwise adorn the paternity. But the original parent-aristocrat or *paterfamilias* never until much later, desisted from the enforcement of absolute virtue of the parent-aristocrat mother or *materfamilias*.

Sympathy, it would seem came to him but tardily. Sympathy was inspired later;—brought into the world through the cult of the organizations of freedmen, after the beginning of the era of manumissions. Socrates and Aristotle recognized their powerful school of fraternal coherence and mutual love which it seems almost certain culminated in the wonderful institution known as Christianity, destroying the old Paganism or, at least, laying the foundation for its final eradication from the world.

This picture presents a poor outlook for the slaves, who were obliged to perform the master's drudgery. They however, always had two advantages: being to the family born,

¹⁸ Terentius, *Heauton Timorumenos*, Act III. 5; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae*, lib. II. cap. xxvi.; *Codez Justiniani*, lib. VII. tit. xlvii. *Pandectæ*, (*Digest*), lib. XXVIII. leg. xi.

they owned a meagre right to some kind of burial; whereas it is known that later, the freedman could only expect cremation. To have the remains refused the noble rite of burial was a disgrace. It was a virtual acknowledgement that the person had no soul. Malefactors, runaways or deserters and freedmen so lowly as to be without protection, in other words all whom God spurned to recognize as having an immortal life, were buried or cast out to rot without honors.¹⁹ The other advantage was that their owners were their supporters which freed slaves from the responsibilities of the struggle for bread. Still the whole picture presents a poor outlook for the slaves who were obliged to perform his drudgery. But as if they might be inclined to desert him the religious belief was so riveted upon their benighted minds that for thousands of years they did not doubt that the punishment for desertion would be a species of damnation. The slaves were taught that the most hallowed of all places was the central focus or altar of worship of the *manes* of their master. The holy and awful funeral repast had always to be partaken upon the same spot where the family ancestors lay. Thus for generations families worshiped each other at the same tomb.²⁰ We have already quoted from Dr. Fustel that the dread of being deprived of sepulture was greater than the fear of death itself. So fearful were the ancients, even the ancient laborers, of arousing the ire of their tutelary deities that they worshiped them by sacrifices. They even fed ²¹ these disengaged souls²² and periodically furnished them with wine, milk, fruit, honey and other table delicacies which in life they had been known to prefer. These strange beliefs which were by no means confined to the Indo-European, but as Fustel de Coulanges has made clear, embraced the entire Aryan family,²³ were the

¹⁹ Cicero, *De Legibus*, 2, 23, "Hominem mortuum, inquit lex XII., (meaning the Twelve Tables,) in Urbe ne sepelito neve urito..... Quid? qui post XII. in Urbe sepulti, sunt clari viri."

²⁰ Euripides, *Trojans*, 381.

²¹ Virgil, *Æneid*, III, 300; Euripides, *Iphigenia*, 476, "Behold, I pour upon the earth of the tomb milk, honey and wine; for it is with these that we revivify the dead." Cf. also, Ovid, *Fastus*, II, 540.

²² Critically, this expression is incorrect: for the ancients believed that the soul was never disengaged, but remained buried with the body in bliss. Consult Fustel de Coulanges, *Cité Antique*, liv. I chap. IV.

²³ In substance Dr. Fustel, *Idem*, p. 26 says: Ces croyances ne sont pas seulement empruntées ni par les Grecs des Hindous ni par les Hindous des Grecs; mais elles appartenant à toutes les deux races, de loin reculées et du milieu de l'Asie.

prevailing ones and formed the basis of the great Pagan religion. The superstition worked so powerfully upon the benighted conscience of slaves that however severe their lot, they required a higher scale of enlightenment than could be had in these low forms of slavery before they could see their way clear to revolt. This, however came in the course of time. There is no doubt that discussion among the numerous organizations of freedmen did much toward bringing this about. The increasing number of slaves also gave them opportunity to meet and interchange opinions. In the deep gloom of abject slavery men seldom revolt. Revolt is especially rare where there is no contact with public opinion adverse to it. It is not probable, therefore, that the slaves, however bad their treatment, found themselves in a condition enough advanced in the scale of manhood to organize revolt until thousands of years of their abject servitude had elapsed. But it appears certain that revolts had been going on for a long time before we catch the earliest clues to their history.

When language had become perfected and means of mutual comprehension had come into their grasp, so that an intelligent interchange of each others feelings was had, and it became easy to express their grievances and sufferings one with another, they began to revolt. If a lord or capitalist in a paroxysm of unbridled rage, ordered one slave for a trivial offense to be strangled by the others,²⁴ they were compelled to be the executioners of their comrade. If his majesty raised his hand and dashed out the brains of his own child, the other children,²⁵ though by no means so keenly sensitive to the horror as we of our own time, would feel a common sympathy and perhaps lay up the infanticide for a future day of vengeance. When the right of sepulture was taken from them and they found that even the consolation of religion was gone, they went desperate and reckless over the imagined withdrawal, by the God they worshiped, of his blessing. In this state of mind they

²⁴See story of Damophilus in chapter viii., on the revolt of Eunus.

²⁵We have, in the ancient records, many allusions to the murder of children by the lords of the estate. See Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Archæologia Rhomana*, lib. II. cap. xxvi. "Ὁ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων νομοθέτης ἀποσάν, ὡς εἶπεν, ἐδῶκεν ἐξοῦσιαν πατρὶ καθ' υἱοῦ, καὶ παρὰ παντὰ τὸν τοῦ βίου χρόνον, . . . , εἴαντε ἀποκτείνωνται προσαρῆται." Also *Code of Justinian*, lib. VIII. tit. xlvii, leg. x., where this right is mentioned as having once existed: "Jus (patris) vitæ in liberis necisque potestas olim erat permissa."

must have frequently plotted together and concocted insurrections.²⁶ They however, did not co-operate with each other for the accumulation of wealth. This is a phenomenon of which we shall hereafter speak more lengthily. But the principle cause of the rebellions which in course of time became very common, was their increase among themselves. It must not be supposed because the master who owned all at their expense and degradation, that he could and did live in unbridled libertinism among his human chattels, who by reason of the taint on labor never had recognized family alliances among each other. However stringent the rules of tyrants over the oppressed they were never known to entirely prevail over nature. What the form of alliance between the sexes of the very ancient slaves may have been is not fully known;—whether free of formality or by the ligature of accorded right.²⁷ Be that as it may, the fact remains that the human race was by no means dependent for its increase upon the heads of optimate families. As was the case with the negro slaves in the Southern States of the American Republic, so in Greece and Italy the slaves multiplied among themselves. In course of time they grew very numerous. Of course, as their number increased they outgrew the actual requirements of the landed estate to which they were enfeoffed. Then they were sold to other estates or killed.²⁸ Later when wars occurred they become mercenaries,²⁹ in earlier times, under their owners, as *impedimenta* of the army; not as combatants, because they were of too ignoble birth to engage in the aristocratic vocation of war. Still later we find them assuming the dignity of combatants. Of this latter period we find clearer traces, and shall show that these mercenaries were none other than the supernumeraries from the estates, who had run away to take into their own hands the struggle for ex-

²⁶ Undeniable evidence of this is found in the great servile wars of Sicily, where Demeter or Ceres, goddess of that region was complained of by the slaves as having deserted them. See Bücher, *Aufstände der unfreien Arbeiter*, S. 53 and 54, Siefert, *Sicilische Sklavenkriege*, S. 17-18.

²⁷ See chapters xiii. to xx. on the *Collegia* and *Sodalicia* of Italy and the *Eranoi* and *Thiasoi* of the Greek-speaking labor unions, which produce plenty of proof that from before B. C. 600, the freedmen had their laws of marriage. The more ancient slavery is obscure in records of the social habits of the poor.

²⁸ Granier de Cassagnac, *Hist. des Classes Ouvrières*, p. 61

²⁹ Grote, *History of Greece*,—Dionysius the Elder. Dionysius, Tyrant of Syracuse employed mercenaries, and Dion's conquest of Syracuse against Dionysius the Younger was begun with mercenary troops in B. C. 359.

istence. It is very easy to prove that there were organizations or unions of mercenaries who sold their services to princes and their generals, undertaking to accomplish certain military feats for a recompense.

But we are still treating of the workingman as a slave. The father of the family was one individual. But the family itself often consisted of fifty. Now as the only one of all these eligible to the blooded dignity of nobility was the father, what became of the rest?³⁰ They were not only slaves but they formed, as it were, another race. They were the plebeians, the proletariat; "hewers of wood and drawers of water." It was impossible under the extremes of this social divergence, for any communication or sympathy to be recognized between them. Even though the master was the father and the child legitimate though a slave, by the deadly inheritance of his bondage riveted upon him through immemorial usage, he dared not look up into his parent's face with the sweet, tender love of our modern consanguinity! It was a sacrilege. Equality was impossible. The number therefore, of the slave race compared with the noble, was as fifty to one. Even as late as the beginning of that powerful reform known as Christianity which may be characterized as an emancipation proclamation, the slave system was in full operation and the number of slaves enormous.

It is through that long night of slavery for the working people, that humanity received its almost indelible stamp of reproach and contempt which lingers to-day in the "taint" of labor. During the struggle of strikes and uprisings that set in after the slaves became numerous and colonies of them, either as marauders or adventurers appeared, the slave race developed many men and women of extraordinary genius and ability. We shall present an elaborate history of these as landmarks in our biography of the lowly while groping through the barren void which the historians and the literary wreckers have left us, torn in fragments or quite unchronicled in their short sighted contempt and eagerness to set forth only exploits which the ambition of their noble masters inspired. So poor was the food doled out by the masters to their slaves that they may

³⁰The *Materfamilias* or married mother kept herself in severe seclusion so as to be above suspicion

be said to have been fed like animals from the crib. Horace, Herodotus, Lucanus, Livy, Pliny and many others give testimony of the wretched food these poor slaves received in Greece, Egypt and Rome. Peas,³¹ nuts, roots, pods, skimmed milk, very poor bread, and none made of white wheat flour.³² Great suffering from want is mentioned in Pliny's Natural History, among the slaves of Italy. An epidemic like the black death twice broke out among them. He also states that this disease did not attack the noble or well-to-do people.³³ These great sufferings and privations caused the death rate to be so high as to decimate the ranks of the slaves thus reducing the danger always feared by the masters, of revolt and of plottings for insurrection. Aside from the curse which their lowly condition stamped upon the slaves, they were treated with ignominy and generally marked with the *stichus*³⁴ on their faces. The word *stigma* among the Greeks was full of reproach, not only because the scars were on the faces and bodies of these poor white men and women³⁵ doomed to perpetual servitude, but because it was also indelibly stamped upon their social life. Granier who produced a gem in his great work³⁶ for which the subsequent labor movement acknowledges its indebtedness, says of this ancient slavery: "This curse of blood is implacable. Ventidius Bassus was so fortunate as to become a consul. They said to him, you were a boot-black. Galerius, Diocletian, Probus, Pertinax, Vitellius, even Augustus had the good fortune to become emperors. They said to Galerius: You were a swineherd; to Diocletian: You were a slave; to Probus: Your father was a gardener; to Pertinax: Your father was a freedman; to Vitellius: Your father was a cobbler; and they went so

³¹ Horace, *Ad Pisonem*, v. 249.

³² Homer, *Odessey*, lib. VIII. c. v. 221, 222. The earth-born multitudes:

"Τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐμὲ φημι πολὺ προφερέστερον εἶναι,
Ὅσσοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ σίτον ἐδόντες."

³³ Pliny, *Natural History*, XXVI. c. iii. "Non fuerat hæc lues apud maiores patresque nostros."

³⁴ See *Comædiæ* of Plautus: *Stichus*, "The marked Slave;" also Plutarch, *Nicias*, 29; Xenophon, *De Vectigal.*, c. iv; Diod XXXIV. *Fragment*, Dindorf

³⁵ Homer, *Iliad*, I. 233 "The earth-born multitude."

³⁶ Granier de Cassagnac, *Hist. des Classes Ouvrières*; especially in chap. v. 117; McCullagh, *Industrial History of Free Nations;—The Greeks*. This scholar quotes from Hesiod's "Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι", v. 186., where the great poet appeals to the lords for amelioration of the people's sufferings: "Hesiod lived for many years in Bœtia where the oppression and exclusiveness of the dominant classes was as unrelenting as in Lacedæmon." *Greek Industries*, pp. 6-7.

far as to write on the marble of the statue of Augustus, in the life time of this master of the world: Your grandfather was a merchant, and your father a usurer." The same keen observer in his investigation of these ancient phenomena of slavery, makes a very important suggestion, the result, he says, of his own personal reading of the Iliad of Homer: that as there is in the whole of that celebrated poem, not one allusion to freedmen, or to the subject of emancipation; whereas in the Odyssey there appear many allusions thereto it is therefore, following the line of reason adopted by comparative philologists and historiographers in search of facts in ethnography, very reasonable to suppose that the Iliad is the oldest, and that the Odyssey came afterwards." Here is a suggestion worth much to anthropologists in general; and it is to be hoped it may be cleared so as to become useful to the study of Sociology. We hear of no great spasm like that of the war of the rebellion of our own day, which produced the emancipation of the slaves. If nothing of that kind occurred between the composition of those two poems, so ancient and obscure, then it is reasonable to imagine that the emancipation was gradual; and if gradual, an unlimited time must have elapsed—perhaps thousands of years—between their composition. This alone seems capable of solving the incongruity. But it tends forcibly to show the astonishing age of slavery which may well be called the long night of suffering of our progenitors. Certain it is, however that the Iliad treats of the extremes; the lords upon the one hand and on the other the slaves. The want of an intermediary class shows its high antiquity.

At any rate, all these researches accumulate evidence showing the absurdity of a communistic or nomadic form of society having been possible among the Indo-Europeans from whom we are descended unless that tendency supervened upon the ancient system of land tenure in subsequent times. There crops out one curious association in very ancient history which, to the reader wishing to gratify his military or ecclesiastical taste is totally unaccountable; but which appears quite plain to those who study history to enjoy glimpses of the social life of the past. We refer to the aristocratic Amphictyonic Council.

The student of the great slave system sees the absurdity of attributing this ancient series of protective organizations either to ambitious military schemes or to pure piety, although they are given to us by historians, as a system of neighbors organized to protect and perpetuate the worship of the Gods. They come down to us from the gloomy tradition of high antiquity ; and to the two first mentioned classes they are utterly incomprehensible. The sociologist however, who sees the slaves growing in numbers while the *gens*⁸⁸ remained stationary in numbers, can easily picture the causes and spirit of these leagues. They were confederations of the lords or individual owners of the patrimonies or estates. These estates, as we have seen, fell to the lords, by entail in primogeniture. The Amphictyony⁸⁹ was simply a co-operative association of the lords to defend their estates; and they most naturally, as customary with all Pagan ancients, held forth first and foremost the horrors of irreligion, knowing that the superstition of the slaves was their true stronghold, since by making it appear that attack upon or contemptuousness of the holy property was an unpardonable misdemeanor or even to utter words of conspiracy against that property remaining in the hands of the first born son, was blasphemy. This superstition thus inculcated was always, in ancient times, the bulwark of protection to the nobles. The Amphictyony existed 2,000 years before Christ, probably even much prior to that time, and grew more and more powerful, until about B. C. 700 it had grown in numeric strength and in the subtle art of self-protection so that it assumed the dignity of the Amphictyonic Council, seated itself in the holy temples of Apollo and Demeter, and had delegates who met there spring and autumn, representing twelve tribes or states of Greece and the Archipelago. Some 600 years before Christ the Amphictyonic Council had misunderstandings with its delegates and wars of extermination began. These troubles were called the holy wars. It is known that for many centuries these corporations protected themselves mutually. If one of the small neighbor-

⁸⁸ Latin "*Gens*," whence the "gentry." See Mann's *Ancient and Medieval Republics*, chapter vi.

⁸⁹ Fiske, *American Political Ideas*, p. 72.

hoods represented in and protected by the federation was attacked or threatened, the entire power of all the others was thrown together in its defense. The article of agreement between them ran as follows: Not to destroy or allow to be destroyed or cut off from water, in peace or war, any town in the Amphictyonic brotherhood; not to plunder⁴⁰ the property of the god or treacherously extract valuables from the sanctum. Now in face of the fact that there were by this time great numbers of supernumerary slaves who had, on account of their servitude and the abuses they suffered, become reckless, fierce and ready to enter upon a life of desperate revolt, still we find writers denying that this brotherhood had any other idea than a purely religious one. To the searching sociologist it is quite clear that this organization must have been one of the very first efforts of the Indo-Europeans to form a government for the protection of property,

From incipency this must have been the earliest form of government. But it was an aristocratic government which cast a taint on labor. It perpetuated the holiness of property which has ever since upheld the dogma of divine right of the fathers and of kings and is probably the originator of that dogma. Away back in the past, before the country had become thickly peopled and while superstition combined with rigid rules of the masters, kept down all danger of revolt among the slaves, there were no cities.⁴¹ We have not space in this work to explain the phenomenon of the ancient city, but refer the curious to Dr. Fustel, whose work⁴² cannot be perused without profit. Modern scholars are making valuable compilations of evidence showing that cities, like nearly everything else, were a natural and gradual growth.

The great Hesiod, himself a poor freedman if not a slave, may have had the Amphictyonic league and its wars in mind when he wrote :

"Men's right arm is law ; for spoils they wait
And lay their mutual cities desolate."⁴³

⁴⁰ The custom was to bury with the deceased father many precious articles of which he was fond in life. See Funck-Brentano, *La Civilisation et ses Lois*, on this Fetish custom and his evidence that the favorite wife was often buried alive along with the other trinkets; livre II. c. II. pp. 114-116.

⁴¹ Fustel de Coulanges, *Cité Antique*, liv. III. c. II. et III.

⁴² *Id.* III. c. I

⁴³ Hesiod, 'Εργα καὶ Ἡμέραι, V. 161.

CHAPTER IV.

ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES

ANCIENT GRIEVANCES OF THE WORKERS.

WORKING PEOPLE destitute of Souls—Original popular Beliefs—Plato finally gives them half a Soul—Modern Ignorance on the true Causes of certain Developments in History—Sympathy, the Third Great Emotion developed out of growing Reason, through mutual Commiseration of the Outcasts—A new Cult—The Unsolved Problem of the great Eleusinian Mysteries—Their wonderful Story—Grievances of slighted Workingmen—Organization impossible to Slaves except in their Strikes and Rebellions—The Aristocrats' Politics and Religion barred the Doors against Work-people—Extraordinary Whims and Antics at the Eleusinian Mysteries—The Causes of Grievances endured by the Castaway Laborers—Their Motives for Secret Organization—The Terrible Cryptia—The horrible Murders of Workingmen for Sport—Dark Deeds Unveiled—Story of the Massacre of 2,000 Workingmen—Evidence—The Grievances in Sparta—In Athens—Free Outcast Builders, Sculptors, Teachers, Priests, Dancers, Musicians, Artisans, Diggers, all more or less Organized—Return to the Eleusinian Mysteries—Conclusion.

DURING the long period occupying—in the case of the Indo-European race from which most of us are derived, several thousand years, there came about a differentiation in favor of the slaves. Granier in his bright exposition of this great social subject, declares slavery to have been the natural outcome of the Pagan, or family religion.¹ Fustel de Coulanges in his instructive and extraordinarily lucid work has proved every word written by Granier

¹ *Hist. des Classes Ouvrières*, pp. 39-41. Vide chap. lii. *passim*.

upon this daring theme, to be true.² Philosophers of our age, catching at written and unwritten obscurities which saliently obtrude upon the path of researchers groping in sociology, are getting down to real causes of events which for 2,000 years remained phenomena undeciphered. Ages upon ages have rolled and the mouldering stones and tablets, invaluable with their begrimed inscriptions, have saucily stared at science, unheeded. Furtive hints by ancient historians for centuries have mocked the lore of universities, bearing their inuendos which failed to insult the professorial sticklers to our darling notes and emendations. Great Social wars with ominous wing have been flopping and airing our ignorance as to their deep, suppressed causes. Then the downfall of the Roman empire—that of all others most inexplicable wonder—has been for twenty centuries chopped up into indigestible morsels and administered to students of history searching after great events and ecclesiastical lore. At last the student of sociology enters the field. He is philosopher enough to divest himself of the crusty film in which prejudice is encysted and manly enough to step out of the contumelious state and like a Murillo go down among the tatterdemalions and give them credit for what they were.

Society began with the bully.³ It began with unbridled irascibility, concupiscence and egoism. This creature, man, having killed or clubbed away the others, sought among the females the handsomest mate and in the best cave or hut began the family. The Aryan is not a nomad. He wants a home, a permanent residence. He is brigand enough to launch forth into all the enterprizes of plunder, but he returns to his home. This home remained his fastness which he would not quit. The land around it became his. When children came they were also his. When they grew strong and could work, his concupiscence differentiated into cupidity; and begetting many, he forced them to work. They became his slaves. If the little ones refused or otherwise displeased him his irascible impulses prevailed and he killed them. Those whom he could not spare he only punished. His irascibility made him a

² *La Cité Antique*, pp. 76-89; See also *Iliad*, *xxi*, *Odyssey*, *xxii*, *Levitique*, *xxv*, 40, 41, 44, 47, 48.

³ We are forced to employ this homely term as there exists in English no other which so nearly conveys our idea.

tyrant, while his acquisitiveness made him rich. He became a lord. Sympathy was a stranger to his bosom though no doubt it worked an influence at an early day in moulding the nature of the family, as we know there were favorites.

He lived in the wonder-world. The phenomena of nature he could not understand. There were thunders and lightnings, but electricity was a terror which shaped a god. When this god of nature grew into shape upon his imagination his egoism coveted its glory and immortality and the bully came to imagine *himself* a god; and assumed for himself power and immortality deifying himself at death and ordaining his first-born son his worshiper and the sole inheritor of his fortune. The remuneration demanded of the son for this succession was the paternal worship and the deification and adoration of the dead father, now a saint. Egoism was thus the originator of the Pagan religion, of immortality and of the sainthood.⁴

It was a part of the genius of this cult to be aristocratic and exclusive. It inculcated divine rights of masters, of noble lords and afterwards of kings. On the other hand it was a part of the genius of paganism to have slaves. It was so exclusively aristocratic that only a very few could possibly enjoy its beatitudes. The rest were obliged to be castaways. The castaways who were debarred the favoritism of eternal life through the aristocratic burial and deification were slaves, doomed by an inheritance of expropriation and of poverty, to slavery. When they became numerous, although wretched, there now and then developed a man or woman of genius. Bereft of everything tangible, they still had minds. With minds they considered and discussed their lowly condition; with strength and ingenuity some worked themselves out of bondage and became freedmen. As freedmen they began to organize into protective associations and trade unions. Thus two distinct parties were formed.

Meantime the power of the lords or property owners increased but not so rapidly in numeric strength as the power of the outcast, and the grandees, seeing the bondmen, runaways and freedmen forming into communes, some as

⁴ Latin *paganus*, of, or belonging to the country, *pagus*. There were then no towns or cities. These came later. Cf. *La Cité Antique*, *passim*.

tradesmen, some as brigands, all dissatisfied, some very dangerous, also betook themselves to organization. Thus there were two distinct classes. Which of these two classes began earliest to organize for self defense we cannot undertake to prove but reason conjectures that it must have been the outcasts. But certain it is ⁶ they formed into powerful *phratries* ⁶ or *curies* for mutual assistance, sometimes under religious pretenses, as in the case of the Italian *collegia*.

All along, parallel with each other through time, these two systems, the *grandees* or *gentes* on the one hand and the outcasts or disinherited on the other, have existed, securing themselves by mutual organization. We do not see in history much of the working classes. The principal mention made of them is in connection with slavery and the concomitant degradation of servitude. We know from certain passages in history that insurrections or slave rebellions occurred. Some of them were on a prodigious scale. Plutarch mentions instances where the masters by decree of the *phratries* sometimes allured large numbers of the slaves on plea of a festival or hunt and when at a convenient spot fell upon and murdered them by hundreds, merely to get rid of a dangerous element.⁷ That the servile element keenly felt the contempt in which they were regarded, crops out in the records of the remote past. We propose to give many instances.

The exclusion of slaves, freedmen and afterwards Christians from the Eleusinian mysteries gives the student of sociology an important hint to pages of the unwritten labor question; showing the reasons why the outcasts resorted to co-operation among themselves, as an only practical court of appeals to any power against oppression when aggrieved. All writers who have spoken of this celebrated and mysterious organization agree that it was very ancient. As we have found irrefutable evidences of numerous trade unions so early as the eighth and ninth century before Christ, we

⁶ Fustel de Coulanges, *Cité Antique*, lib. II. pp. 39-59, *La Famille*; Mann's *Ancient and Medieval Republics*, pp. 22-27.

⁶ Morgan, *Ancient Societies*, p. 88: "The *φρατρία* is a brotherhood, as the term imports; and a natural growth from the organization into *gentes*. It is an organic union or association of two or more *gentes* of the same tribe for certain common objects. These *gentes* were usually such as had been formed by the segmentation of an original *gens*." This author sees some analogy between the ancient Greek and Roman *gens* and certain tribes of North American Indians; notably the Iroquois. Consult chapters ii. and iii.

⁷ Plutarch, *Lycurgus*; also *Lycurgus and Numa compared*.

need not trace the Eleusinian band back of that time. It is however, worthy of remark that this organization existed at a much earlier date and that, although the societies of the workmen do not as luminously come to the front on account of this stigma which made them secret and prevented their recognition, it is no proof whatever that they did not also exist. The organization known as the Eleusinians,* according to ancient authors was in full force 1,500 years before Christ. Cicero who was an admirer of all the Pagan forms that tended to hand down the exclusive splendor and dignity of the aristocratic stock, believed these feasts to have belonged to the remotest antiquity and that they lasted the longest of almost any institution.⁸ Like the great trade-union movement they transmit unwritten records through an occasional slab, bearing inscriptions.⁹

The Eleusinian crusade was a celebrated and exclusively aristocratic religious festival in honor of the goddess Demeter or Ceres,¹¹ held at Eleusis, a large town some ten miles from Athens, in Attic Greece. It was a great outpouring from Athens, every 5 years in the month *Boedromion*,¹² lasting nine days. The great preparations made before the festival began, the extraordinary solemnity of the affair, the manner in which the Athenians attended it in a drome or chanting caravansary, gave it the appearance of a crusade. It was the origin of all well-known crusades. The attendance at this crusade was a trial of one's eligibility to the blessings of life eternal. Eleusis means a trysting place; consequently it is probable that the great games suggested the name of the place, and once established upon a projecting rock of the sea, the city afterward grew around it and in course of time held a large population. There are some touching mementoes which may be gleaned from this celebrated name. Whoever reads the bible in Greek finds frequent mention of this word in the signification of the coming of the Saviour. It is a symbolic word. Emblems in

* In later centuries the little Mysteries continued though they were not confined to Eleusis.

⁸ Cicero, *De Legibus*, II. cap. XVI.; *Panegyricus of Isocrates*, 6.

⁹ Judging from the slab of Paros they began in the fifteenth century before Christ. Larousse, *Dictionnaire Universel*, Art. *Les Eleusiniens*.

¹⁰ Ceres, like the Pelasgic Hermes was the itchy hallic deity, having power over reproduction and the supplies of life. Cf. *encyc. Brit.* vol. XI. p. 670.

¹¹ Βοηδρομιών, the space of time from September 15th to October 15th; from Βοηρομεω, I chase with a shout. The gods in the battle with the Amazons, chased them with cries. It is a word of great antiquity. Plutarch, *Theseus*.

those days were common; and much that is unexplained or that may yet be explained—unexplained through ignorance or neglect—comes out, by a proper interpretation of emblems.

But the Eleusinian mysteries were too absurdly exclusive to stand the erosions of what is known as progress. In perfect agreement with what we have said regarding the exclusive character of their worship, centering it upon the egoistic household name, forcing a puffed aristocracy by dint of glorifying a human creature and cutting off that glory from the many, especially those who toil, it had made itself odious and intolerable long before the advent of Christ. Yet the antiquity and greatness of the trysting scenes at Eleusis had become renowned in every well-known part of the world. All over Palestine, long afterwards the cradle of another but infinitely more democratic plan of worship, this curious practice was well-known. In Italy and Africa its fame had gone forth.

We are not speaking of the Eleusinian mysteries merely to recount a paltry historico-ecclesiastical fact. We are making a point in sociologic research. We therefore ask our reader's indulgence in comparing the social life of home-spun work-people through a metaphor as opposite as the Eleusinian emblems. Yet it is no metaphor. It bears with it a bone of contention which raged for centuries, split and divided, founded heresies, sophistries, philosophies, provoked labor unions, involved work-people in communism, drew out discussion and laid the foundation of the religion of Jesus in after years. We now proceed to explain how this was done. In ancient mythology Proserpine, or as some write it, Persephone, was the beautiful daughter of Ceres the Demeter, and of Jupiter. Pluto the god of the infernal regions fell in love with Proserpine and while she was in the act of gathering flowers in a vale of Enna in Sicily, stole her from her mother, carrying her off to his nether-world home.¹⁸ The mother though an immortal and living on the heights of Enna the Sicilian Olympus, was so grieved at the loss of her child that she came down from heaven, betook to herself the garb of mortals, became an old woman, assumed the duties of a nurse and wandered through the country,

¹⁸ *Infra*, chap. viii., containing the story of Eunus and the great servile war

ptying her profession for a subsistence from place to place. She went to Eleusis and there got employment. It was a job of nursing a child of the king of the place. The child's name was Demophon and under the celestial solicitude of this goddess in disguise, Metanira, the mother, beheld with astonishment and curiosity the marvelous thrift of her boy. Ceres breathed upon him the breath of life, dressed him with ambrosial ointment and at night used to purge the dross of mortality from him by immersing him in a bath of mysterious fire, with an object of making him also immortal. But one night the fond and curious mother peeped through the veil screening the immortalizing process of trans-substantiation and seeing the boy pendent in a halo of flame screamed with affright, causing the haggard old nurse to let the youngster drop deep into the consuming pit where he instantly perished. The hag then, to save herself, threw off her disguise became rehabilitated and forced the people of Eleuses to build her a temple to dwell in while still continuing her search for the lost Proserpine. Now the professional business of Jupiter was to watch the interests of mortal men. But Ceres unable to endure the loss of her stolen child and remembering the details of her husband's escape when a babe from the ferocious Saturn, struck the earth with her wand of famine. She rebelled energetically against the shape of things, and at last Jupiter came to the rescue of the innocent denizens of the earth as a professional duty. This led to the discovery of Proserpine. From her temple at Eleusis, Demeter who was the protectress of the products of labor made things uncomfortable for the people who were in her husband's care. They were stricken with malaria. Contagion spread. The ground ceased to produce and the horrors of famine engulfed them. Men prayed, sacrificed, and besought their patron gods, each *gens* for itself, and urged the further combination of gentile tribes into phratries to no effect until great Jove at last got Mercury to visit Erebus who went down into the pagan inferno where Pluto was enjoying the charms of the beautiful stolen prize. Thus the sly god got found out. This pagan inferno was Hades where Pluto was king. He, like Satan was cunning. He knew that by tempting her, as the devil a time before had tempted Eve, he could induce her to eat the forbidden fruit;—this time a pomegranite seed. Un-

warily she was lured into the temptation which cost her a fourth part of each year, for the rest of her immortal existence, in the infernal abode with Pluto. The other three-fourths of the year, however, she was permitted to pass upon earth.

Such is the ridiculous story which among the ancients, was believed at the point of the poniard or under penalty of the hemlock for at least two thousand years. To cavil with its austere sanctity was a heresy costing the blasphemist his life and every hope of immortality.

Some palliation of the absurdity of this sub-terrestrial abode is furnished by the qualification that in ancient belief the world was flat, not round; and between the two flat surfaces there flowed a river with whose murky waters Erebus had something to do. On the other side, once there, the journeying immortals were ushered into view of the indescribable beatitudes of the elysium. This gorgeous *terra incognita* was not to be reached without passing the terrible cynocephalous or many-headed watchdog named Cerberus. But heaven was on the other side. Passage from this to that was the agony.

Now Ceres, the wife of the mighty Jupiter and mother of the lovely Proserpine, was the goddess of the harvests. She represented the cereals. She rode on a jagatnatha drawn by dragons. Her brow was coronated with wreaths of wheat. This rape of Proserpine by Pluto on the ragged edge, between our world of mortals and heaven became emblematic of the agonies of winter;—from autumn when the wheat was sown, then the cold hyemal gloom of gestation in the dark borderlands, the trysting place, the hyperborean domain of hades; thence over the half congelated Styx was ferried the elastic imagination by the money getting Charon, and behold, the vernal raptures of heaven and its elysian fields appear, full of springing verdure, the land of exquisite delight!

Such was the Mythic origin of the Eleusinian Mysteries. They were weird forms of imagination, assimilating things real with things unreal and working them up into maxims, emblems and creeds, until they assumed a priesthood and became an organization of men and women knit by the tie of secrecy which nothing but the long fluctuations of progress could unbind.

What the actual performance was at the *penetratio* of the Eleusinian mysteries nobody knows. We know that they were, in their prime, symbolic of the procreative energy of nature. But they were attended with certain extraordinary rites. What were these rites? They were also conducive to the science of eternal bliss.

Who secured that bliss? In answering these two questions we must return to the kernel of our theme—the labor element. To the first one of them, the answer is vague. This we know, that the rites consisted of dramatic representations of the rape of Proserpine, daughter of Ceres, goddess of the vegetable kingdom, of the fields, and labor, who was supposed to preside over the cereals and other alimentation of man. This rape was performed by Pluto; and in its emblematic mysticisms conveys the idea not only of procreation but also of immortality of the human soul.¹⁴ Whether more may still be contributed by science to these strange and intensely interesting rites is yet to be seen. As late as 1858 an important addition to our knowledge of the Eleusinian mysteries has been contributed in the discovery by Vlastos, at a village named Hagi-Constantios, of a marble slab containing an inscription including rules and regulations of the society.

The first day of the *mene* was celebrated perhaps partly in Athens or before the arrival at Eleusis. On the march from Athens to Eleusis the jealous outcasts who were excluded from the raptures of the scene, always ranged themselves in hostile array and belabored the marchers with stones and clubs, until the arrival of the procession at the temple of Megaron.¹⁵

The second day was called *alade mustae*. It was the 16th of *Boedromion*. It was the day of the baptism, being a march in phalanx to the sea. The procession here received their baptism and purification. The third was the day of the feasting. On the fourth day the poppey seeds were ad-

¹⁴ Uwaroff, *Essai sur les mystères d'Eleusis*, 3rd. edition, Paris, 1816; Creuzer's *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker*; Preller, *Demeter und Persephone* (Hamburg, 1837).

¹⁵ For a description of the temple of Megaron at Eleusis, see Guhl and Koenig, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, translated by Hueffer, pp. 48-9. The dark crypt where the mysteries were performed by the *Mysteraiogoi* also the initiations, was under ground. From Aristophanes (Plato, Bekk. L. ed. *Repub.* in cap. xvii.), we learn that at the initiations they sacrificed a hog. Aristophanes, *Pax*, v. 374 5, has the passage hinted at.

ministered. This rite represented the stupefying influence of the narcissus under which the maiden Persephone was stolen away. Orpheus was the *hierophant* or priest whose duty it was to initiate eligible candidates into the mysteries. He was assisted by Erechtheis daughter of Erechtheus the smasher. It is quite likely that this initiating ceremony was some kind of violent struggle. It must have been attended by oaths of fidelity under punishment of death to any one who divulged the secret. The initiation took place in the night or in the dark crypt of the temple, as the *dadouchos* or torch-bearer was in attendance and his torch-procession represented the search for the lost daughter of Ceres. This *dadouchos* was a priest holding, as Xenophon tells us, the office hereditarily for life; and at his decease it fell to another of the same family, the *Callidae*. There was also a great sacrificial rite performed, who or what the victim, is not very clear; but the herald of the sacrifice, the *hieroceryx* was always there.¹⁶ The new initiates were not permitted to eat flesh. Even the *hierophant* or initiating priest was required to live on low diet that passion might be restrained during the ordeal.¹⁷ He drank a decoction of hemlock which had the effect to benumb the sensibilities, a thing exceedingly appropriate at the moment of this ecstatic enjoyment, where, if we are to believe Maury, a critic well credited and much quoted on this subject, all around, the voluptuous nobles of both sexes take their turns. The unscrupulous *dictionnaire universel*,¹⁸ quoting from the above

¹⁶ Kreuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker*,

¹⁷ Larousse, *Dictionnaire Universel*, Art. *Les Eleusiniens*.

¹⁸ "On representait dans une sorte de drame hieratique le rapt de la fille Proserpine. On passait par le veritable rencontre du sacrement." Art. *Mysteres Eleusiniens*. For an account of this extraordinary symbolism among the aboriginal Americans see Bancroft's *Native Races*, III, p. 507. Is it not a possible thing that this symbolism may have come to the Aleuts and Pepiles from custom as ancient and original as the Eleusinian mysteries? Bancroft says: "The Pepiles abstained from their wives **** previous to sowing, in order to indulge **** to the fullest extent on the eve of that day, evidently with a view to initiate or urge the fecundating powers of nature. It is even said that certain persons were appointed to perform the sexual act at the moment of planting the first seed. During the bitter cold nights of the Hyperborean winter, the Aleuts, both men and women joined hands in the open air and whirled perfectly naked round certain poles, lighted only by the pale moon. The spirit was supposed to hallow the dance with his presence. There certainly could have been no licentious element in this ceremony, for setting aside the discomfort of dancing naked with the thermometer at zero, we read that the dancers were blindfolded, and that decorum was strictly enforced. In Nicaragua, maize sprinkled with blood drawn from the genitals was regarded as sacred food." Additionally to this fact, Bancroft says, (III, p. 506, quoting Palacio, Corta, p. 84)

author has no hesitation in hinting that the great secret which in this case was a veritable *sanctum sanctorum*, was nothing less than a wild scrambling and voluptuous erotomania, such as might happen after a feast of wine. Within these *penetralia* are thus said to have happened an exuberance of voluptuousness, a struggle to feign escape, an agony and a glory of fullest effulgence emblematically representing each, in turn, the process of nature from the time seed is sown in autumn, through the gloom and struggle of winter to the genial spring when the new cereals burst from their first verdure, to their harvest for the nourishment of man. At any rate it is ascertained as certain that there were the *course errante*, the *thalamos* or *pastos*, the veil of the *epoptai*,¹⁹ and all solemnly conducted under the eye of the *hierophant* and *Erechtheis*, the priest and priestess of the mysteries. Maury²⁰ declares that an entrance into the fourth degree of the Eleusinian mysteries not only secured to the initiate a positive guaranty against the dreaded *supplicium* of Tartarus, or the lower hell, but it insured his felicity in this life also.²¹

This sketch of the great Eleusinian games may appear to the reader an aberration from our theme, the history of the laborers of ancient times. Not so; for it prepares the way to the student of history from a sociologic point of view, to become acquainted with the grievances the poor were forced to submit to. To be born a degraded wretch, a mere instrument, usable by a master owning one as a thing and handling that thing, its labor, its destiny as an earthy tool, is to a being possessed of sensibility and reason, a grievance. It is slavery. When this slave grows into the reasoning being he inwardly rebels against the men and the institution by which he is held in bondage. He is wise enough to foresee that his only chances of wriggling out of bondage and of securing riddance from its grievances is by some

of the aboriginal inhabitants of Honduras and Mexico: "The frequent occurrence of the cross, which has served in so many and such widely separated parts of the earth as the symbol of the life-giving, creative, and fertilizing principle in nature, is, perhaps one of the most striking evidences of the former recognition of the reciprocal principles of nature by the Americans: especially when we remember that the Mexican name for the emblem *tonacaquahuatl*, signifies 'tree of one life or flesh.'"

¹⁹ Plato, *Phædrus*, 250, c.; Böckh, *Inscr.* 1.

²⁰ Maury, *Histoire des Religions de la Grèce Antique*.

²¹ Plato tells us of the sufferings of those who fail to obtain purgation at the mysteries. *Republic*, lib. II. cap. 7. L. edition.

institution of his own; some court of appeal. Political institutions have never given the workingman a court of appeals. The workingman has never yet had a hearing;²² and his reason and experience both point to the terrible fact that no hearing is possible except before *his own* court of appeals. The trade union is, *per se*, a true court of appeals. We have seen that the isolated *gens* or family of nobles, when threatened by the dangers of a growing population, by pirates, by slave insurrections and feuds, organized themselves into *phratries*, *curias*, kingdoms, empires and thus found means of submitting their grievances to courts of justice for settlement. We have also means of knowing that the laboring element had, on the other hand, commenced the organization of their forces. Of the former there is sufficient proof; of the latter, as students in the phenomena of ancient social life, we glean here and there fresh proof from inscriptions on tablets of stone which have survived the heedless ages, enabling us to search anew the hitherto vaguely deciphered meanings of expressions of the ancient chroniclers, finding here and there trophies of inestimable worth; all going to show that the ancient laborers, although hated and hunted everywhere and very early, also formed unions and other courts of appeal against grievances. We find evidence too, that these organizations commenced very early—perhaps coeval with the political organization of the nobles, or even before.

But the labor movement of this nineteenth century surrounded by an infinitely more luminous moral atmosphere, is little likely to understand what could possibly have been the grievance of the ancient working people against the Eleusinian games. What objections men will say, could working people, ignorant as they were in those times, have had to any means of salvation soul and body, from suffering.²³ This brings the matter pertinently before us! The Eleusinian mysteries were simply a religious rite, founded amid the ignorance of an ancient period of our forefathers' existence. For that era it was enlightened. What then,

²² See Bristed, *Resources of the United States*, p. 103, ed. 1818 and his reference to the dismal failure of Lycurgus in sapping the family of its loves and in encouraging cruelty.

²³ Bristed, *Idem*, p. 392, declares that all nations that have given themselves up to erratic irregularities, "every species of profligacy" have done so as a consequence of irreligion.

could the lowly who performed the world's drudgery, have encouraged, in opposition to it?

Those who thus interrogate, do so in the absence of an understanding of the question. The laboring classes, though socially degraded, had sensitive feelings. They, like their masters, were believers in the common religion and its forms. They cannot be blamed for that. But while they saw their masters favored with what they thought to be glories of religion, they found themselves utterly excluded. No one at Athens who was a slave, or his descendant could secure admittance. In far later times even christians who were the descendants of slaves and consequently mostly of the laboring element, were denied admittance. The gates, from the remotest era were arbitrarily closed against the workers who labored to produce the means of subsistence for the rich. The gorgeous telesteria, and pilasters of the great temple of Megaron, were, by the outcasts, only to be gazed upon and marveled at from a distance. The Calliades who inherited the priesthood were all of noble blood. The common rabble might get into the caravan and through the dust and din march unobserved from Athens to Eleusis. They might, as in the procession of our modern camp-meeting, become inspired with the occasion and imbued with the frenzy of faith, or even dare to picture themselves worthy to participate. But the order of such a man's rank was soon manifested by the missiles, hisses, jeers and attacks against the throng, himself included, by his own people who gathered on the wayside and threw derision and vented spite in turbulence and often force against all the crusaders alike. On his arrival his case became hopeless, for a rigid examination by officers of the law soon detected his meaner rank and caused his expulsion. None but the darlings of the family constituted *gentes* were deemed fit for admission to the holy altar.

We mean by this that the working man was too low in the estimation of the devotees of the Pagan temple to be the possessor of an immortal soul.²⁴ Now let the questioner

²⁴ Plato, *Laws*, vi; Homer, *Odessey*. XVII. c. 322, 323; Horace, *Sermo*, I. The ancient idea was that those who failed to get through the flat earth from this, the mortal side, to the other which was heaven, *Elysium*, perished. Plato the great idealist wrote (*Gorgias*, 163-73; *Phædo*, 77, 139; *Rep.* c 13), several intensely interesting details on the wanderings and gropings of the soul on whose waxen tablet is indelibly stamped virtues and sins for Rhadamanthus and the

consider that these outcasts were human beings of the same natural stock, against whom natural laws of heredity had made no discrimination; that they were as bright, as clear, as conscious, as well developed and intelligent as their masters, were often their masters' children; that they sometimes rose supremely to eminence despite the pitiless contempt and mountain-like obstacles they had to contend with—let the objector observe these things in a practical way and he will be furnished a true key to one cause of the dissatisfaction and counter organization of laborers of ancient times, for securing a court that might hear their appeals. The world at that period was divided into two classes, the pious and the impious,²⁵ which means the nobles, born of the gods and entitled to go back to the gods, and the earth-borns, doomed to delve for their masters and at death go back to the earth. But although this was recognized as an old belief coming from the institution of slavery in which the most liberal of men could only acknowledge them to be more than half furnished with an immortal principle,²⁶ yet the intelligence of the outcasts rebelled against it. Would not men under such circumstances naturally consider this a great grievance? In our own times, when all men are admitted to be born equal—times compared with those old days being as the dazzle of noonday to the obscurity of morning twilight—in our own free civilization the working people combine upon economic issues, their equality of right to heaven unquestioned; but those people imagined themselves suffering a humiliating grievance when the haughty disclaimer was flung into their face that they were too mean to expect either a present or a future. If then, they gnashed with anguish, or even vengeance or secretly took measures to get even with this oppression, it was but an effort to express a grievance.

We make these statements to show why in ancient times the labor movement took different phases from these we see on every hand about us. We do this because we are about to bring forward proof that there existed an opposition to

other post mortem judges to examine. Those, such as slaves supposed to have no souls, were denied even a burial. They were burned.

²⁵ Consult chapter 3 of Granier's *Hist. des Classes Ouvrières*, pp. 48-71. The critic should carefully study his magnificent array of notes.

²⁶ Plato, *Laus*, ix. half a soul; Tim, xviii.; lxxi. Homer, *Odessey*, lib XVII; Aristotle declared that the children of the noble masters, who were born slaves could be only animated beings.

the whole philosophy based on the slave code and to the religion that denied the equality of man. The first thing is to produce proof that the working people resented their exclusion from the Eleusinian mysteries.

To do this it will be necessary to indulge in a little circumlocution, as the evidence is very vague and indirect. It is in fact, new ground. However much there may lie concealed in support of this important fact which we propose to establish, it must be confessed that such evidence lies in moldering inappreciation and neglect. Did the laboring or outcast element of that ancient era resent and combine against the system that ignored them soul and body?

We have proof that they did; but in adducing this proof hold claim to the right to draw inferences from the existence and career of as many different forms of labor and socialistic organizations as we can hunt out from the gloom of tyranny and oblivion. With this range of the whole field assumed to be conceded, we shall produce before the critic what we can find of all sorts of organizations bearing upon the point, and where the link of evidence becomes broken in the chain of chronology, shall feel perfectly exonerated for drawing upon the plausibly imaginative in order to restore that link. The fact that, as an anthropologist we are undertaking to write a history of ethics from a standpoint of sociology, entitles us to a right to scientifically use all the strategy of comparative testimony. By these remarks is meant the trade union, the co-operative society, the burial society, the society for social amusement among the lowly, the agrarian foment, the social wars, even to some extent the sophist and Pythagorean socialism, the ascetic Essenianism and finally the grand culmination of all, Christianity. All these strictly belong to the true social history of the ancient lowly; for all their membership was originally of freedmen and slave origin.

In order to answer the question properly it is necessary to glance a moment at the social history of the Grecian peninsula. As early as 1055 B. C. there had been a horrible murder or massacre of the Helots or slaves and their descendants at Sparta. It was in the mythical ages; but great events even among the poor and ignorant have a certain faculty of transmitting their history through tradition. **It has come down to us through poetry and song,**

through hints of ancient history, through honest Plutarch, and we are assured as to the assassinations which were from time to time perpetrated upon the defenseless working people of that time. We also know that these poor creatures who were to the body politic of those people what the bones are to the body, had unions for self protection. Still further it is known that they enjoyed the right to organize. It has been ascertained that the slaves themselves actually possessed protective societies²⁷ and considering the free and intelligent classes whence they were derived it is quite natural that they should have possessed them. Especially is this possible among the helots or slaves of Lacedæmon. They were, as we have seen, slaves by inheritance, often their wealthy masters' own children. They were prisoners of war, forcibly reduced to that wretched condition by being beaten in the war with Helos; and later in the great Messenian war, when Sparta became the victor in that conflict, those brave, proud, ingenious Greeks along with all of the two above mentioned classes, were humiliated, subjugated, degraded to the

²⁷ It is known that they did at a later period; Cf. Lüders, *Die Dionysischen Künstler*, S. 22 & 47. This author mentions a very interesting inscription (Böckh, *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*, I. p. 417), that has come to light, at or near Pergamus, which shows that slaves belonged to the *eranoi* or union of mechanics. On page 46, Lüders says "Bezeichnend für den Charakter des Vereinswesens der späteren Zeit ist es, daß auch Slaven nicht allein an einem Eranos sich beteiligen, sondern auch unter sich ein religiöses Collegium mit Unterstützungscasse bilden durften. Für den von Slaven benutzten Eranos bieten zahlreiche Beispiele die unlängst in Delphi gefundenen Freilassungsurkunden. Das Collegium Rhodischer Slaven zu Ehren des Zeus Atabyrios (*Διὸς Ἀταβυριασταὶ τῶν τῆς πόλιος δούλων*"). So also in p. 47, Lüders further corroborates the facts that slaves belonged to the unions: "Daß aber Vereine von einiger Bedeutung auch Slaven zur Bedienung hatten, ist natürlich; Kraton hatte als Prätor des von ihm gestifteten Collegiums der Attalisten testamentarisch dem Thiasos unter anderem Tempel- und Hausgeräth auch Slaven vermacht. Auf den Reliefs aus Nicæa haben wir in dem um das Mahl besäftigten und in den Musicirenden Personen Slaven erkannt." On page 22, Lüders has already mentioned this Kraton. In proof of the membership as slaves: "Kraton, günstling der Attalen und hochangesehenes Mitglied und Priester der grossen Synodus Dionysischer Techniten in Teos, hatte nach seiner glänzenden Aufnahme an dem Hofe von Pergamos dort aus dem Verbande der Künstler einen Verein von Thiasoten zu Ehren der Persepolitischen Könige gestiftet, dessen Mitglieder sich *Ἀτταλισταὶ* nennen." Farther on in the same page, he shows that Kraton made the union a present of his own slaves when he died; probably, as Foucart shows that they sometimes did, (*Mém. sur l'affranchissement des esclaves par forme de vente à une divinité* p. 28), in order to set them free. "In seinem Testamente endlich, von dem uns, so wie von jenem Briefe, ein Fragment erhalten ist, vermacht er dem Verbande eine ansehnliche Geldsumme, damit sie aus den Zinsen ihre Opfer und festlichen Zusammenkünfte bestreiten den Statuten gemäfs (*καθὼς ἐν τῇ νομοθεσίᾳ πρὸς ἐκάστων διατέταχεν*). Das Mobilien des Vereins haust, das Grschirz zu den Opfern und Mahlzeiten und der feierlichen Pompe, darin dem erhaltenen Theile des Testament aufgezählt wird, hinterliess er dem Verein nebst einer Anzahl Slaven zu dauerndem Besitze."

same servile condition. But although the body was bowed down to servitude, the mind remained to play its fancies, to plot and plan, to concoct in secret; and language was also theirs—a facile tongue—rich in versatility of idiom; full of thrilling nuance and touching charm. The powerful physique was there, the love of adventure, the Greek cravings for a better lot, with fortitude, dash and intrepidity which form the gallant characteristics of that grand people—all these the workingmen of high antiquity possessed. More than this, they had intelligence enough to know that the cruelties they suffered were unjust. If then, we hear through the scintillations of the fragments that there were uprisings, social turmoils and wars, we know them to have been the natural outcome of such a state of things, and nothing to be wondered at.

Now we have promised to adduce proof that there were unions of Greeks who resisted the public insult of the great Eleusinian mysteries which denied to the slaves and their descendants, the freedmen, all hope of happiness here and hereafter.²⁸ We simply desire, in order to clear up the vagaries, to consider, in our inquiry, the whole of Greece at a time.

Scanning the social condition of the slaves from evidence, we find plenty of assurance that they belonged to the state. The state leased them out. The state, from the primitive family, was organized for purposes of defense.²⁹ The family first possessed the slave. Slaves became more numerous than families. They did all the labor and were allowed no privileges. So they rebelled. Some ran away, hid in fastnesses, became dangerous brigands. They became organized. Then the rich families organized themselves into fratricies and other forms. As the slaves had belonged to the families, so now they belonged to the fratricies. This means that as the slaves were before private property, so now they, or some of them, became public

²⁸ Plutarch, *Theseus*, speaks of the demagogue Menestheus who, about 1180 before Christ rose up against the tyranny of the aristocrats at Athens, with the claim that the people also had a right to be initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. Even at that remote period there must have been between the poor and lowly and the rich and lordly, great struggles regarding this grievance.

²⁹ Morgan, *Ancient Society*, chap. ii: Drumann, *Arbeiter und Communisten in Griechenland und Rom*, S. 24: "In Epidamnus gab es keine Handwerker als die öffentlichen Sklaven." "Das Handwerk ist daher verrufen und verachtet." S. 26: Aristotle, *Politik*, II. 4, § 13.

property, This was a political sequence upon the organization of the families into fratricies and the consolidation of the fratricies into the state. Of course the rich family still kept as many servants as it needed; but large numbers remained with the public domain. These state slaves formed into organizations.³⁰ From the earliest mythical accounts down to 58 years before Christ we find evidences abundantly proving that the law gave work-people the especial right to organize not only in Rome but also in Greece. The celebrated Law of the Twelve Tables which specified the manner of organization of workingmen, is declared by the commentators to be a translation from the Greek laws of Solon.³¹

The Twelve Tables clearly set down the arrangement, ordaining that the trade unions should remain in obedience to the law of the state. The unions followed the law, and Gaius wrote the law thus fixed, so plainly that Justinian incorporated it into the digest. A fragment of the law of Solon³² shows plainly that trades unions were common and tolerated by that lawgiver. A strong cumulative evidence that the slaves belonging to the state were enormously organized into protective association, is found in the fact that they succeeded in their insurrections against the masters. An important example of these slave insurrections is given of the miners.³³ In Attica they once rebelled, and marched upon the town near the silver mines, occupying the castle of Sunion. These people were called "*thetes*" or "*demoes*."

In Athens the fact of their manumission did not make them anything above mere earth-borns. They could develop genius, become teachers, philosophers, poets and business men. Sometimes they rose to positions of wealth, even themselves becoming master-builders, and some of them were the greatest sculptors and painters the world ever produced; but the taint of servility was born in their blood. Phidias the most celebrated sculptor, ancient or modern, was a descendant of the slaves. He was

³⁰ Lüders, *Dionyschischen Künstler*. S. 46; Wescher-Foucart *Inscriptions de Delphes*, pp. 89, 107, 139, 244, giving abundant evidence.

³¹ Gaius, *Digest*, lib. XLVII tit. xxii lex. 4; Plutarch, *Numa*

³² Granier, *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières* &c pp. 283-7.

³³ Consult the Encyclopædias, *Articles on Slavery*; also for instances of Asiatic slaves joining the rebellion of Aristonicus, see *Infra*, chapter ix.

really a freedman. He built the *propylæe* of the Parthenon, and with his skillful hand made the beautiful and colossal statues of Athena and the wonderful chryselephantine statue of the Olympian Zeus. Parrhasius, one of the finest painters, who transmitted to the Italian schools the art of delineations, was, in all probability a freedman. Demosthenes in his terrible vehemence pronounced Æschines a son of a freedman. That alone probably had a strong tendency toward deciding the great case against Æschines, whose mighty genius, though the outcome of lowly parentage, well-nigh brought to the scaffold the greatest orator of ancient or modern days. In these bright years of our nineteenth century, such scurrile slurs as Demosthenes hurled against his enemy, which were used to incite contempt, would be thought an insult upon the act of labor. Innumerable were the marvels of genius among the Greeks, and as innumerable the deprecatory innuendoes, the cowardly jealousies, the surreptitious revenges that were seated and sealed in the accident of birth. Much of the greater and lesser broils may be attributed to it.

Our object in this divergence is to give, from a reading of the past, in the spirit of sociological research, the fact that the lowly of the Greek population were organized to a large extent, against this scathing grievance, the taint of labor.

That the slaves belonged in great numbers to the state is seen by any one who consults the law of Lycurgus.³⁴ It must be most distinctly understood that the great law of Lycurgus was intended only for the development and enjoyment of the two favored classes of Lacedæmonian society—the Spartans and Pericæci. He belonged to the Eurystheneid line of Spartan kings. An aristocrat by birth and according to Herodotus, living about a thousand years before our era, he would not permit the third class or working people even to taste of the advantages of his system—otherwise almost a perfect socialism if we except its heathenish immodesty and blood-thirst. The land he divided into 9,000 lots for the Spartans who were

³⁴ Plutarch, *Lycurgus*: "It is not worth while to take much pains as to riches since they are of no account; and the Helots (slaves) who tilled the ground, were answerable for the produce mentioned." And a few lines farther on: "So much care took they estimated every thought of mechanic arts as well as wish for riches."

fewest in numbers, 30,000 lots for the Pericæi or Laconians who were more numerous in proportion. The poor Helots or work-people and descendants from slaves got nothing although their proportionate numbers were three to one. This hegemony of Greece incorporated into itself the most degrading slavery to be found in the world's history. Lycurgus although to his favorite people perhaps in many respects a model, was towards those he arrogantly assumed to be beneath him—the laboring class—the model of a monster. His system of the ambuscade²⁵ disgusted even Plato, who was a believer in slavery. Plato's great heart turned away in loathing from such a stupendous abomination. The ambuscade, a diabolism that should blacken any age, could exist only in a country where calm, cold-blooded contempt gets the better of the warmer emotions. In looking over the lofty but ghastly eloquence of Cicero, whose implacable contempt for the working people in later times cost him his life, we have the nearest parallel to inveterate hate.

No historiographer can hereafter afford to neglect the inhuman butcheries perpetrated by the ambuscade; since they differed from the massacres of Stone Henge, of Saint Bartholomew, of the Incas, of the Mamelukes, of Wyoming, in being consummated at moments of profoundest peace; at moments when the innocent victims were wrapt in the fiendish assassins' service, sweating in the fields, at the mill, with the flocks, on the provision market, producing, garnering and distributing the food, the clothing, the shelter which their heartless butchers were consuming without gratitude, to invigorate their veins whereby to accomplish such treacheries!

Just before reciting these horrors let us revert to the victim. He was primarily the slave by the ancient family law of entail and primogeniture. The shackles of abject servitude were first inherited through the humiliating law of entails which fixed the heir of the patrimony, the first born son, as a lord to be served, worshiped, immortalized, and blessed; his children to be chattels, subjected, forced to labor, distrusted, branded and cursed.²⁶

²⁵ For more on the *Cryptia*, see Plutarch, *Lycurgus*.

²⁶ Fustel de Coulanges, *Cité Antique*, livre 2, *La Famille*; Garnier de Cagnac, *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières*, chap. 3.

Next, after this primary calamity came the slaves of war; whole communities taken, carried off by the captors and degraded to slavery and its concomitant curse,⁸⁷ as in the case of the Messenian war with Sparta. Lastly the slave trade;—three great ancient systems. Under these he suffered torments which no pen of mortal will ever portray. He was known by his dress, sometimes going in rags equivalent to nudity, in gangs under a brutal boss. Sometimes, in this condition, man along with woman, destitute of means of being decent, dragging the long day among the fields and flocks; dogskin hats and sheepskin breeches, which survive longest the wear of the wearer, and often totally nude. They were each flogged once a day as an admonition, though having committed no offence and forbidden to learn the manly arts. They were obliged to stoop and crouch in piteous obsequiousness to these drivers lest jealous tyranny interpret their upright posture to be an assumption of the estate of manhood.⁸⁸ Such was the condition of the workingman of Sparta which, above all other countries whereof we discover a historic trace, was the most pitiless toward the slave. And the most shameful phase of this confession is the cruel fact that all this was precept of the Lycurgan law!

We must return to the *cryptia* or ambushade of the law of Lycurgus. These Helots or working people, state-slaves of Lacedæmon, lived and performed much of their labor in the rural districts. The law of Lycurgus provided for the election, annually, of five magistrates or overseers, called *ephorî*, whose function was to strengthen and heighten the principles of democracy that the happiness of the people might be equalized. Plutarch's doubts as to whether Lycurgus instituted the *ephorî* seem to be dispelled by his acknowledgment that both Plato and Aristotle thought so.⁸⁹ One of the functions of this institu-

⁸⁷ Ælian, *Historia Varia*, I. 1.; Athenæus, *Deipnosophistæ*, vi; Xenophon *Memorabilia*, 3, 6, § 2; Bücher, *Aufstände der unfreien Arbeiter* S. 36; All of these authors also Livy give evidence on the enslavement of men taken in war,

⁸⁸ "The Ephorî indeed, declared war against them! Against whom? Why poor, naked slaves who tilled their lands, dressed their food and did all those offices for them which they were too proud to do for themselves." Cf. Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, note in Langhorne's tr.

⁸⁹ Plato, *Republic*, *Dissertation on Lacedæmon*; Aristotle, *Politie* v. ascribes their origin to a later period of the law's existence than that of the Lawgiver's institution. Nevertheless they are the outcome of the great law of Lycurgus.

tion for the promotion of popular democracy was to see that the ambushade was well carried out. All that was meant by the term *people* was the people who owned the land, either by parcel or as government property together with the slaves and other chattels of that property. This means that the really worthless and indolent non-producers were the people. The useful majority of the inhabitants, the working population, were entirely ignored, contemptuously denied every vestige of participation in this much boasted government, although there exists abundance of evidence that they were naturally intelligent and as worthy as their masters, of enjoying the product of their labor in this state of democracy.

Instead of this, the ephori ordained that a certain number of young men from among the aristocrats should, at their command, arm themselves with daggers, and provided with a sort of knapsack with provisions, secretly sneak off into the mountains and jungles.⁴⁰ The distances these legalized assassins were required to go varied very much. These youths had governors who had the power to order them to do as the ephori should determine. The governors, whenever the ephori voted a new slaughter of the working people, called together the smartest and most able bodied of these young men, armed them with daggers, sharpened and gleaming for the occasion.⁴¹ At the same time the inhuman overseers whom we may with due propriety call bosses, in accord with a technical signification fully adopted by the prevailing labor movement of to-day, were ordered to see to it that the toilers should be without arms or means of any kind with which to defend themselves when suddenly set upon by the amateur Spartan soldier, dagger in hand. With all these odds against them the poor, unsuspecting, half naked working people were driven by the bosses, as usual into the field, the mill, the kitchen and the various places of service wherever required to eke the drudgery of a sun-and-sun summer day of toil. Meantime the assassins were laying in wait in the vicinity for their prey. It was a manly sport! The law of Lycurgus made more compulsory than any other code on earth, the provisions of manly

⁴⁰ Pintarch, *Lycurgus*, where these horrors are related.

⁴¹ Thucydides, *De Bello Peloponnesiaco*, liber IV. 80.

gymnastics. This was one of them. It was sport!⁴⁰ By the exercise of this manly sport the youth's blood flowed stronger, his muscles grew, his body waxed athletic; he digested with a better relish the food his blood-begrimed victim had in the morning prepared for him before his murderous weapon slashed and pierced her gentle heart. We quote from Plutarch. No one ever speaks illy of Plutarch. His means of knowing facts were better than ours, and his kind nature even in the barbarous age in which he lived, revolted against the consistency of such a democracy. He says:⁴¹

"The governors of the youth ordered the shrewdest of them from time to time to disperse themselves in the country, provided only with daggers and some necessary provisions. In the day time they hid themselves and rested in the most private places they could find; but at night they sallied out into the roads and killed all the Helots they could meet with. Nay, sometimes by day, they fell upon them in the fields and murdered the ablest and strongest of them."⁴²

These are specimens of authentic history of the lowly as they have passed through a transition period of unnumbered centuries, from abject slavery to a Christian democracy which recognizes all men as equal and provides for them precepts for equal enjoyment. But before quitting these chambers of cruelty and carnage it remains our sad duty to recount what modern historians well know, but seldom divulge—the great assassination. It happened during the Peloponnesian war. This account comes from the trusted and reliable historian Thucydides, who lived at the time and made it his business for many years to keenly observe what transpired, during that long and tedious struggle of seven and twenty years. The story is briefly told by him. Dressed and reflected upon in our own way it appears in substance as follows:

During the great Peloponnesian war, one of the most renowned in antiquity, the forces of the army sometimes became decimated and it was necessary to recruit them

⁴⁰ K. O. Müller in *Die Dorier*, denies this; but the evidence is too strong against him. Again, Müller's opinion regarding their "aboriginal descent" has been completely overturned.

⁴¹ Plutarch's *Lycurgus*.

⁴² *Idem*; Cf. tr. of the Langhorne: Vol. I. pp. 63-4.

from whatever source possible. When, therefore, there were no more soldiers to be had from among the Spartans and Periceci or recognized citizens, the military authorities were obliged to call out the laboring men who, at the time of the Peloponnesian war, were three to four times more numerous than the non-laboring class. This in ancient times was always a humiliation. War was the noble occupation, labor the ignoble one. To ask a person in disgrace to assist the nobles out of trouble was equivalent to humiliating confession. If then, the laborer, in a great emergency was marshaled to the rescue, the only way to blot out the stain such a humiliation entailed was to enfranchise this warrior from social thralldom and thus stanch the blot by elevating him from the fetters of bondage. If further, the bondsman after performing the service manfully, redeeming his masters by bravery and valor, earning his liberty by saving their lives and preserving their realm from wreck, could be secretly murdered after such decree of manumission was administered, it would save the proud masters many a disagreeable jeer, painful wince and blush of shame when reminded that their existence and happiness was due to the daring and fidelity of a hated menial who still shocked their pride with his presence.

It came to pass that this humiliating expedient was indispensable to save the nation from irretrievable ruin and thousands of the enslaved laborers were marshaled and drilled into the army. They were not allowed to bear heavy arms; that would have been a still greater disgrace. So they bore light arms and bore them gallantly. After serving through many a tedious campaign probably of years' duration, after winning victories in many a skirmish and in many a field and earning the full measure of their promised reward, after seeing the Lacedæmonian armies victorious at every hand and the great war prosperously advancing toward triumph for the southern Greeks, there were brought before the military tribunal for dismissal over two thousand workingmen who had proved truest in arms and been adjudged worthiest of liberty. Their faithful hands had valiantly borne the standard of an ungrateful country. Their strong hearts had never flinched either before their sullen discipline or the cleaving blades

of the combatants. Their fiery zeal and fearless blows had won the victory and earned the liberty which, before this august council, proudly they heard pronounced. Over 2,000 slaves who toiled for masters were thus regularly enfranchised and marched into a temple or other enclosure or field—no mortal knows or ever will know what—to take the oath of freedom.

But the anxious wives and children waited and wept long before these brave men came to gladden their hovel homes. For here we come to the recital of one of the darkest pages of history. Still more painful is this page because blotted. Too foully blotted for perusal; since, aside from a ghastly blood-stain that smirches its story in mysterious gloom, it is written in the almost undecipherable hieroglyphs of reticent shame. Thucydides blushes for this lurid page; ⁴⁵ but unlike the unmanly historians of the past who have cringed in the presence of truth which could not port the flattery of lords and masters of high degree, he bravely told us all he knew. And what he knew is enough to make the blood run cold. ⁴⁶ Besides, it comes to us subscribed to by Plato, ⁴⁷ Aristotle ⁴⁸ and Plutarch, ⁴⁹ on whose minds, if we catch aright their words, this massacre we are going to relate made an impression so strong as to waver the tone of these great philosophers' belief in slavery ⁴⁷ and seriously color their dialectics.

⁴⁵ Thucydides during the Peloponnesian war for the hegemony of Greece, commanded a division of the Athenian marine force; but being out-generated at Amphipolis by Brasidas went for twenty years into exile and during that time used his wealth and talent writing the celebrated history which has come down to us.

⁴⁶ Thucydides, *De Bello Peloponnesiaco*, liber IV. cap. 80. "Καὶ ἅμα τῶν Εἰλωτῶν βουλομένοις ἢ ἐπὶ προφάσει ἐκπέμψαι, μὴ τι πρὸς τὰ παρόντα τῆς Πύλου ἔχομένης νεωτερίσσωσιν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τότε ἐπραξαν, φοβούμενοι αὐτῶν τὴν νεότητα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος (δεῖ γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς τοὺς Εἰλωτάς τῆς φυλακῆς περί μάλιστα καθεστήκει)· προείπον αὐτῶν ὅσοι ἀξιοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις γεγενῆσθαι σφίσιν ἄριστοι, κρίνεσθαι, ὡς ἐλευθερώσοντες, πείραν ποιουμένοι καὶ ἡγούμενοι τούτους σφίσιν ὑπὸ φρονήματος, οἷπερ καὶ ἤξιωσαν πρῶτος ἕκαστος ἐλευθεροῦσθαι μάλιστα ἢ καὶ ἐπιθέσθαι. Καὶ προκρίναντες ἐς δισχιλίους οἱ μὲν ἐστεφανώσαντό τε καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ περιῆλθον ὡς ἡλευθερομένοι. Οἱ δὲ οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἡφάνισάν τε αὐτούς καὶ οὐδέ τις ἦσθεο ὅτι τρόπῳ ἕκαστος διεφθάρη."

⁴⁷ Plato, *De Republica*, *Dissertation on Model State*.

⁴⁸ Aristotle, *Politic*, V.

⁴⁹ Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, cap. 28. This massacre occurred under Brasidas, in B. C. 424. Ælian, *Historia Varia*, I. 1, says that in Greece the superstitious belief everywhere prevailed that these cruelties to the poor slaves caused a judgment from heaven upon the Spartans, in form of an earthquake, B. C. 467, by which 20,000 people lost their lives. This must have been before the massacre described and proves the frequency of those horrible deeds of the Ephori and their tutored and organized assassins. For later comments on this earthquake at Sparta and the superstitious terrors believed to come from their cruelty to slaves, see McCullagh, *Industrial History of Free Nations*, I. p. 6.

This much is known that during the time these 2,000 or more soldiers were going through the ordeal of being garlanded, crowned, distinguished and conducted to the temple of the gods to receive their first beatitude, their blessing and reward for bravery, the ephori were busily and secretly making out a declaration of war, arming the valorous young men and giving them instructions to crawl cat-like upon them with the assassin's daggers! No more is known; for here the page is torn beyond recovery. But enough is known. The happy braves all disappear forever. Naught but a dark and spectral mystery broods over this page of history. The workingmen had received the emoluments of their hire at the hand of an assassin democracy!

The careful student of history from a standpoint of social science may pick up evidence that to some extent even the Helots were organized. Facts continually crop out in the records showing that these degraded doers of Spartan labor under the law of Lycurgus, unable to resist the exactions, raised insurrections against their tormentors, and that they sometimes got the better of them. In almost every other part of Greece they are known to have been organized into many forms of associative self-support by which they were able to command more respect. We return to Athens.

The fact must not be lost sight of that at Athens as everywhere among the Aryans, there were two distinct classes by birth—the nobles, claiming to be descended from the gods, and the earth-borns who went back to earth. The first would not work if they could possibly avoid it; at least this may be said of the men. The latter did most of the work; not only the menial drudgery but the skilled labor of building the magnificent temples and other public edifices whose imposing ruins are still a wonder of the now living age. To the credit of woman in high life be it said that sometimes the *materfamilias* spun and wove, according to some testimony of Plato. There are two important facts to be considered: In Greece, Rome and elsewhere in Europe and western Asia, northern Africa and the islands, the working people greatly outnumbered the non-workers. In Greece they were three and four times more numerous. Again, they

were often chattles of that state. The land belonged to the state and the laborers who tilled the land went with it. This as we shall see, became in Italy, under the generous laws of Numa, a great benefit for them which they enjoyed for about 500 years. In Greece the land also belonged to the state; but the cruel law of Lycurgus which was instituted 1,000 years before Christ and held good, as Plutarch tells us for 500 years, treated the poor creatures with such flagitious absolutism that they could never enjoy so well as did the Roman laborers, the boon of their own organization.

The law of Lycurgus was pernicious in its inculcation of the two moral elements of Plato; those of irascibility and concupiscence without sympathy. When a master owns a slave from whom he expects to receive labor product, he finds it for his own advantage to treat him well; otherwise he would not receive the full product of the man's labor; but when the land belonged to the state and the slaves also, this personal responsibility was smothered with it. Thus hatred and contempt, attributes of Plato's irascible impulse, constituting one of the bases of moral philosophy, were for ages allowed to develop in the breast of the Spartan. Again, concupiscence or desire, being common or national under the Lycurgan law, was averted from its natural competitive course by a communism of gratification without responsibilities and a communism of participation; and these with idleness and all the depravity which such deteriorating influences entail, lowered Spartan morality below the plain of sympathy. This unfeeling and inhuman condition of the public mind became a natural result ultimately destroying the otherwise unhindered plan of Lycurgus.

Had the law of Lycurgus provided for absolute equality of *all* men, slave and noble alike, had its communism applied to all on exactly equal footing, the common ownership could have been carried out by the state with greater general happiness and all the cruelty which deprived Spartan life would have been saved to the credit of a splendid people. But that would have been a death blow to the Pagan religion, itself based upon egoism and possible only under a system of lords and slaves. Thus, with the exception of the taint of labor and its concomitant wrongs

to the human race, the ancients began radically. They began by having the family egoism of the primordial hearthstone—the first ownership—subdued into common ownership of land and even of children; and had they banished that hideous curse, the taint of labor and added to their other and truly virtuous methods of self culture, the enobling, healthful and thrift-bearing practice of impartial economical labor as a necessary requisite to sanity and wealth they would have taught the world a lesson of advancement instead of one in degeneracy and shame. The same must be said of Athens and the other Grecian states except that none of them are known to have been so cruel and heartless as the Spartans under the Lycurgan law.

We have thus sufficiently shown the grievance borne by the ancient working people inciting and goading them to organization. It now remains to be proved that the Greeks of this class, were actually in a substantial state of combination, especially the Athenians, during the existence of the Eleusinian games near Athens; a point which throughout the chapter has been the subject in kernel, of our inquiry. This substantiated, we have a startling clue to the causes from a sociological standpoint, of two historical phenomena: the social wars and the advent of our era.

Every recent investigation reveals fresh slabs or drags from the depths of time, earth and oblivion something in proof. Dr. Schliemann, quotes a passage of Homer which shows an explanation comprehensible to us in no other way than that there existed an understanding at that ancient day, between the lower people. A peddler came to the palace with a gold collar set with amber beads, and Homer sang a beautiful verse describing the knowing look that the young prince saw exchanged between the man and the servant woman in the hall while the queen was admiring the amber necklace.⁵⁰ These were the nods and winks

⁵⁰Schliemann, *Troyas; The Pre-historic Palace*, p. 368, containing the passage from Homer. This also suggests that the working people, including house servants, were secretly in league at Mycenæ and that the league reached as far as Phœnicia.

ἤλυθ' ἀνὴρ πολυΐδρις ἐμοῦ πρὸς δώματα πατρός,
 χρύσειον ὄρμον ἔχων, μετὰ δ' ἠλέκτροισιν ἔεργον
 τὸν μὲν ἄρ' ἐν μελάρῳ δμῶαι καὶ πότνοα μήτηρ
 χερσίν τ' ἀμφαφώνοντο, καὶ ὄφθαλμοῖσιν ὄρωντο,
 ὄνον ὑπισχόμεναι· ὁ δὲ τῇ κατένευσε σιωπῇ·
 ἦτοι ὁ καννέυσας κοίλην ἐπὶ νῆα βεβήκει·"

of the secret society which were observed but could not be read by the lad. This was in the second millennium before Christ.

Granier, who must have been a great hunter of facts, observes that slavery was originally of the family; not of violent origin,⁵¹ precisely what Dr. Fustel de Coulanges has since proved beyond refutation of the most probing commentators seeking contrary evidence.⁵² Of course history gives ponderous testimony that violence was a source of enslavement; but that was not the origin. When our era opened it brought with it an inestimable boon; a pearl of great price; the utter extinction of social class⁵³—nothing less than the long sought revolution. Dr. Cliffe Leslie in an introduction to M. De Laveleye's "Primitive Property," observing the progress of this greatest of all the revolutions which he rightly sees is yet far from being realized though nearly all civilized races have repudiated the curse of slavery, takes the entirely correct view with regard to ownership after the momentous but gradual revolution is past.⁵⁴

It is known that in early Greece the *hetairai* and the *hetairoi* were female and male associates of the laboring class, and that they had their legalized association for mutual benefit. From very early times they used their associations, not only for mutual protection against oppression but also for mutual improvement and pleasure.⁵⁵

The celebrated jugglers were mostly members of an organization under whose auspices they used their jugglery as a trade wherewith to gain a living. These are of almost incredibly ancient origin and in Greece many of them were descendants of Egyptian slaves. It is not difficult to prove that at an epoch since which an æon of time has

⁵¹ *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières*, p. 33: "In conclusion, everything leads in the plainest manner to the belief that slavery had no other beginning than that of the family entailment of which it constituted an economic part."

⁵² *La Cité Antique*, liv. II. chap. vii, pp. 76-89.

⁵³ Paul, *Epistle to the Galatians*, chap. iii. verse 28: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Jesus Christ."

⁵⁴ *Primitive Property, Introduction*, p. xxi. "The owners of property are on the eve of becoming a powerless minority; for the many, to whom the whole power of the state is of necessity gravitating, see all the means of subsistence and enjoyment afforded by nature in the possession of the few." Cliffe Leslie.

⁵⁵ Guhl and Koner, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, pp. 268-269, showing Greek customs and manners at a *symposion*. Other evidence testifies to there being a secret organization at these feasts, which conducted the ceremonies. See also Lüders, *Die Dionysischen Künstler*, *passim*.

rolled over the human race, those jugglers were plying their profession the same as at a much later era in which we find them at Athens.⁵⁶ The professional business of these jugglers and tumblers was to amuse the people; and there are abundant inscriptions and pictures to be found on vases and other pieces of pottery which show that they worked hard to earn their money. These were specimens of the slave system which marks the despotic rule, and existed first. All remote antiquity bears evidence, in prehistoric inscriptions and inkings of different nature, of many slaves, and that labor was degraded.⁵⁷ The slaves being first, there came about an era of manumissions. Freedmen entered upon the scene bearing the taint of slave labor and were obliged to resort to all sorts of industry and wit to make a living; and among other methods adopted to secure that end, they entered into mutual alliances with each other for common assistance through trade organizations. There were great numbers also of the *communia mimorum*⁵⁸ or unions of comic actors who in a similar manner got a living by amusing the people. Strabo speaks of them⁵⁹ and Böckh gives the Greek of an interesting institution of this kind.⁶⁰ Mommsen gives the law recorded in the digest from Gaius, which afterwards suppressed most of these societies.⁶¹

A curious union was that of the *Urinatores*, men whose business at Rome was to dive in the Tiber and probably

⁵⁶ "An attempt has been made to mathematically measure this vast period of time by calculating from the depth of mud of the alluvial Nile, at which objects have been found, by L. Horner, on *The Alluvial Land of Egypt*, and result published in the *Phil. Transactions*, 1853, p. 75, which gives 12,000 years, at the assumed rate of deposit of three and five tenths inches per 100 years at Memphis, from the fragments of vases found 70 feet under ground." Sir Gardner Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. I. pp. 8-9., note, paraphrased.

⁵⁷ Cf. Bancroft, *Native Races*, vol. IV. *Antiquities*, pp. 505-6, showing that in the remote past of Central America, inscriptions exhibiting the most despotic conditions were produced, probably thousands of years before the discovery of the present nomadic races who were found in a semi-communal state. At Perlenque are inscriptions on the ancient walls showing conditions coeval with the earliest European monarchism. A king garbed in fine military attire, and the everlasting slaves on bended knees and in humble supplication. They are freely drawn, with art superior to Egyptian, being in *bas reliefs*, in stucco on the wall of the palace.

⁵⁸ Mommsen, *De Collegiis et Sodalicis Romanorum*. p. 83: "Communia mimorum Romanorum et in nomina et in institutis τὰ κοινὰ τῶν περὶ τὸν οὐστὸν κερειτῶν referunt, quæ apud Græcos ampla et plurima fuerunt."

⁵⁹ Strabo, *Geographica*, XIV. 643, 28.

⁶⁰ *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*, nos. 349 and 2931.

⁶¹ Mommsen; *De Coll. et Sodal. Romanorum*, p. 84. Great numbers of these societies existed about the Hellespont and among the Ionian Islands.

also into the public baths in search of things lost by the grandees while boating or bathing.⁶² At Naples, Nice and other places on the sea these divers had unions and no doubt possessed skilled men who succeeded in restoring the valuables after the wrecks of triremes, and other craft.⁶³ Especially were these unions a benefit to community at Syracuse, the Piræus and Byzantium, where these and other unions abounded in great numbers. Mommsen on the law of Solon also declares that there were both sacred and civil communes,⁶⁴ and he further states that all such societies were not only permitted, but they possessed at that early period (B. C. 600), the right of perpetual organization. The probability is that these organizations had existed from a much earlier epoch than that of Solon; but having never done any harm at Athens and the Athenians being a much more sympathetic people than the Spartans, they were never molested. So long as the trade unions of the world, ancient and modern, have restricted themselves to mere pleasure, religion, and frugality, they do not appear to have been harshly dealt with; but so soon as they ventured to consider and act upon the subject of politics, which of all others, was most necessary to their welfare, they became objects of hate and of repression. Especially was this the case in ancient times; because politics like war, was a noble calling. Petty frugality, and crude convivial, as well as burial ordeals were too trifling and mean in the eyes of the nobles to attract attention.

There was at Athens a class of public servants.⁶⁴ They were not real slaves although public property, and treated as menials; never being allowed to participate in the slightest degree in the principle of government and yet they actually performed all the routine labor of the government. At the time we hear of them through public records and through inadvertent mention by historians, they seem to resemble freedmen. They received a small salary to keep them alive, and their business was to keep

⁶² Orellius, *Inscriptionum Latinarum Selectarum Amplissima Collectio*, No. 4115: "Ti. Claudio Esquil. Severo Decuriali lictore..... sportulæ viritum dividantur præsertim cum navigatio scapharum diligentia ejus adquisita et confirmata sit. Ex decreto ordinis corporis piscatorum et urinatorum totius alvei Tiberis quibus ex SC. coire licet." The inscription was found in Rome.

⁶³ "Notabilis est hoc loco lex Solonis, ex qua sacra civiliaque communia non alio jure fuerunt quam quo societates ad negotiationem prædionemve constitutæ." Mommsen, *De Collegiis et Sodalitatibus Romanorum*, p. 39.

⁶⁴ Consult Dr. Hermann, *Political Antiquities of Greece*, paragraph 147.

the books and do the various duties of a public office under government.

They had their protective unions. Being clerks, and constantly in presence of polite people, they made a genteel appearance and were apt in the civilities of court. But like all their class they also had a grievance. They were treated as menials because they were not "blooded;" and consequently could not pit their natural genius and ability against that of their masters who conducted the public offices and who belonged to noble stock. "It was required that Archons and priests should prove the purity of their descent as citizens for three generations."⁶⁵ The business of the Pagan temple was a part of the state affairs; and consequently priests in those times were public officers. Priests were politicians. One of the qualifications of the Archons or rulers was to have a good record that they attended to religious ceremonies. Ostracism, banishment and death were among the punishments designated by the law for neglecting these duties of citizenship; and the least whisper against any of the gods or the regulations of the Pagan religion was blasphemy. This explains the causes of that great difference in station which existed without regard to the business qualifications of the men. Smart workingmen without rights, or any claim to rights, were often required on a mean salary to do all the work of both departments of governments without being entitled to the least benefit in either, while a tyrant and sensualist held all control and honor like some modern sinecurists of our offices. There is evidence that this exclusivism was regarded by the poor workmen as a great grievance; but their exclusion from free participation in religious rights and especially from membership in and access to the Eleusinian mysteries was the greatest one. Against these grievances they were organized in secret.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions a society of the *Thiasotes* or Greek labor unions, the members of which had for their patron deity the goddess Minerva through the noble family of the Nautii, who brought the image of Minerva away from the Trojans to Italy.⁶⁶ Here it ap-

⁶⁵ *Idem*, §. 148. The *δοκιμασία*, or scrutiny into the antecedents of candidates, is here explained.

⁶⁶ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanæ*, VI. 69.

pears that the union was not permitted to worship their goddess directly but had to approach her through a noble family. By worshipping the borrowed proxy they got access indirectly to the object of their reverence. This statement is valuable as it sheds light upon what in those early times is thus proved to have been felt as a grievance; and shows that it was imperative on the part of the unrecognized working people to organize and take counsel with each other on what they considered a most important matter, the right of worship, from which they were excluded on account of their reputed meanness of birth. The existence or non-existence of the soul depended upon it. Dirksen in his Twelve Tables points to Gaius in proof that the *hetairai* and the *sodales* were one and the same organization; ⁶⁷ the former being in Greece and the latter in Italy. He further states that a comparison with the law of Solon proves that they were tolerated and their actions encouraged, if not regulated by him. The Twelve Tables are now known to be contemporaneous with, if not a translation from the law of Solon; and the law of Solon was a paraphrase of the still more ancient law of Amasis an Egyptian king.

Nor was this organization common to Rome and Greece. Granier says: "Trades Unions existed since the time of Solomon, and among the Greeks from the time of Theseus."⁶⁸ In the time of Joshua, B. C. 1537-1427, they are spoken of. We have evidence regarding an organization that attempted a resistance to the overbearing nobles, in time of Agis I. These were Helots. The insurrection did not succeed, for it appears that the king caused their murder in large numbers. Agis I, was one of the mythical Spartan kings and is believed to have reigned more than a thousand years before Christ. This great massacre of the helots took place 1055 years before Christ. Traditionally the event came down to the era of writing as something mysterious and terrible. When at last, it entered the chronicles of historians it was dim in detail and being a subject which gave pain instead of pleasure—one of those servile episodes which early history appears

⁶⁷ They had in Greece the *σύσσιται* (communists), who ate at the common table, the *ὀμόταφοι* (burial societies), the *διασώται* (disciples of the doctrine of mutual love).

⁶⁸ Granier de Cassagnac. *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières*, chap. xii.

to have preferred to leave unwritten—we unfortunately have only a few faint records which have struggled through the mists of high antiquity and gleam darkly through sullen tradition and venturesome historic jottings upon us. But the murder of the helots by order of Agis I. is spoken of by many authors as having occurred B. C. 1,055 or thereabout. After that event they became *adscripti glebæ*, public property attached to the soil.

The student of history from a standpoint of sociology, would, however, be glad to obtain more light upon that event; because we want to know what was the origin of the Aristotelian philosophy and the surroundings that motived it.

Of all the philosophies or systems of arrangement as a basis of enduring polity, the chrematistics of Aristotle, properly understood, is sure to be that which any and all great labor movements cannot but adopt. The sociologist, who intelligently scans the evolution of our race on the enormous scale in which things are presented to him by the vicissitudes of the lowly and downtrodden poor who have fed and enriched the non-laboring few from earliest ages, cannot but wonder how a rich and fortunate man, an aristocrat, a believer in slavery, a dialectician, and one who spurned the menial, who counceled and advised the mightiest of monarchs, could have settled down in the conclusion that there is only one way of getting at truth and that is by beginning at small things and through them, in tireless investigation and experiment, learn to know and improve. Yet all who study the logic of this man, as laid down by him, are irresistibly led to traverse the very path which he opened with the keen edge of his slashing knife of reason. He “discriminated between the several faculties;—the nourishing, feeling, concupiscent, moving and reasoning powers of animal organism and attempted to explain the origin of these powers within the body, and build his morals and politics on the peculiarities of human organization.”⁶⁹ Everything according to Aristotle, if we would positively know, must be founded on close observation of facts. His *eudaimonia* was attained only through the bliss that rewards mind or reason when it achieves

⁶⁹ *American Encyclopædia*. Art. *Aristotle*

truth by indefatigable experiment and experience. He would have men acquire all knowledge by study of humble facts, and lay down therefrom a true basis of political economy. Nothing, not even the servile race, the slaves, the freedmen, the workingmen, was so mean but Aristotle could enrich his mind by studying it.

Here lies concealed from all eyes except those of the student of man from the standpoint of sociology, a phenomenon. Why did Aristotle adopt opposite conclusions from Plato, his old master? Plato believed largely in the theory that only the unseen gods dwelling in the ethereal abodes, could impart to man absolute knowledge. Aristotle dared believe and teach that knowledge could only be had by observation and experiment with little things; for they were the beginnings. The poor workingman, then infinitesimally little as Aristotle believed him, was the beginning, being the author of labor product and consequently worthy of observation and study. This was the first encouragement the unappreciated maker and producer of all means of life ever received from a philosopher.⁷⁰ In all ages the workingman has been an unobserved factor. He is of the earth; this he has himself acknowledged, whatever claims the idler may have filed in his own behalf to the contrary. Being of earth, he digs and cultivates it and from his labor springs the fruit which when ripe and harvested is eaten and enjoyed by the idler. He built edifices which have survived the decompositions of time and his master enjoyed them. But more important and more obscure are the fine details he performed which, though often considered too mean to mention, were in reality as now, the very bulwark of human existence and though too obscure to attract attention were in reality the foundation of all nourishment, achievement, history and knowledge. The great philosopher saw this. He studied nature; and the workingman, recognized as an element of nature, was watched by him. The numerous mutual societies and unions of resistance existing about the philosopher came in for a share of investigation and

⁷⁰ It has been stated that Aristotle plagiarized Kapila and certain other East Indian teachers and authors of great learning, having obtained their books while on his celebrated scientific journey of researches with the emperor Alexander the Great. The question is however, obscure. He certainly followed some of the ideas of Anaxagoras, Kapila and others.

were seen to be the deeply underlying fundament of all whence the whole superstructure of society rose. Without the little, and humble, too unappreciated producer the world would be a wilderness of forests and wild beasts. Hence, as all came from humble toil, so the toil of investigation and experiment, however mean and unworthy the rich might esteem it, was the very most necessary of all things to resort to in order to arrive at truth, improvement and correct government. This is the basis of the philosophy of Aristotle. The world is following it to-day, led by labor; and the myriad links of invention, and discovery in experimental progress, are in exact harmony with the recommendations of the Stagerite of the Nymphæum.

There are some curious episodes in the life of Plato, which the ordinary reader, without system and without knowledge of the little details of life of the age he lived in, overlooks. What was the trouble with him at Syracuse? Nearly four hundred years before Christ, Plato, after varied travels, after he had written his "Theætetus," and his "Statesman," and was well-known to have decided against the workingmen, to have pronounced them too vile to merit a better fate than bondage, and to have declared that the proper form of government was that of aristocrats and slaves, we find him at Syracuse, spurned by Dionysius, waived from his presence, and consigned to the billingsgate that fed the great city with fish.¹¹ To be sent away from the tyrant's presence when his sole mission was to teach his majesty the honeyed sweets¹² of his then famous philosophy, was bad; but to be relegated to the city's *ban-lieues*, among the brobdagnagians, and hear their ridicule, was worse. But they must have been especially disagreeable to him since he well knew that their raillery was directed against him. They were of the low-born, with little education and no urbanity; he was of the great *gens* family, a very Ariston, of pure stock, boasted of, among all Athenians. But they had wit and sufficient means of knowing facts, to be informed that he was the proud teacher of aristocrats, that he did not teach

¹¹ Grote, *Plato and the other Companions of Socrates*.

¹² "At Platoni quum in cunis parvulo dormienti apes in labellis consedisent responsum est, singulari illum suavitate orationis fore; ita futura eloquentis provisiva in infante est." Cicero, *De Divinatione*, I. 36.

the lowest of the people but that he believed with the citizens of Sparta and of Athens that their slavery and humiliation were just. We also have found some evidence that these people were organized. They belonged to the four trade unions, viz: the mercenaries,⁷³ the *caudicarii* or boatmen and sailors, the *piscatorii*, fisherman and the *fabri*, artisans. There must also have been unions of the tax gatherers; at any rate in later times, for Cicero mentions *vectigalia* in connection with Verres who was governor in Sicily.⁷⁴

This last fact is one very interesting to know; for it sheds fresh light upon that memorable episode in the life of Plato. The unions, finding that the tyrant Dionysius had taken an affront at Plato, and hating him themselves, were willing to conspire with the king against his life. It was probably an organization of the *caudicarii* whom Dionysius engaged to carry him off to Italy and their greed to make a living out of the affair was probably what saved his life. Instead of killing him as they were probably paid to do, they received an offer in Italy for him alive, which they accepted and sold Plato as a slave. He was afterwards ransomed by his friend Dion and returned to Athens a wiser man. We are not informed as to what influence this experience had upon the great philosopher; but there are gleamings which illumine our conjecture that his illustrious disciple, Aristotle, who always opposed his theories, took care to enrich his store of wisdom from the circumstance.

In early times, while the world was yet too ignorant and inexperienced to understand the advantages of arbitration and of subsisting upon peaceful rather than warlike measures, brigandage was common. It existed by international permission or common consent. The only industrial system then known was that conducted by the trade unions; for according to the regulations of Solon and king Numa, even the slaves were many times managed by overseers who were under pay of the unions. The rich citi-

⁷³Grote, *Hist.* p. 79. The mercenary soldiers especially hated Plato who had acted the friend of Dionysius. The latter had cut down their pay, p. 86). in consequence of which they had struck. They were all organized. Cf. also, Grote's Plato, and Livy, XXV. 33.

⁷⁴Cicero, *Verres*. II. 3, 7: "Quoniam quasi quædam prædia populi Romani sunt vectigalia nostra atque provinciæ."

zen believed it a disgrace to labor. He made his wealth or cap work for him. Among other chattels were his slaves. But he was too high to personally conduct the labor of slaves. This was done, to a large extent, by those who were not ashamed to perform labor. Of course, then, these overseers were descendants of slaves. They were the freedmen, who on receiving their manumission struck out for themselves; and for safety and success formed themselves into unions for mutual assistance and resistance against competition, danger and abuse. Among the multitudes of occupations they assumed are found, especially with the Grecians and Syracusians, the Phœnicians and the people inhabiting the Grecian Archipelago, that of brigands and the mercenaries. Both the brigands and mercenary systems were closely leagued into unions which upheld each other in the vicissitudes of the struggle for life. The whole system of the warlike patrician families both in Greece and Rome may be said to be one of brigandage. What is arming a multitude of idle men, disciplining them to the use of weapons and marching them into a neighboring country to destroy the products of industry but brigandage? Yet ancient history is a constant repetition of this predatory and cruel system. It was brigandage.

Among the sufferers from this system were oftentimes the working people; some of them slaves, but many also freedmen, belonging to unions. They were thus torn from their peaceful occupation. Possessing the long experience of association they naturally utilized this their only means of gaining a living, by becoming brigands. They turned their trade unions into bandities and learned to estrange themselves from habits of industrious peace and assume the fierce modes of marauders. They exchanged the workshop for the jungles, the mountain fastnesses, the caves and thus became fighters and guerrillas. A remarkable case of this desperation is seen in that extraordinary man Spartacus, the gladiator, of whom we shall give, in a future chapter, a complete and exhaustive history, in investigating the terrible results of Roman repression of trade unions by the conspiracy laws. It is enough here merely to mention that this tendency of ancient labor organization to reverse their habits, forsake the peaceful in-

dustries which they loved, and wander away in organized clubs seeking subsistence through plunder, was by no means a fault as such actions are now considered; for otherwise they would have immediately been seized by the conquering legions and sold into slavery. In those precarious times, therefore, brigandage was no crime, although to be caught was slavery or death. But it added a fierceness to the social aspect of the human race.

The Eleusinian mysteries caused a great deal of dissatisfaction and feud by reason of their severe, aristocratic exclusiveness which often wounded the pride even of the haughty patrician families of Attica, and we now return to them as our legitimate theme. In our chapter on the system of trade unions farther on we give a detailed description of the ancient labor unions and evidences of their immense number which we have collected, partly by our own travel and observation, partly by personal interviews with the great authors of Archæological works and partly by ransacking with much patience and labor every written statement which original law and history, together with the criticism of modern and ancient authors thereon, have contributed to illumine this dark page of the social past.

The ancient trade union, both under the law of Solon and of Numa Pompilius, was a state institution! The land taken by conquest belonged to the state, together with the family religion and all its magnificent temples of worship. The great buildings of the cities were property of the state; most of the slaves who cultivated the soil under the direction, exclusively, of the trade union, were also property of the state. This made a social state—an almost socialistic state—and in many respects more social than political; but entirely spoiled by the terrible social distinctions of rank.⁷⁵ The religion, based upon heredity and superstition combined, was an extraordinary tissue of errors, greatly increasing the common misery of the people by flaunting in their faces the insult that none but

⁷⁵ Millar, *Origin of Ranks*, Basil, 1793, chap. vi.; Granier, *Hist. des Classes Ouvrières*, pp. 484-493. In his 18th chapter, Granier cites the rescript of Antoninus Pius: "Dominorum quidem potestatem in servos suos inlibitum esse oportet, nec cuiquam hominum jus suum detrahi." Ulpian, *De Officiis Precariis*, lib. VIII; *De Dominorum Sevitia*. This power of the masters over their slaves was the distinguishing feature of the state.

the high-born citizen, eligible to the Eleusinian mysteries, could be sure of heaven. There could be no peace of mind while such a grievance existed; for it not only goaded the greater part of the people as an insult but distracted them with fears. It is a prominent characteristic of the Aryan race to believe in religion and build up institutions of a religious nature; and it will probably remain so unless some physical discovery be made throwing positive light against the theory of immortality. At the same time the Indo-Europeans were—precisely as they still are—an extremely democratic people by nature. A religion, then, based upon the most absurdly aristocratic dogmas could not, without great conflict maintain itself among the equality-loving Indo-Europeans. Jesus Christ during his visit among us established the remarkable idea that God was no respecter of persons; that all men were created equal; that although the *elysion* and *tartaros* or the heaven and hell were the same, the eligibility to gain the one and fly the other depended not upon stock, birth, fortune, but behavior. The revolution was then begun. When we understand from a standpoint of scientific sociology the phenomena of the past thus connected with the ancient struggles of the lowly, there bursts forth before our vision a glory of light sweeping away hitherto insurmountable difficulties to the analysis of certain vague and obscure points in history.

It is now, after having opened these facts thus far, in order to set down two theorems: The first is, that *the greater the organization of the working classes for mutual protection and resistance the higher the standard of enlightenment in the communities they inhabit.* In other words the intensity of enlightenment in civilization may be measured and compared by the numeric proportion of the laboring people arrayed in organized resistance against ignorance and oppression. The second theorem may be construed to read that *the higher the enlightenment, the more complete is the extinction of social ranks.*

We are also now ready to make an announcement which no person can consistently deny, to wit: that the era covered by the ancient trade unions is that known, sung and celebrated as the "Golden Age." It is not only the era of military, but pre-eminently of social, and in

Greece, of intellectual prosperity. The great literary era of the Romans occupies the latter half of the celebrated golden era. It lasted from the days of Numa Pompilius who encouraged the free organization of Roman trade unions which was about 690 years before Christ, until the year 58 B. C. when Cæsar ordered the conspiracy laws.⁷⁶ In Greece from the time of Solon about 592 years before Christ it continued down to her conquest by the Romans.

Thus the economical prosperity of both Greece and Rome is proved to have covered those centuries which were favored with the right of free organization. We shall now proceed to touch upon the actual deeds of these unions and show as we have the evidences that the superb architectural works whose august ruins still amaze the beholder were, to some extent at least, the handiwork of those trade unions, backed by that phenomenal, and to the present age, incomprehensible social state which never sold its lands, religion, jurisprudence or ornaments to others, nor allowed them to be overridden by monopolies. The labor of land culture—which produced and distributed among all people their food—of manufacturing arms and equipments for the armies, of provisioning the armies while on the march and at rest, of manufacturing and repairing the household furniture, of image-making, which appears to have been a considerable industry and of constructing architectural works, was largely assigned to the labor unions during the golden age.⁷⁷ Numa discouraged warfare, but made specific arrangements governing the artisan class;⁷⁸ and at the *Saturnalia* obliterated the lines of distinction between the nobles and the common born. He distributed the artisans into nine great mechanical fraternities. Flavius Josephus⁷⁹ gives an elaborate and highly interesting account of the building of the temple of Jerusalem by Solomon. Suffice it to say here, that the employer, Hiram, who was engaged by Solomon to come with his skill and skilled force all the way from Tyre a distance of about 100 miles, to design and construct this

⁷⁶ Suetonius, *Cæsar*, 42: "Cæsar cuncta collegia præter antiquitus constituta distraxit."

⁷⁷ Grantier, pp. 284-323, all through.

⁷⁸ Plutarch, *Numa*, cap. xvii.; also *Lycurgus*, and *Numa Compared*.

⁷⁹ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* book XII. cap. ii.; also *Hist. of the Jews*, book VIII.

magnificent edifice, was, so to speak, a boss or chief over a trade union, which through him, took one of the largest and most imposing contracts known in ancient or modern times; and it is a very interesting example of the intelligence and extraordinary enterprise of the Phœnicians. We are not among those eager *creduli* who jump at conclusions, and ready to suppose that this Hiram was the founder of the celebrated ancient fraternity of "Free Masons." On the contrary, the institution was old when Hiram brought to Solomon the 3,200 foremen and the 40,000 artificers who built this gorgeous temple of which Josephus so glowingly speaks. But this immense work being a religious undertaking, conducted by a political decree and under state control, and furthermore being a Semitic, not an Aryan enterprise and consequently free from the mean, rank exclusivism characterizing and belittling the source-history of all their great works, was able to rise and carry with it some lucid *scintillae* as to the manner of its erection. The great temple of Solomon furnished posterity a slight glimpse at the order of Free Masons; being a landmark merely observable in an obscure night of time. Its ruins may, therefore, be truthfully classed, by the student of sociology, as archaeological proof of the ancient trade union movement. By this, the mind of the general reader may better understand the source of that all-pervading cloud which so unfortunately shuts us off from the clues—to say nothing of the history—regarding the construction of one of the most magnificent works of sculptured masonry ever produced. The religio-political institutions, based on the antithetic origin of birth and its entailments of rank, prevented the workmen from rising into recognition, or transmitting beyond their own generation any detailed knowledge as to how those structures rose. The powerful archon Pericles, of Athens, furnished us an illustration of this. He wanted to build the Parthenon. Now Pericles, the statesman, building a church, shows that no difference existed between church and state, since belief was compulsory under law. The Parthenon was the grandest edifice of either the ancient or modern world.⁶⁰ Although Pericles was a

⁶⁰ Guhl and Koner, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, pp. 25-28.

noble, of the family of the Pisistratidæ, yet we know that he was the intimate friend of Phidias. So we are informed that Solomon enjoyed the acquaintance of Hiram. This might be, though Phidias and Hiram were both of mean extraction, according to the estimation of ranks. But their superiors admired them for their genius alone. A wonderful contrast projects from a coincidence of the late mediæval age, consisting in Raphael's intimacy with Pope Leo X., for at the time of Raphael, Christianity with its inexorable moral erosions had gnawed away much of the ancient ranks, and had begun to invite an absolute equality; whereas, in the more ancient times, under the dominion of the Pagan faith, it could not be more than admiration and acquaintance. In the same manner, Pericles, who was the master political genius of his age, could admire and keep an acquaintance with Aspasia, a lady of the lower rank, but he could not raise her by any gift of title to a higher one than that in which she was born.

It is almost certain that in the construction of the Parthenon, Ictinus was to Pericles what Hiram⁸¹ was to Solomon. Ictinus,⁸² we are told, was chief architect, and with the assistance of Callicrates and Phidias who worked on the chryselephantine statue of Athena, had charge, as chief architect, of the Parthenon. It appears⁸³ that Phidias took the entire control of all the building enterprises of Athens and also, probably of the temple of Eleusis; for Ictinus built the fane of this temple. We are now centering upon the interesting point of our investigation. It took Phidias, Ictinus and Callicrates ten years to design and complete the new Parthenon, the most magnificent and imposing structure of ancient or modern times. More fortunate are we in having Josephus and other authority for the temple of Solomon whereon not only the chief architect, but 3,200 foremen and 40,000 masons of the great "body" or masons' fraternity were engaged.⁸⁴

At the Piræus there existed, at the time of the building of the Parthenon, great numbers of trade unions,⁸⁵ under

⁸¹ Care should be taken not to confound Hiram the artificer with his friend Hiram the king.

⁸² Guhl and Komer, *Idem*, p. 25.

⁸³ Pausanias, *Hellados Periegesis*, (*Description of Greece*).

⁸⁴ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, book VII. chap. ii. In Latin the "body" *corpus*, was a legalized workmen's society, the same as *collegium*. See Orelli, *Inscr.* Vol. III. Henzen, p. 170. of supplement index.

⁸⁵ See Chapter I. of Lüders *Dionysische Künstler*, pp. 14 18.

a provision of Solon engraved on wooden scrolls and kept in the Acropolis and the Prytaneum, which were legalized organizations and whose recognized business was to work for the state. Now with the multitudes of trade unions existing all around, at Athens, at the Piræus, at Eleusis—is it supposable that the three directors built the parthenon in ten years? Instead of the 3,200 foremen and 40,000 men as at Jerusalem, there were probably at Athens 4,000 foremen and 50,000 masons, sculptors, draftsmen, hod carriers, laborers and others too numerous to detail. We find that this great public work was finished 438 years before Christ, just at the time when the golden age of labor was at its zenith of glory both in Greece and Rome.

It was the golden age of art and economic thrift. It also corresponds exactly with the stretch of time during which the trade unions under the laws of Solon at Athens and of Numa at Rome were in fullest force, granting and encouraging organization of the working people, which was used by them for protection and for resistance to all dangers that might beset them.

It is thus shown that while a serious grievance existed among the working people of ancient Greece, in form of an exclusivism denying them the right to save their souls by becoming members on equal footing in the Eleusinian order, there also existed a vast organization or confraternity which, then as now, afforded them opportunities for meeting in secret and discussing this grievance. It is scarcely necessary even to conjecture whether they did or did not use these advantages for such discussion. Human nature is alike in all ages. When the conspiracy law, or law of Elizabeth, was annulled in 1824,⁸⁶ permitting the people to organize in England, they immediately took advantage of every opportunity trade unionism afforded, wherewith to discuss their grievances. The growth and intelligence of the ponderous labor movement in the United States is largely due to the discussion which is constantly taking place in their secret unions. We venture that the same thing occurred in the times we are describing; because it could not well have been otherwise. Where the grievance exists and the opportunity to meet

⁸⁶Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, p. 438. As to the nature of the act of Elizabeth, see *idem*, pp. 398-9. Cf. Porter's *Progress of the Nation*.

and discuss it exists, it is not in the order of nature among intelligent beings, to resist it. We are fortunate enough to have found statements upon the subjects of trade unions transmitted to us through great authority. Gaius, who wrote a digest of law on the Twelve Tables, has a passage which has been preserved and so important is it that both Granier and Mommsen refer to it as conclusive evidence that the law of the Twelve Tables providing for the right among working people to organize and enjoy trade unions, was to some extent a translation from Greek tables of the code of Solon.⁸⁷ In this passage are mentioned many organizations taken from the Greek text inscribed on the scroll of the law of Solon and also on the tablet of the Twelve Tables. The *Thiasotai* then were precisely in Greek what the *Collegia* were in Latin. The sailors' unions here mentioned were the same which we speak of elsewhere as existing in large numbers at the Piræus or seaport of Athens which was distant from the metropolis only five miles. The organizations of the stone masons, the marble cutters, the carvers, the image makers of wood mineral and ivory, and others, were located within the city. Some of these unions, probably the image makers, pretended more religious piety than others; but the fact is,⁸⁸ that all of them were combined for mutual aid and resistance against grievances. Under the law, so long as they did not corrupt the statutes of the country ("*dum ne quid ex publica lege corrumpant,*") they were not only allowed to career unmolested but were even protected by this provision of the great lawgivers.

This brings us face to face with two proven facts: that

⁸⁷ *Digest*, lib. XLVII. tit. xxii. leg. 4: "Sodales sunt qui ejusdem collegii sunt quam Græci θρατίαν vocant." Again: "Sodalibus," ait Gaius, "potestatem facit lex (duodecim Tabularum) pactioem quam velint sibi ferre. dum ne quid ex publica lege corrumpant." Sed hæc lex videtur ex lege Solonis translata esse; nam illuc ita est: "Ἐάν δὲ δῆμος, ἢ φράτριες, ἢ ἱερῶν ὀργίων, ἢ ναυταί, σύνιστοι, ἢ ὀμόταφοι, ἢ θιασῶται, ἢ ἐπι λιαν οἰχόμενοι, ἢ εἰς ἐμπορίαν. Ὅτι ταύτων διαδῶνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους, κύριον εἶναι, ἐάν μὴ ἀπαγορευθῆ δημοσία γράμματα." Both Mommsen (*De Collegiis et Sodaliciis Romanorum*, p. 35.) and Granier, *Hist. des Classes Ouvrières*, p. 291, quote this remarkable passage from the *Digest*. The unions here mentioned in the Solonic law are the *Brotherhood* the *Priests of the Communes*, the *Sailors*, the *Co-operators*, the *Burial Fraternities*; and the regular trade unions or *Thiasotai* such as were organized in the categories of Numa

⁸⁸ Mommsen, *De Collegiis et Sodaliciis Romanorum*, p. 35. "Ut igitur de interpretatione verbi a XII. Tabulis adhibiti non constat, Gaii verba ad omnia collegia pertinere certum est neque ulla ratio reddi videtur posse, cur collegia opificum legum ferendarum jure caruerint sacris sodalitatibus concessio." See also Lüders, *Die Dynoysischen Künstler*, *passim*. These points are overwhelming in proof that the Greek and Roman trade union systems were nearly identical.

during the renowned era of Grecian architecture, *belles-lettres*, philosophy, sculpture, paintings—all work of laborers—there also flourished a great labor movement; just as now in England, in Germany, in France, in the United States and Canada, during the most brilliant period of all human enlightenment, ancient or modern, there flourishes an enormous social organization for self-help and for resistance against grievance endured by working people. It also proves the correctness of our theorems that the greater the organization of the laboring people against grievances the higher the enlightenment, and the higher the enlightenment the more complete the extinction of social rank; consequently the intensity of human civilization viewed on the largest scale, is, under the competitive system, to be ascertained by the prevalence or non-prevalence of these organizations, acting as mutually self-aiding forces and as tribunals or courts of appeal from the grievances their members are liable to suffer. How inef-fable, then, the arrogance of a paltry few! What must have been the character of resistance during the times of which we speak? Evidently very crude. At the present day there is much system; a general interlinking of union with union, no matter how wide apart, for a quite clearly expressed common cause. Not so anciently, although we have an inscription at Pompeii to prove that in B. C. 79 there existed an international union. Their grievances were greater than now, because social equality was contemptuously and most openly put down. The law recognized them as having no more claim to citizenship than dogs. Now, in Germany, France, almost everywhere, the working people are voting.

Whoever, in reading the "Ancient Assemblies,"⁸⁹ for a moment imagines that those celebrated gatherings included the slaves or freedmen, should read more carefully. It is the *freemen* who are meant, not freedmen. The difference was simply infinite, even in enlightened Attica; for freedmen were descendants of the ancient slaves. They never were citizens, could not vote, could not hope, except in cases of great genius like that of Phidias, to be decently

⁸⁹Schömann, *Hist. Assemblies of the Athenians, passim*. This book will clear up any error readers may entertain who doubt whether the working class was allowed a voice in legislation.

spoken to; and even as such they were obliged to obtain some special decree from the Areopagus in order to detach themselves from this scathing odium of rank. Being so mean, so lowly, while the patricians, the grandes, the free-men were descendants of the nobility in the direct lineage of the gods, it followed that the gods also contemned them. Consequently two-thirds of the population of Greece were without a soul. If they claimed to have souls they knew that the only place for them was Tartarus or hell; certainly not heaven; for that was the abode of the gods who spurned them on account of their lowly birth. Better cultivate the belief that they had no souls at all! This to them, terrible reflection, was probably the origin of the ancient philosophy of annihilation.⁹⁰ The philosophy of extinction of the soul must have consumed a share of the discussions of those ancient mechanics in their secret meetings. They built the magnificent temples which glowed with genial warmth of the solemn and haughty religion, only for the heaven-born, repelling with sullen frowns the earth-born designers and finishers of their colonades, vaults and sculptured images. No merely political institution could possibly separate so widely one class from another as did that arrogant religion which not only instituted slavery of the laboring people but denied them an immortal soul and the beatitudes of heaven.⁹¹ There is now no grievance of this kind in civilized existence—although economical and social dissatisfaction remains. The new religion is rapidly extinguishing the dogma of distinctions in birth, as well as the dogma that “the earth-born have no immortal existence.”⁹²

Narrowing the array of evidence into our legitimate field, we find in Eleusis a target at which millions are peering with a mingling of longing, of envy and of hate. They are

⁹⁰ Consult Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*; also Arnobius, who wrote the famous *Adversus Gentes*. Arnobius was not fully convinced of Christianity; and at the same time his mind was evidently so enlarged by it that he could not reconcile it with the older Pagan belief in the nether post-mortem abodes. He was however, religiously inclined and was reluctantly drawn to Christianity which obliterated all lines by declaring the equality of all mankind. Between these awful doubts Arnobius seems never to have come to a belief in an immortal existence. Pliny the celebrated naturalist was a believer in the doctrine of Lucretius that there is no existence hereafter. Cf. Cuvier in *Bibliog. Universelle*.

⁹¹ Granier, *Hist. Whole argument*; Fustel de Coulanges, *Cité Antique*. No intelligent person can read these invaluable works without understanding our meaning.

⁹² Whatever science may or may not develop regarding these debatable theories is not the part of this disquisition to consider. We simply give the facts at command, as to the difference between the grievances discussed by the organizations of then and now.

the two-thirds of the population of the country—the laboring ranks. There, upon a lovely range of rock and lawn stands the old Pelasgian city of Eleusis, populous and thick-studded with their own *eranoi* and *thiasoi*, labor unions whose members are the strong-muscled men of Greece. It is the eve of autumn, the great quinquennial *Boedromion* which from traditions brought mystic meanings picturing the fierce amazons in flight before the conquering giants of Theseus. It is the last half of shimmering September whose delicious zephyrs float the gossamers above the sea.

All the world knows that on the morrow thousands upon thousands of people are to leave the Athenian metropolis behind them and commence their crusade to the Eleusinian feast. They are the eligibles, the citizens, the freemen. Not a being from among the laboring and lowly class can be permitted hardly to join the great procession. Fond of privilege but barred its enjoyment they gather in their best rags, upon the scene and form in a standing multitude along the line of march. No care has ever been bestowed upon their education and they are in consequence, rough, perhaps boisterous and insulting. As the procession moves along they pelt the crusaders with sticks and stones.⁹³ They feel the deep disgrace of their exclusion and are animated with unhappy feelings and hatred and revenge. They turn their eyes toward the magnificent temple of Megaron, built⁹⁴ by their own hands, of marble quarried from the rock near by.⁹⁵ It is pre-eminently the most majestic work of their handicraft, standing solemn and alone like a mysterious winged creature, striking awe by its very presence and as though a ghostly apparition which had surged from the dark pits of the sea.⁹⁶ To the left loomed up a view of

⁹³ When, as the fable goes, Ceres left king Celeus and went to the old temple, Iambe, her female slave, ridiculed her. Ever afterwards at the *αγνυμος* or day of march at the crusades, the lower or excluded classes met on the wayside with stones, clubs and ridicule.

⁹⁴ Consult Rose, *Inscriptiones Græcæ Vetustissimæ*, pp. 187-190.

⁹⁵ *Idem*, p. 187, note: "E duro quodam marmoris genere (quale prope Eleusiniem invenitur.)" Likewise the description of the great temple, by Guhl and Koner, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, pp. 47-49.

⁹⁶ "Prope oleam erat puteus aquæ salis: (θάλασσα Ερεχθίης) quam sub flatum noti surdo marmore fluctuum instar strepere, narrabant Athenienses. Ipse silicet Neptunus hanc voraginem aperuerat tridente, cujus adhuc vestigium in saxo vivo expressum restabat. De fonte salso noli dubitare. Nam et alius in arce fons aquæ amaræ qui etesiarum flatu — sub ortum caniculæ — impleri, postea considerare solebat, *Clepsydra* dictus." Ister. *Ap. Schol. Arisophanis*, Av. 1693, p. 63. Though this superstition may have been based at the acropolis, it is evident that the horrors of it came from old Eleusis: besides Erechthis was the priestess in charge of the Eleusinian initiations.

the noble *pronaos* whose fluted columns towered high, holding their graceful architraves, and culminating in those exquisite Corinthian capitals of the pilasters, celebrated throughout the world for the beauty and richness of their carvings. Their own *Ictinus*, guiding their own, or their ancestors' toil had built the huge, but forbidding *telesterium* and conclave where those mysterious initiations and degrees were conferred; not upon them, but upon those born worthy of the honor. Their own *Xenocles* was the master mason who had led them through a labyrinth of toil which produced the lordly, throne-like *anactoron* where dwelt the immortal *Ceres*. Their own master sculptor, *Metagenes* had directed their skillful hands through the mazes of sculpture which produced those soft and charming friezes, and reared the upper columns on which rest the vast entablatures with their architraves and frettings. Led by such masters who have come down to fame as the genius of classic architecture, wage-earners had delved for more than a decade of years to fashion the home of the *Mystagogoi*, those favored priests who repulsed them with bitterest scorn and all others who could not bring proof that for three generations at least, they had never disgraced themselves by the social blight of labor. These were the thanks the ancient lowly received for building those enduring and exquisite monuments of art.

No wonder then, that as the procession moved down from the acropolis to the sea, the outcasts, uncultured, unrefined, enslaved, treated the haughty initiates with brickbats and jeers. There were quarrels about this grievance; but so dark has the historian been upon the subject that we are unable to obtain further positive data than these we quote. But what we do know sheds light upon the causes of a great change which in course of time came into the world; a change that planted the seed of revolution. It was a religio-political state based upon legalized pretensions, and assumed absolute rights of less than one-third of the entire population of the Indo-European world and the absolute non-recognition and social, political and hierarchical ostracism of the other two-thirds of the population on whose labor they depended for their food, clothing, shelter and worship.

A word more may suffice to close this chapter. Our object in saying so much has been to exhibit the double griev-

ance suffered by the religious as well as the social and economic tyranny of ancient society over the laboring people. From the time labor organizations began, until the era of the sophists, no one can tell the ages that elapsed. The sophists and philosophers began their work in Greece five centuries before Christ. They were revolutionists so far as they dared go. The general movement of Plato and Aristotle must though conflicting, certainly be regarded as one of the most remarkable of the world. It worked enormously in the direction of preparing mankind for the revolution—the change from a condition of slavery of the useful laboring masses to one of complete social, political and spiritual recognition and equality. Plato was a slave owner. He was so proud that he disdained to accept money for his services as a teacher, preferring to accept presents from the wealthy young students under his charge—the reverse of what in our own times is considered proper. Had Plato thus lived and acted just before our modern war of the rebellion he would have been called a slave-driving hypocrite by abolitionists at the North, and a cautioning moralist by the people at the South. He was of neither party. Even the workingmen of his own times hated him. What he did was probably equilibrated both between sympathy and diplomacy, largely tempered by sympathy and conscience and on the whole, working all the radical good which the times would permit. The world is better for this celebrated advocate of slavery having lived; for on the whole, though he could not see any way possible of expunging this horrid social ulcer of slavery from his republic, his sympathy got the better of acquisitiveness and like all the teachers of that era, he melted the brutal spirit which in Sparta instigated such inhuman cruelties toward the laboring class. All over Attica they were treated with comparative tenderness and consideration and though they suffered the grievances we have described, yet they shared the age of philosophy and art as an age peculiarly their own in organization and plenty. It was their Golden age of equality. We do not mean exact equality or similarity in the physical and intellectual sense; for nothing could be more absurd. We mean by it the extinction of those aristocratic lines which pride, egoism and greed had so long held as a basis of religion and of state.

CHAPTER V.

STRIKES AND UPRISINGS.

GRIEVANCES CONTINUED. PLANS OF ESCAPE.

FIRST KNOWN and First Tried Plan of Salvation was that of Retaliation—The Slaves test the Ordeal of Armed Force—Irascibility of the Working Classes at length arrayed against their Masters—Typical Strikes of the ancient Workingmen—Their Inhuman Treatment—Famous Strike at the Silver Diggings of Laurium.—20,000 Artisans and Laborers quit Work in a Body and go over to the Foes of their own Countrymen—The Great Peloponnesian War Decided for the Spartans, against the Athenians by this Fatal Strike.

IN ancient Greece, Sicily and Rome there occurred great and disastrous strikes. The character of the elements causing these disturbances varied greatly from that of the modern strikers. Quite the reverse of our modern, the ancient strikers were either slaves or freedmen descended from such, and in a condition of extreme lowliness but often so intelligent that notwithstanding the odds against them they sometimes out-generated their masters and obtained for a long period of time, even years, against wealth, priesthood and military force. The reasons for this we have already explained but may appropriately repeat. The slaves and freedmen were mostly men of their masters' own blood. They were of the same race, color and natural intelligence. They used the same languages, were accustomed to the same roads and fields, knew the cliffs, grottoes, forests and jungles; and there being no firearms or other instruments of destruction which in our modern warfare throw the balance of power into the hands of the most disciplined rather

than the most numerous, they sometimes triumphed for a time by dint of numbers.

During the Peloponnesian war a great strike of the working people occurred in and about the silver mines of Laurium,¹ B. C. 413. It may be well here to enumerate some of the grievances inciting them to this desperate resolve which they knew perfectly well beforehand, would, unless they succeeded, terminate in their death by tortures of the most inhuman artifices the maddened cruelty of greedy money-getters could invent. Nearly all the slaves and other working people, laborers and artificers engaged in this enormous strike, were intelligent people. Some were persons who were slaves by the misfortune of birth;² others were prisoners of war reduced by violence to slavery. Still others were slaves as merchandise brought to the mines by the vicissitudes of traffic; and lastly and worst, there were large numbers who were convicts, condemned to work in the mines under the lash of brutal hireling overseers of contractors³ who worked these mines on leases from the government to which they paid one twentieth of the proceeds. It was a great grievance to the intelligent workmen to be goaded by the knowledge that he was a social monstrosity.⁴ Men now recoil at the sight of a slave because he is the rare relic of an institution which human wisdom and sympathy have outstripped, outlived, outgrown in the glori-

¹ Thucydides *De Bello Peloponnesiaco*, VII. 27: "Ἀφίκοντο δὲ καὶ Θρακῶν ὡν μαχαιροφόρων τοῦ Διακοῦ γένους ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πελτασταὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει τούτῳ τριακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι, οὓς ἔδει τῷ Δημοσθένει ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν συμπελεῖν. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς ὕστερον ἦκον, διενουοῦντο αὐτοὺς πάλιν ὅθεν ἦλθον ἐς Θοράκην ἀποπέμπειν. τὸ γὰρ ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας πόλεμον αὐτοὺς πολυτελεῖς ἐφαίνετο· δραχμὴν γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας ἕκαστος ἐλάμβανεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ Δεκέλεια τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὸ πάσης τῆς στρατίας ἐν τῷ θέρει τούτῳ τεχισθεῖσα, ὕστερον δὲ φρουρὰς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων κατὰ διαδοχὴν χρόνον ἐπιούσας τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπαφείκοτο, πολλὰ ἔβλαπτε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις χρημάτων τ' ὀλέθρῳ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ψορᾷ ἐκάκωσε τὰ πράγματα. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ βραχέϊα γιγνόμεαι αἱ ἐσβολαὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον τῆς γῆς ἀπολαύειν οὐκ ἐκώλυον· τότε δὲ συνεχῶν ἐπικαθημένων, καὶ ὅτε μὲν καὶ πλεονῶν ἐπιόντων, ὅτε δ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης τῆς ἰσῆς φρουρὰς καταθεούσας τε τὴν χώραν καὶ Ἀγροτείας ποιουμένης, βασιλεύς τε παρότος τοῦ τῶν Δακεδαμονίων Ἀγιδός ὃς οὐκ ἐκ παρέγου τὸν πόλεμον ἐποιεῖτο, μεγάλα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐβλάπτοντο· τῆς τε γὰρ χώρας ἀπάσης ἐστέρητο καὶ ἀνδραπόδων πλεονῆ δύο μυριάδες ὑπτομολήσκου, καὶ τούτων τὸ πολὺ μέρος χειροτέχναι, πρόβατά τε πάντα ἀπολάλει καὶ ὑπόζυγια· ἵππει τε, ὀσημέρα ἐξελαινούσων τῶν ἵππων πρὸς τε τὴν Δεκέλειαν καταδρομὰς ποιουμένων καὶ κατὰ τὴν χώραν φυλασσόντων, οἱ μὲν ἀπεχωλοῦντο ἐν γῇ ἀποκρόψ τε καὶ συνεχῶς ταλαιπωροῦντες, οἱ δ' ἐπιτρώσκοντο.

Xenophon *De Vectigal.* IV. 25.

² Granier de Cassagnac, *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières*, chap. iii.

³ Plutarh *Nicias and Crassus Compared*, 1.

⁴ Drumann, *Arbeiter und Communisten in Griechenland und Rom*, S. 24; Böckh, *Public Economies of the Athenians*, p. 263, for instances of men owning great numbers of slaves; See also Böckh's *Laurische Silberbergwerke in Attika passim*.

ous race of enlightenment. Even at that early age the slave's servitude was the source of his own intelligent disgust; for covered as he was with the indelible brands and scars of systematic mutilation, and decrepit in premature age through blows and strains of violence and overwork, his mind remained unimpaired, often edged to consciousness of its own incompatibility with this state of degradation. The poor creatures were never allowed to eat white bread.⁵ There were no Sundays for them. Of the 365 days they were forced to delve 360. Sometimes the government owned them and subbed them with the mines themselves to the contractors, following the plan of Xenophon,⁷ who sometimes thus worked great numbers at a time. Often, however, the rich contractor himself owned laboring men with whom to operate the mines. Thus Nicias owned a thousand slaves,⁸ Mnason also owned a thousand.⁹ The ancients appear to have had a species of passion for seeing acts of brutality and cruelty.

Wakes are of great antiquity. Originally they were public fights on the occasion of the death of an important member of a gens family, in which the combatants were his slaves so unfortunate as to have survived him. All the family, its slaves and their children, perhaps also the community not allied by blood, were summoned to see what in our refined age would not only be repellent cruelties, but intolerable ones—a fight to the death, of slaves of the deceased, with daggers and clubs.¹⁰ The first combat on record of this kind occurred in B. C. 264, arranged by the brothers Brutus.¹¹ But authors agree that the practice comes from much more remote antiquity; and mention of it is made here to prepare the reader to understand some of the causes

⁵ Granier, de Cass. *Hist. Ouvrières*, p. 98, who gives references.

⁶ Bücher *Aufstände der unfreien Arbeiter*, S. 96; Xenoph. *Memorab.* 111. 6, 12. For 360 days in the year those poor working people male and female, had to drudge. Xenophon 4, 16; Böckh, *Silberbergwerke*, S. 125.

⁷ Xenophon, *De Vectigal.* cap. iv.

⁸ Bücher, *Aufstände, etc.* S. 96; Drumann *Arbeiter und Communisten*, §§. 11-23.

⁹ Böckh, *Public Economics of the Athenians*, p. 263. The celebrated plan of Xenophon for replenishing the Athenian treasury (*De Vectigal.* cap. iv.) was to have the state put 60 000 of its own slaves on the state silver mines of Laurium to be leased to contractors. He even gives figures on the presumable income from this plan of relief to the state.

¹⁰ Fröhländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, II. 216.

¹¹ Guhl and Kober, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*. We give references to modern authors so that readers not conversant with the original languages may get them and satisfy themselves.

lurking at the bottom of the evil of ancient strikes and uprisings. Gibbon relates the horrible story of the Syracusan, L. Domitius.¹² One of the poor, innocent slaves during his prætorship, one day while assisting in the chase, killed a wild boar of enormous size and very dangerous. The daring deed got noised about until it reached the ear of Domitius who ordered the slave to be brought to him as he desired to see so brave a man. The poor creature appeared before this fellow, humbly expecting a trifle of praise so seldom the lot of the Syracusan slave. To his horror, however, this monster's first question was, what kind of weapon or means were employed by him in performing the deed. The answer was a javelin. "Are you not aware that the javelin is a weapon for gentlemen; and that for so mean a creature as a slave to use the weapons of men, is death?" Turning to his soldiers he said, "take this slave away and crucify him." The trembling wretch was actually crucified upon the spot. The heart sickens at the contemplation of our descent from such a type of monsters!

Bücher notes¹³ that single contractors often worked 300 to 600 slaves in the silver mines of Laurium and that convicts who were government property were sometimes sold to the contractors who exploited their labor in their own name.¹⁴ Sometimes intelligent men in those days were half slaves and half free, being enfeoffed by livery of seizin, no doubt, if unambitious of freedom, enjoying thereby some advantages over those entirely out in the competitive world. Such men were paid a per diem, varying from 3 to 7 *oboli*, or from 10 to 19 cents for their labor.¹⁵

Callias the friend of Cimon, B. C. 460, became wealthy, managing mines. All or nearly all the mines were, with the ancients, the property of the state. The state contracted the working of the mines to enterprising business men who often hired slaves to do the work. These contractors were often men of noble blood. The sense of the social structure being against conducting or managing one's own business.

¹² Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. I. p. 48. N. Y., 1850: Böckh, *Silberbergwerke*, S. 122-3, add testimony to this hardheartedness of the ancients, referring to Plato who, for his perfect state, wanted only Greeks exempt from slavery.

¹³ *Aufstände etc.*, S. 96.

¹⁴ Böckh, *Abhandlung der Historisch-Philologischen Classe der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1814-15.

¹⁵ *Id. Public Econ. of Athenians*, p. 164.

Only the slaves and other workmen, those who actually performed the work, were doomed to suffer the odium of labor. Any business man who could get a bond, could take from the state a portion or the whole of a mine; and sometimes even the slaves themselves were to be had of the state. In this case, the complete outfit was contracted for by the individual, who had no further care than to manipulate products and gains. Callias and Cimon had either contracts for or ownership in the mines of silver at Laurium, located to the southeastward of Athens about 30 miles.¹⁶ Their names appear also, but vaguely in connection with the Pangæus mines in Thrace. It is known that Thucydides the celebrated historian owned mining property in Macedonia. He was a rich slave owner and optimiate. One Sosias a Thracian contractor hired from Nicias a thousand slaves, at an *obolus* per day each.¹⁷ Hyponicus rented or hired as many as 600 slaves to these contractors and received, as Xenophon tells us, a *mina* daily for their labor. Philemonides for 300 slaves got half a *mina*.¹⁸

Public servants were not always free. Wages in the time of Pericles stood about as follows:¹⁹ for a common laborer who carried dirt, 3 *oboli*,²⁰ or 10½ cents per day. A gardener got 14 cents; a sawyer of wood, one drachm, or 19 cents; a carpenter received sometimes as high as 17½ cents while millers in the grain mills received 15 to 18 cents. Scribes or copyists no more. The architect of the temple of Minerva got no more than the stone sawyer and others only as much as the common laborer. His name was Polias. Bœckh says he received one drachm or exactly 17½ cents. The *hypogrammateus* or secretary to the superintendent of public buildings got only 5 *oboli* or about 15 cents.

The fares for traveling conveyances were also very low. In fact, the clerks and public officials of every kind were government subjects who received low salaries and worked long hours. Their life was a constant drudgery. The superintendents themselves were officers of family or blood. They were citizens; but the dignity of their position restrained them from receiving any recompense.

¹⁶ Plutarch, *Cimon*. Cornelius Nepos, *Cimon*; "non tam generosus quam pecuniosus, qui magnas pecunias ex metallis fecerat."

¹⁷ Xenophon, *De Vectigal.* §. 4, 14; Plutarch, *Nicias*, 4.

¹⁸ Xenophon, *Id.* 1, c. § 15

¹⁹ Bœckh, *Pub. Econ. Athen.* p. 164.

²⁰ An obolus was 3¼ cts, a drachma 19.

Thus in Greece, Rome and everywhere throughout antiquity, such were the oppressive conditions that the intelligent among the working classes, goaded by their sufferings, were on the alert, sometimes for revenge, sometimes for objects of amelioration, but oftener from sheer, reckless despair, and ready to strike out in bloody rebellion against their master.

With this statement on general causes of strikes we proceed with the story of the greatest of all, belonging purely to this category of human resistance, to be found either in ancient or modern times.²¹ It may be plausibly conjectured that this great strike in turning the tables against the Athenians and thus deciding the celebrated Peloponnesian war against them and the little democracy that had grown up in the Athenian civilization and refinement, went far toward suppressing the true progress of the human race.²²

The silver mines of Laurium, 30 miles south from the city of Athens, were among the resources of Athenian wealth. They belonged to the government. The methods of obtaining the precious metal was by arduous labor, without much of the modern machinery. Diodorus describing the Egyptian mines between Captos and Cosseir, pictures the sufferings of the poor convicts and barbarians working there;²³ and Bücher says that was also the case with those working the Laurian mines.²⁴ According to this, men and women in great numbers who had committed some crime²⁵ against the state or otherwise, were dragged into the subterranean cavern, stripped entirely of their clothing, their bodies painted, their legs loaded with chains and in this frightful condition, set at work drilling the rock, breaking it in pieces and carrying it to the mouth of the shaft. Outside the mine were smitheries, machine shops for making stamping mills, water tanks and courses for washing the metal, wagon shops for making and repairing vehicles of conveyance and other conveniences necessary for so great an industry, employing great numbers of slaves and freedmen for carrying on the works.

²¹ The greater uprisings are known, not as strikes but as servile wars; although we sometimes confound them with strikes.

²² Drumann, *Arbeiter und Communisten in Griechenland und Rom*, S. 64.

²³ Diodorus *Bibliotheca Historica*, V. 38.

²⁴ Bücher, *Aufstände der unfreien Arb.* S. 96.

²⁵ Compare Plutarch *Nicias and Crassus Comp. Mit.* Plutarch here avers that the workmen under Nicias were often malefactors and convicts.

These mines of Laurium were in operation when the Peloponnesian war broke out, B. C. 432, between the Spartans and Athenians, which lasted 27 years. Thucydides speaks as though the offer held out to the workmen employed as slaves by the Athenians, of 18 cents per day uniformly, was a very tempting one.²⁶ They were poor dependents, some slaves, some freedmen, some convicts, subjected to abuse, thrown pell-mell together, driven to hard work, poorly fed, those within the mines, naked and suffering, and utterly destitute of that feeling known to us as patriotism, although many of them were Athenians.²⁷ During this obstinate struggle the Lacedæmonian forces, B. C. 413, approached as near to Athens as Decelea, a garrisoned frontier town in Bœtia held by them, where they established themselves over against the Athenian lines. The distance between Decelea on the borders of Boetia and Athens is only about 20 miles. The Athenian *ergasteria* or workshops were manned in part by slaves.²⁸ So, whether in the shops and arsenals at Athens, or in the silver mines of Laurium, both of which, during war time, were indispensable for supplying money and arms, the sinews of production were not quickened by that peculiarly inspiring urgent known to us as patriotism. Labor hated alike home, fatherland and employer. When war broke out the laborer, instead of turning his power and genius to swift production of engines for hurling missiles of destruction among the invaders of his country, sought in the vortex of fierce disturbance, some fissure of retreat from the monstrous cruelties of bondage.

Thus in this pivotal contest between the Spartans and Athenians, compared with the Spartans' treatment of the Helots or Lacedæmonian slaves, the Athenians with all the horrors that have been pictured, were mild, we find the grievance intensified beyond endurance. Compared with Spartan suavity, philosophy and moral advancement, the Athenians were as civilization to barbarism; for Sparta had never questioned the claims of Pagan aristocracy and Lycurgus had built upon it in all its austere presumptiveness a ring or community of about one-third the population and damned the remaining two-thirds to a stage of slavery

²⁶ Thucydides. *De Bello Peloponnesiaco*, VII, 27, already quoted. p. 107.

²⁷ Bücher. *Aufstände d. unfreien Arb.* S. 21.

²⁸ Drumann; *Arb. u. Communisten in Griechenland u. Rom*, S. 64; "Auch in den Fabriken, *εργαστήρια*, sah man nur Sklaven."

very little better than that of naked convicts described by Diodorus in the gold mines of Egypt.²⁹ Yet notwithstanding the brutal example the poor slaves had just witnessed, of Spartan treachery, in assassinating 2,000 brave helots a few years before,³⁰ some knowledge of which they must certainly have possessed³¹ we find the poor Athenian workmen readily accepting an offer by the Spartans and joining them in great numbers against their own fatherland.

Undoubtedly this was a very dangerous exploit of the strikers and could not have succeeded without some organization. But we are left in the dark regarding most of the details. No doubt the near approach of the Lacedæmonian forces and the demoralization of the Athenians as well as their ingratitude, together with the arrogance of Cimon and the revenges of Alcibiades, might have had much to do with it.

This great strike must have been plotted by the men themselves. We are, through the two or three brief references to it, given us by the historians,³² left to infer that it must have been well concerted, violent and swift. The inference is unequivocal that in 413, B. C. 20,000 miners, mechanics, teamsters and laborers suddenly struck work; and at a moment of Athens' greatest peril, fought themselves loose from their masters and their chains. These 20,000 workmen made a desperate bolt for the Spartan garrison newly established at Declea on the borders of Bœtia. The strike must have been the more desperate on account of the offers held out to them by the enemy. One of the offers was that they should be provided with work which they should perform on their own reckoning; but that they should pay only a part of it to their masters or employers. At this lay, by industry and patience they could not only live better but could lay by a certain sum with which to

²⁹ Diodorus. *Bib. Hist.* III, 11, V, 38.

³⁰ Thucydides, IV, 80, massacre of the Helots, B. C. 424, *ut supra*, p. 106 sq.

³¹ Witness the intimate undercurrent of the ephony during the great uprisings of Eunus, Aristonicus, Athenion and Spartacus; and the same was repeated during the anti-slavery rebellion in the United States, with same by far more accurately accurate information.

³² Thucydides, *De Bello Pel.* VI, 91, VIII, 4, VII, 27; Xenophon, *De Vectigal.* 4 25; Drumann, *Arb. u. Comm.* S. 64; Bücher, *Aufstände. unfreie Arbeiter*, S. 21: "Im Jahre vor Chr. 413 schlugen sich 20,000 A. heussische Fabrikarbeiter zu den Lakedæmoniern, ein schwerer Schlag für den Laurische Bergbau." Böckh, *Laurische Silberbergwerke*, S. 90-1, also mentions it.

buy themselves free. Unaccustomed to plenty and suddenly thus provided with enough to eat and drink, they naturally gave themselves up to indulgence to some extent for Dr. Drumann tells us that many of the slaves lived better than the freedmen themselves, though we have no account of their dissipating.²⁸ The statement of Dr. Bücher, that this strike of the workmen of Athens was a heavy blow to the mining operations of the Laurian silver diggings, confirms the importance of this immense uprising in Attica. The sudden loss of 20,000 workmen, inured to the hardships of mining life, and drilled to the mechanical niceties of the assays for the money supply, of the wagon works, and of the armories at Athens where most of the sabers, slings, daggers, javelins, campaign wagons and other *impedimenta* of war were constructed, is known to have been a serious set-back to the progress of the Peloponnesian conflict. But while it disheartened the Athenians it proportionately encouraged and delighted the Lacedæmonians; and as the latter were not of the party of progress but engaged in invidious activity against the Athenians, at that time the most democratic and advanced people in the world, it acted directly against the evolution of mankind. No one pretends to deny that the Spartans, boasting of the hegemony of their youth and their consequent warlike prowess, were mad with jealousy against the wondrous work of Athenian philosophy, letters, fine art and polish;—the very adornments, theoretical and mechanical,

²⁸ Drumann, *Arbeiter und Communisten in Griechenland und Rom*, S. 64. "Der grösste Theil der 20,000, welche im peloponnesischen Kriege in Attica zu der spartanischen Besatzung in Decelia entliefen, kam aus Fabriken. Mitunter wurde ihnen gestattet, für eigene Rechnung zu arbeiten, und ein Gewisses theil an ihre Herren abzugeben; so konnten fleissige und sparsame eine Summe erübrigen und sich loskaufen; manche machten mehr Aufwand als die Freien." Bücher says, S. 21: "Wo viele Sklaven derselben Nationalität in einer Stadt zusammen lebten, sagt Platon, (legg. VI. p. 777), geschähe grosses Unheil, was doch nur auf wirkliche Aufstände mit all ihren Gräueln zu deuten ist." So also at Rome the feeling was against the poorest class and aggravated by a fear of their mutinies. Cato the elder was a hard-hearted slave-driver as Livy, (XXXIX. 40), coolly hints, without seeming to imagine that brutal treatment of a menial was inhumanity. Macrobius, (*Saturnaliorum Libri*, I, xi. 2, 25-30,) says that in Rome so great was the cruelty of citizens to the laboring class that God himself protested: "Audi igitur quanta indignatio de serui supplicio caelum penetraverit. anno enim post Romam conditam quadringentesimo septuagesimo quarto Autranius quidam Maximus seruum suum ueberatum patibuloque constructum ante spectaculi commissionem per circum egit: ob quam causam indignatus Iuppiter Annio cuidam per quietem imperavit ut senatui nuntiaret non sibi placuisse plenum crudelitatis admissum." Thus cruelty with other grievances caused them to revolt. Of course, those who were already free were still more fortunate. It is curious that the law was such that the slaves remained slaves even after winning the strike.

which have in course of subsequent ages succeeded in ridding the world of slavery. Yet we find in this great strike 20,000 workmen revolting and turning their muscle against their own comparatively progressive institutions, thus doing all in their power to aid the Spartans in subduing this growing Athenian intelligence. Of course we cannot blame them for resistance; for it raised them, although it doomed their cause. The brilliant Athenians were, after a struggle of 27 years, defeated and the Spartans succeeded in re-establishing the old, jealous, conservative paganism—that deadliest enemy of freedom, the nursery of slavery, the home of priestcraft and of aristocracy, ever inculcating belief in divine right of few against many.

Not far from Decieia on the Athenian seacoast, about five miles to the southeastward of the Laurian silver mines, was the little mining city of Sunion. There was an old castle at this place, which, like that in the forest of Sicily,⁸⁴ was under the ægis of a powerful divinity who recognized the workingman and protected him, whatever his deeds or his guilt, so long as he could hold himself within its walls.

It was about the close of the first Labor war of Eunus of Sicily that another enormous and horribly bloody strike occurred in the mines of Laurium.⁸⁵ The men undertook and carried out the same plan as that of Decelia, and struck work to the number of more than a thousand.⁸⁶ It must have been a memorable and shockingly sanguinary event. Sunion was the stronghold of the silver mines.⁸⁷ By the appearance of things as presented to us in the meagre details given, no improvement for the comfort of the miners had ever been introduced since the great strike of Decieia. The poor creatures were still suffering under the lash, delving 360 out of the 365 days in the year, naked, men and women indiscriminately tugging under the clubs of heartless foremen and directors, the same as ages before,⁸⁸ That these poor

⁸⁴ See Second Sicilian Labor War, chap. xi. where it is related that the strikers were actually shielded by the god of the castle, and no one dared to disturb them until they had organized that mighty rebellion.

⁸⁵ A full account of this strike-war occurs in chap. x. pp. 201-241 q. v.

⁸⁶ Augustin *de civ. d.* III. 26, tells us also of a great uprising of the miners in Macedonia.

⁸⁷ Böckh, *Laurische Silberbergwerk*, S. 90.

⁸⁸ Athenæus, *Deipnosophistæ*, VI. p. 271: quoting E. Poseidonius, the continuator of the *Histories* of Polybius says: "Καὶ αἱ πολλαὶ δὲ αὐτὰ Ἀττικαὶ μυριάδες τῶν οὐκετῶν δεδεμέναι εἰργάζοντο τὰ μέταλλα. Ποσειδώνιος γοῖν ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ ἀπο πάντας φρονῖν αὐτοὺς καταφρονεῖσαι μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν μετᾶλλων φύλακας, καταλα-

people, many of whom were freedmen had their labor organizations is proved beyond a shadow of doubt. Böckh comments upon the passage of Demosthenes against Pantætus,³⁹ showing a quarrel of the contractors in the mines with the trade unions. These quarrels were frequent occurrences in those days. It might have been some similar trouble that caused the uprisings we are describing, although it occurred in later times.

More than a thousand of the miners one day simultaneously struck work and proceeded in a body to the protecting castle of Sunion where they claimed and secured protection from the divine guardian that watched over this holy institution.⁴⁰

Should any one complain of us for dragging religion into our history of the ancient lowly, their folly will here be seen. It is another of the numerous instances showing that labor, politics and religion were all institutions of govern-

βέσθαι δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Σουνίᾳ ἀκρόπολιν καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὸν χρόνον πορθῆσαι τὴν Ἄττικην. Οὗτος, δὴν ὁ καιρὸς, ὅτε καὶ ἐν Σικελίᾳ δευτέρα τῶν δούλων ἀποστάσις ἐγένετο. See also Böckh, S. 123.

³⁹ See Demosth. *Agt. Pant.* 966-7. The *eranoi* mentioned were the veritable trade unions, corresponding with the Roman collegia, the French jurandes and the English trade unions. The *thiasoi*, as we persistently explain, were that branch of the *eranoi* which had in charge the entertainments and solemnities. We have already shown that slaves often belonged to the unions. Foucart, (*Associations Religieuses Chez Les Grecs*, p. 121 and 219, *inscription* No. 38), mentions an important inscription showing that one Xanthos a Lycian slave belonging to a Roman named Caius Orbuius, founded a temple at the mines and consecrated it to the moon god. This moon god in return for the favor protected the slaves. The slab bears evidence from which we quote the first six lines as follows:

Ξάνθος Λύκιος Γαίου Ὀρθίου καθείδρουσα τὸ ἱερὸν οὐνοῦ Μηνὸς
Τυράννου, αἰρετίσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπ' ἀγαθῆ τύχῃ καιμηθέντα
ἀκάθαρτον προσάγειν, καθαρῶς ἐστὼ δὲ ἀπὸ σκόρδων καὶ χοιρέων
καὶ γυναικῶν, λουσαμένους δὲ κατακέφαλα αὐθημερόν εἰσπορεύ-
εσθαι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν γυναικείων διὰ ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν λουσαμένην κατα-
κέφαλα εἰσπορεύεσθαι αὐθημερόν, καὶ ἀπὸ νεκροῦ διὰ ἡμερῶν δεκά.

The remarks of Foucart in the text, p. 121 are: "Celui qui, vers le deuxième siècle après notre ère, introduisit dans l'Attique le culte de Mên, était un esclave lycien, employé par un propriétaire romain aux travaux des mines. C'était le dieu lui-même qui, dans une apparition ou dans un songe, l'avait invité à élever le temple. Aussi le fondateur a-t-il pris soin de répéter, dans les deux inscriptions, qu'il exécutait le désir de Mên: c'était mettre ainsi sous sa protection le règlement qu'il édictait: Moi, Xanthos, Lycien, appartenant à Caius Orbuius, j'ai consacré le temple de Mên Tyrannos, pour me conformer à la volonté du dieu." We would like to ask how a poor slave working in the mines could found, erect and consecrate a great temple so solid that its ruins and inscriptions remain as testimony to this day? Foucart in his desire to prove that all those inscriptions were purely religious and nothing more, forgets that a slave so lowly could do no such thing. He was simply managing officer of a great trade union so Democratic that social distinctions were unknown to it. This *eranos* erected the temple.

⁴⁰ Schambach, *Der Italische Sclavenaufstand*, S. 5: "Um 620 a. u.—134 v. Chr. empörten sich die in den Laurischen Silberberken arbeitenden Sklaven, tödteten ihre Wächter, nahmen das Kastell von Sunion ein und verwüsteten Attika lange Zeit.

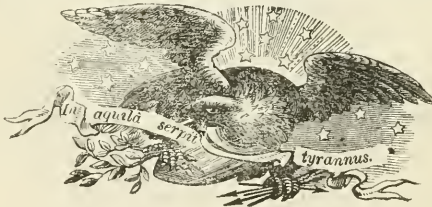
ment. Let the reader imagine a thousand workingmen safely protected from the most deadly enemies, by a god! But not only for a day or two were they thus screened from the wrath of armed soldiers who had orders to spear every one of the strikers the instant he was seen outside the sacred pale, but for months this continued and there were battles fought and frequent and successful sallies made by the workingmen all under the protecting arm of the god.

The strikers killed their overseers, rushed into the town, took possession, got the temple to sleep in, organized themselves for combat, took the arms from the armories, and for a long time laid waste the country on every side, remaining masters of the stronghold within. The mayor of the city, one Heraklitos,⁴¹ after their rage was probably spent, succeeded in defeating them when in all probability the usual brutalities of wholesale crucifixion were enacted and nearly every one put to death. This is the more certain because at this time, B. C. 133, the Romans were not only masters of all Greece, but their contractors were operating the silver mines at Laurium, for which kind of employment they had a peculiar fondness.

Another strike and bloody stampede of a similar kind took place at the gold mines of Pangætus in Macedonia, which was of sufficient magnitude to get into the history of Augustin, and Schambach mentions it as another important occurrence.⁴²

⁴¹ Orosius, V. 9: "In metallis quoque Atheniensium idem tumultus servilis ab Heraclito prætore discussus est."

⁴² Schambach, *Der Italische Sklavenaufstand*, S. 5: "Auch die griechische Welt wurde in ähnlicher Weise, wenn auch in geringerer Ausdehnung, heimgesucht. Nach Augustin de civ. III, 26 verwüsteten kurz vor dem Ausbruche des ersten sicilischen Sklavenkrieges empörte Sklavenbanden Macedonien und die anstossenden Gebiete."



CHAPTER VI.

GRIEVANCES.

LABOR TROUBLES AMONG THE ROMANS. MORE BLOODY PLANS OF SALVATION TRIED.

THE IRASCIBLE PLAN in Italy—Epidemic Uprisings—Attempt to Fire the City of Rome and have Things common—Conspiracy of Slaves at the Metropolis—Two Traitors—Betrayal—Deaths on the Roman Gibbet—Another Great Uprising at Setia—Expected Capture of the World—Land of Wine and Delight—Again the Traitor, the Betrayal and Gibbet—The Irascible Plan a Failure—Strike of the Agricultural Laborers in Etruria—Slave Labor—Character of the Etruscans—Expedition of Glabro—Fighting—Slaves Worsted—Punishment on the dreadful Cross, the ancient Block for the Low-born—Enormous Strike in the Land of Labor Organizations—One Glimpse at the Cause and Origin of Italian Brigandage—Laborers, Mechanics and Agriculturers Driven to Despair—The great Uprising in Apulia—Fierce Fighting to the Dagger's Hilt—The Overthrow, the Dungeon and the Cross.—Proof Dug from Fragments of Lost History.

STRIKES and labor mutinies are known to have occurred at Rome. There was one of a desperate nature in the year 417, B. C., while Lanatus, P. Lucretius and Spurius Rutilus were tribunes under the consuls Vibulanus and Capitolinus.¹ This was during the Peloponnesian war and the fact that it occurred about the same time with the great strike of the 20,000² miners and artisans at Athens, shows that the assertion made by the investigation of the United States Bureau

¹ Livy, *Annales*, lib. IV. 45.

² Authors differ a little as to dates. The difference is agreed to within three years: i. e. B. C. 418 for the Athenian and 417 for the Roman strike.

of Labor, that panics and depressions are simultaneous and somewhat epidemic in character, is true.³ This remarkable phenomenon will repeatedly exhibit itself as we proceed. Livy states that in the same year the city of Cumæ in Campania, long inhabited by the Greeks, but located only a short distance to the southward of Rome, had been taken.⁴ Undoubtedly some of the conspirators whose story we are about to recount, were Greeks. Syracuse, a Greek-speaking city, being brought into contact at the same time by the novel adventures of Nicias and Cimon, must have afforded the slaves an opportunity of hearing the news of the great strike pending at Decelea. On the whole, judging from the established fact that strikes and uprisings among workmen are nearly always contagious, it may safely be set down as probable that these historical events were simultaneous. At any rate, the warning words of Macrobius, that "the more slaves the more enemies"⁵ would have been applicable to both Greeks and Romans; for though delivered subsequently, they were always true.

Enthused by some subtle agency, whether of emissaries from secret societies, or straggling travelers or pirates bringing exaggerated accounts from Greece, or whether goaded to the act by their own misery neither of which will ever be explained, we know that in the night, in the year 417, according to our own reckoning, or 419 according to Bücher,⁶ the slaves in a conjuration they had previously concocted, arose and attempted to fire the city of Rome. Their hatred was not only against their bonds *per se*, but also extremely intense against the aristocracy who, ever since the time of their beloved king Servius Tullius, B. C. 578-534, had oppressed them through both fear and jealousy. Tullius was the 6th Roman king; and of all others since the great Numa the most friendly to the poor and lowly. His sympathy was the stronger for his having once been a slave himself. He restored the arrangement of Numa that had regulated their trades and economic relations. He upheld the old trade organization. As to the slaves, it is probable

³ Consult *First Annual Report of the United States Bureau of Labor, 1888*, pp. 15 and 290 referring to panics and depressions.

⁴ Liv. lib. IV. cap. 44. fin. Cumæ was also the birthplace of Blossius the rich labor agitator, q. v. chapter on Aristonicus.

⁵ Macrobius, *Saturnaliorum Libri*, l. 11.

⁶ Bücher, *Aufstände der unfreien Arbeiter*, S. 24.

that he also greatly assisted them. All who could count upon enough freedom, he organized. He added to the first class of Numa's system two centuries.⁷ This was recognizing in them some power of defence and an element of dignity. When this good man died, the nobility, mad with jealousy, overturned some of the laws and regulations he had established. Even during his life, such was their hatred that they plotted an indiscriminate slaughter in which many poor working people fell victims. Before he died, he caused to be engraved or otherwise chronicled, a constitution which greatly favored the slave population and the freedmen; but it was swept out of existence by those who succeeded him.

To clearly exhibit the state of human credulity in ancient times as well as to trace the origin of the proletarian theory of Saviors and the prevalent beliefs in immaculate conceptions, it may here be stated that Servius Tullius was imagined a descendant of a slave on his mother's side and of a god on his father's. This may really and consistently with the Pagan faith have been perfectly true; because according to that religion any *paterfamilias*, or head of a noble *gens* family was a god and there was a law giving him privilege to have children by his female slaves.⁸ All strikes and uprisings had been easily subdued under Servius Tullius. The massacre of the slaves alluded to was not in the least, so far as we have information, instigated by him, but by the jealous nobility who could not bear to see a favor shown the poor whom they despised. After King Tarquin acceded to the throne and the good work of Tullius was destroyed, they seem to have revived their old uneasiness; and no doubt many uprisings actually took place which have never been mentioned in history. Thus, 143 years elapsed before the occurrence of the scene we have introduced. The intelligence regarding this horror is exceedingly meagre. Livy simply relates that the happiness of the Roman people was this year disturbed, not by a defeat of the army this time, but by "a great dan-

⁷ Orelli, *Inscriptionum Latinarum Collectio*, nos. 1803, 2443, 4105; Livy, I. 43; Drumann, S. 154; Plutarch, *Numa*, 17.

⁸ Granier, *Hist. des Classes Ouvrières*, p. 70. But the best proof of this is Dionysius of Halicarnassus, ib. 1. Consult also Bombardini, *De Curcere et antiquo ejus Usu*, quoting the law: "Romulus permisit maritis jus vitæ ac necessitudinis in uxores suas indulgere."

ger." He characterizes it indeed, as prodigious.⁹ Thus though all the particulars are not given the probabilities are, that it was a memorable affair.

A certain number of slaves of Rome formed a conspiracy to secretly set fire to the city in the night. The plan was to fire the houses in many places at once. Then, when the buildings were ablaze, they expected a stampede of the people as sometimes occurs at a burning theatre or church, on which occasion there settles a horror and a craze, the people losing their wits and thus falling an easy prey to a few well organized ruffians who, with a stern leader are able so shrewdly to command and manage as to demolish, plunder and make off with much that the flames leave unconsumed. This was the intention of the Roman slave conspiracy. They made their plans to throw the city into a vast confusion and at a point when flames and fright combined to perfect the moral chaos, to seize the arms from the armories and whatever else was available, put the citizens to the sword, set their fellow slaves free, and having completed the work of devastation, take possession of the property, occupy the citadels and the capitol and settle down in the enjoyment of the women whom they did not propose to hurt in their general massacre of the men. In the act of carrying out this prodigious carnage they were betrayed by two of the conspirators as is commonly the case in such attempts. As a result the ringleaders were seized by the officers of justice and crucified.¹⁰

It is very singular that Livy, usually elaborate when dwelling upon an important event, should so peremptorily dismiss this subject which he introduces as one of the historical events of Rome in which the Roman people, as it were, through the protecting power of their god Jupiter, narrowly escaped. How many or how many thousands were crucified, excepting the two who exposed the conspiracy to Jupiter,¹¹ is not stated. We recall this to mind with the more interest, since later uprisings like those of Eunus, Aristonicus and Spartacus were followed by the

⁹ Liv. lib. IV. 45: "Annus felicitate populi Romani periculo potius ingenti quam clade insignis" Cf. Dionys. Halicar. excerpt xi.

¹⁰ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquities of the Romans*, xii. 5.

¹¹ *Idem*, IV. 45: "Avertit neand; consilia Jupiter, indecisque ducrum comprehensi sones pccas dederunt."

execution of thousands upon the cross. The two traitors were richly rewarded with money and freedom.¹²

Bücher reckons the year in which occurred another uprising in the heart of Latium, Italy, to have been B. C. 194. It was a very dangerous strike of slaves. The old Pomptine swamps in ancient times near the mountain city of Setia were infested with the runaway slaves, who to exist, were obliged to sally out from their glades where they hid by day, and played a rôle of brigands. All about the swamps on the higher levels, the soil was celebrated for productiveness. Setan wines were renowned for their relish. The city itself was between these marshes and the mountain cliffs, affording the brigands an immense range of forests, rocks, acclivities and jungles, which could be used as fastnesses when the pursuers or the weather would not permit the fugitives to live in the marshes below. Of course the little fortified Setia full of good things, but maintained by the labor of slaves, was an object of envy and a moral stumbling block to this order of submission within, and their cupidity or vengeance without. There were also numbers of other small cities and towns in this region. The encroachments of the rich *gens* families upon the *ager publicus* or public lands, which under the laws of Numa and Servius Tullius had been cultivated by the small farmers, sometimes by unions of farmers and as it were, in a socialistic way, had driven out the happy olden days and flogged into their places the horrid slave system of cultivation. Here, at the foot of this spur of the Appenines, as in the valley of the Guicus about Pergamum and the exquisite plateau of Enna,¹³ the greedy slave owner had fastened upon the limbs of his human chattels the clanking chains of enforced bondage and declared a lockout of the former guilds who worked the government lands on shares. That they had no other right to these lands than that of lawless might we shall in our chapter on Spartacus, sufficiently portray.¹⁴

These landlords, it is conceded by every one who has given attention to the subject,¹⁵ acted in every way the

¹² *Idem*: "Indicibus dena milla gravis æris, quæ tum divitiæ habebantur, ex ærario numerata et libertas præmium fuit."

¹³ See detailed accounts of the great uprisings of the workingmen at these places, chapters, vii.—x.

¹⁴ Chapter xii.

¹⁵ Drum. *Arb. u. Comm.* 8. 152-3.

part of high-handed land pirates, in seizing the farms from the former lessees of the government of Rome. Without doubt these, maddened by their outrageous deprivations, instigated many a revolt of the slaves who had, as chattels, and under the bitterest urgents of lash and threat, been forced to take their places. It was a time when a third of the honest, hard working population were being literally choked away from their means of earning a living for their families.¹⁶ There is no lack of information regarding the grievances of either the slaves impressed into the labor they hated, or the former tillers, locked out from the labor they loved. It is therefore without wonder that we hear of the outbreak or strike of B. C. 198. The numerous bands of slave bandits prowling among the swamps and mountain fastnesses formed an alliance¹⁷ with the slaves within the city, who were as dissatisfied with their shackles as were the degraded agricultural wretches delving outside. The collusion spread from Setia to Præneste 35 miles to the north and to Circeji a few miles beyond. About the time the conjurators were ready to make their deadly dash, was the moment when the people of Setia were to have a gala-day. What sort of festivity is not exactly clear. But judging from the popularity of the gladiatorial games not only at Rome but at that time, also in most of the provincial cities, it perhaps may be plausibly conjectured that the plays alluded to by Livy were the horrible butcheries of the arena. This public event afforded the conspirators an opportunity. Their plan was to take advantage of the enthusiasm of the games when least the populace were on the alert, crash upon the people, plunder the town, seize weapons and munitions necessary; then striking for the town of Norba, commit the same violence there, murder the masters and most of the other patricians and proceed to other cities in the vicinity repeating the carnage at each place until they gained the mastery of the world! Under the allowance of instruc-

¹⁶ Plut. "Tiberius Gracchus," makes a plaintive comment on their sufferings.

¹⁷ Büchner, "Aufstände d. unf. Arb." S. 28.

tion the slaves of that period enjoyed, this impossible scheme should not seem absurd; since they doubtless had little knowledge or conception of a world stretching beyond their vision and experience.

Again the traitor. Setia was under the prætorship of C. Cornelius Lentulus. Just at the outbreak of the strike, but whether during the tumult of a bloody fray we are uninformed, two of the conspirators lost courage and betrayed the plot. Livy says: "The object was, when Setia was once in their hands, by the combined result of murder and sudden tumult to first seize and similarly serve the cities of Norba and Circeji. Information of this terrible plot was carried to Rome and laid before the Prætor, L. Cornelius Merula, by two slaves who arrived from the scene before daybreak and in systematic order exposed the anticipated operations of the insurrectionists."¹⁸

Instantaneous action was now necessary at Rome. The Senate was in a few minutes convoked. The two Roman consuls for that year, (B. C. 198), Sextus Ælius Pætus and T. Quinctius Flaminius, were absent with their commands in Gaul and elsewhere; so Merula one of the four ædiles or tribunes of the people, was called to the task of

¹⁸ Liv. XXXII. 26. "Quem ad modum Gallia præter spem quæta eo anno fuit, ita circa urbem servilis prope tumultus est excitatus. Obsides Carthaginiensium Setiæ custodiebantur. Cum iis, ut principum liberis, magna vis servorum erat. Angebant eorum numerum, ut ab recenti Africo bello, et ab ipsis Setinis captiva aliquot nationis eius empta ex præda mancipia. Cum conjunctionem fecissent, missis ex eo numero primum qui in Setino agro, deinde circa Norbam et Circeios servitia sollicitarent, satis iam omnibus præparatis ludia qui Setiæ prope diem futuri erant, spectaculo intentum populum ad gredi statuerant, Setia per eandem et repentinum tumultum capta, Norbam et Circeios occupare. Hujus rei tam fœdæ indicium Roman ad L. Cornelium Merulam prætorem urbis delatum est. Servi duo ante lucem ad eum venerunt, atque ordine omnia quæ acta futuraque erant exposuerunt. Quibus domi custodiri iussis, prætor senatû vocato edoctoque, quæ indices adferrent, proficisci ad eam conjunctionem quærendam atque opprimendam iussus, cum quinque legatis profectus obvius in agris sacramento rogatos arma capere et sequi cogebat. Hoc tumultuario delectu duobus milibus ferme hominum armatis Setiam, omnibus quo pergeret ignavis, venit. Ibi raptim principibus conjunctionis comprehensis fuga servorum ex oppido facta est Dimissis deinde per agros qui vestigarent ***** Egregia duorum opera servorum indicium et unius liberi fuit. Ei centum milia gravis æris dari patres iusserunt, servis vicena quina milia æris et libertatem; pretium eorum ex ærario solutum est dominis. Haud ita multo post ex eiusdem conjunctionis reliquis nuntiatum est servitia Præneste occupatura. Eo L. Cornelius prætor profectus de quingentis fere hominibus, qui in ea noxa erant, supplicium sumpsit. In timore civitas fuit obsides captivosque Pœnorum ea moliri. Itaque et Romæ vigiliæ per vicos servatæ, iussique circumire eas minores magistratus; et triumviri carceris lautumiarum intentionem custodiam habere iussi; et circa nomen Latinum a prætore litteræ missæ, ut et obsides in privato servarentur, neque in publicum prodeundi facultas daretur, et captivi ne minus decem pondo compedibus vincti in nulla alia quam in carceris publici custodia essent."

suppressing the conspiracy. At this impromptu meeting of the Roman Senate it was ordered that Merula should take the field in person. There being at that instant very few regular troops at command, no time was lost in waiting orders to mass them, and it appears that he set out immediately with few, gathering militia as he proceeded on his way to Setia; for it appears that before reaching the scene of the danger the number of his forces reached 2,000 men. No particulars are given regarding the attack on the conspirators. We have no information as to whether there occurred a conflict. We are informed that the ring leaders of the conspiracy were arrested; also that the slaves were thrown into great confusion. Livy states that the town of Setia was the place where many hostages from the Carthaginian army were kept. The battle of Zama between Scipio and Hannibal, B. C. 202, had resulted disastrously to those old enemies of Rome and these hostages were kept by the conqueror as a pledge against further hostilities. Being penned in together, they also naturally joined the conspiracy and the ring-leaders referred to by Bücher, may have been some of the veritable warriors of the great Hannibal now pining in custody as hostages around the barracks of Setia.

But here again, as in the story of Spartacus, the excellent history of Livy is broken off and lost. How much of the real story is missing may never be known. But for the epitome or heading of this book we should be left in the dark entirely as to the results; but there is a passage in this which states that 2,000 of the conspirators were arrested and slaughtered.¹⁹ Judging from the usual method of servile executions, it might be inferred that the captured like those of Spartacus, Eunus and Aristonicus, were crucified upon the gibbet. It is more probable however, since some of them were Carthaginian veterans, that part of them were crucified and the remainder butchered; because it was against the Roman code of honor to hang veteran soldiers or others than those of the servile race, upon the ignominious cross. Jesus a religio-political offender was crucified by the Romans in a Roman pro-

¹⁹ *Aufstände d. unfreien Arb.* S. 29.

²⁰ Liv. lib. XXXII. *Epitomy*: "Conjuratio servorum, facta de solvenda Carthageniesium obsidibus oppressa est: duo millia necati sunt."

vince, not because of his offence, which might have received a nobler or less ignominious punishment, but because he was a workingman, not a soldier; and consequently ranked with the servile class in contradistinction to the noble class of the *gens* family, of the Pagan religion.

The uprising was suppressed after a struggle, the duration and the particulars of which are left for our curiosity to surmise. But the causes of the grievances among the slaves were too profound to be easily stamped out. Merula and his legions, their reeking sabers and victory-boasting tongues, their tales of gibbet and dagger-to-the-hilt, the agony of woe and death, had scarcely had time to settle into the first lull; the perpetrators of the treachery which discovered the plot had but received their reward²¹ by order of the Roman Senate, when news came that from the direction of Præneste the spirit of insurrection was again rife—this time in and about that city—and that a plot had been disclosed among the slaves who again in great numbers were caught making a singular spring in hopes of making themselves masters of it. Again their design was baffled. The Roman forces were once more sent out with orders to exterminate the slaves. The same prætor, L. Cornelius Merula, was soon on the warpath and as before, the inexperienced proletaries, among whom were many Punic hostages with their slender preparations and want of arms, could stand no ground with their powerful enemy. A battle must have been fought of considerable importance, and the result was certainly a disaster to the slaves and Carthagenian hostages and prisoners to whose secret machinations the blame is principally attributed by Dr. Bücher, also Livy himself by implication.²² The number of poor wretches who suffered on the scaffold reached 500, making 2,500 public executions, besides the number not given in either case who were killed in the conflicts before being overcome. A great turbulence was caused throughout the community.

Strong vigilance was now instituted at Rome to protect the smaller places from a recurrence of those dangers which had stamped their terror upon the inhabitants. The triumvirs ordered a closer guard to be kept over the

²¹ "Egredia duorum" &c. Liv. XXXII. cap. 26.

²² Livy, *Idem*; Büch. *Aufstände* &c. 29: "Allgemein mass man geheimen Umtrieben der punischen Geiseln und Gefangenen die Schuld bel."

great underground prison called *carcer lautumiae*,²³ where those taken prisoners were placed. It was ordered that the Carthaginian hostages be degraded to the condition of slaves to work for private individuals and disallowed further privilege of being seen any more in public or having any more enjoyment in the open world. The shackles in which the prisoners were chained, were ordered to weigh not less than 10 pounds. The prison in which they were thenceforth to be forever kept was the public *carcer*, a description of which may now be interesting.

"There was a place" says the Italian jurist Bombardini,²⁴ "in the ancient Roman prison, called the Tullian cell, whither you descend by a ladder to the distance of 12 feet, into a damp hole, excavated in the earth. It was walled in on all sides and vaulted overhead having the sections adjoined. It had a putrid odor and a frightful outlook." But this is but the beginning, (B. C. 650-500,) of what it had developed into, by the time of which we speak. (B. C. 198). Long before this the prisoners here were at work. "Their masters saw them but rarely; their food was lowered to them through breathing holes, also their straw and scanty clothing."²⁵ Varro likewise tells of the *latomia* or quarry and the *ergastulum* called the *prison Tulliana*.²⁶ At any rate the public prison still to be seen, was a deep and spacious excavation under the Capitoline Hill, which had been made by prison labor. The object of the ancients in setting prisoners at work was twofold. First, vengeance rather than correction, as in our days of comparative enlightenment. Secondly, economy; for the ancients had the contract system with all its brutalities and horrors. The stone quarried out of these diggings furnished good building material and the holes thus left made prisons for the workmen who quarried it. Thus, in course of ages Rome became what Pliny called the *Urbs pensilis*,²⁷ or city hanging in the air. Most of these stu-

²³ Bombardini, *De Carcere et antiquo ejus Usu*, cap. iii.

²⁴ *Idem*, Cap. iii, p. 746 of *Thesaurus Grævii et Gronovii, Supplement*.

²⁵ Maurice *Hist. Politique et Anecdote des Prisons de la Seine*, p. 1-4.

²⁶ Varro, *De Re Rustica*, cap. iii. 8 speaks of them and of the popular opinion that these holes were nurseries of serpents. Cf. Prudentius, *Hymn V*.

²⁷ *Nat. Hist.* Speaking in another place (lib. XXVIII 4.), Pliny thinks they were dug by Tullus Hostilius: "L. Piso primo annualium auctor est, Tullum Hostilium rotem ex Numæ libris eodem. . . . multi vero, manarum rerum fata et ostenta verbis permutari. Cum in Tarpeio fodientes delubro fundamenta, caput humanum invenissent, missis ob id ad se legatis

pendous catacombs are still to be seen in a more or less perfect state of preservation. Like the vast catacombs of Paris, they were originally stone quarries; then some of them differentiated into sewers, *cloacae*, some into public prisons, some into subterranean workshops, *ergastula*. The person condemned, if of low rank without family or money, was sent *ad opus publicum*, to the public works. "It was a place into which people were snatched; excavated from sharp rocks, immensely deep; a huge cutting or grotto quarried in the depths with passages interrupted by great, sharp-cornered rocks between which the victims' bodies squeezed. Projecting crags bristled as they sprang forth from the walls in darkness of midnight and frowned horribly over the abyss—a place of all others, from which the person doomed, when once thrown in, never afterwards saw the light of day."²⁸ Of course the convicts were furnished with lamps to light their steps and hands at work.

The reader is now left to judge for himself as to the justice or injustice of the causes lurking at the bottom of all ancient strikes.

We are again grateful to Dr. Karl Bücher, who reminds us of the account sparingly given by Livy, of another great uprising, B. C. 196, among the agricultural laborers of Etruria.²⁹ This noble country stretched from the Tiber on the south to the Ticino on the north. The rapturous landscapes of the Arno, the many beautiful Appenine lakes and mountains were Etruscan. No land ever subjugated by Rome possessed more agricultural or mineral wealth. Its original inhabitants possessed the refined civilization whence Rome took most of her prosperity. Bold, inventive, mechanical, progressive, the Etruscans ill-brooked the fetters of slavery fastened upon them like gyves by the greedy land grabbers who took possession of the soil, somewhat in the manner of the land owners of Great Britain and Ireland at the present time. The descendants of the ancient Etruscan stock held much of the land,

Etruræ celeberrimus vates Olenns Calenus præcarum id fortunatumque cernens, interrotatione in spem gentem transferre tentavit," etc. For a description see Prudentius *Hymn V*.

²⁸ Eutrope? *Epit. Rom. Hist. Era of Tarquin*.

²⁹ *Aufstände d. unfr. Arb S. 29*.

Granier, de Cas. *Hist. Classes Ouv.* chap. s. xiii. xiv.; Orell. nos. 3346; 3347, 8673, 1239, of *Inscr. Lat. Col.* See also within account of the *Vectigalia*

as free agriculturers and to them the government had long farmed it on shares, thus securing to the laborers a good living from the proceeds and to the government a good revenue which was paid, not in money but in kind, the rent tax being collected through the celebrated system of the vectigalia.³⁰ The slave system of the rich lords, who, without a tittle of right by law, and indeed in direct defiance of the precedents established by Numa and Servius Tullius, as well as the Licinian law, which, through the intrigues of the great proprietors had, from its passage, remained a dead letter, was now becoming a terrible scourge.

Indeed, in after days, Tiberius Gracchus on his way to Spain, passed through Etruria and found to his horror that once populous land in the hands of a few lordly masters who had completely locked the original agriculturers out and supplanted them with slaves. The scene of slavery and woe so stirred the blood of this noble Roman that he devoted his remaining life to the great agitation which is famous to this day as the agrarian movement with the bloody commotions that attended them, resulting in his own assassination. Such was the terrible condition of human slavery at that time, B. C. 196. In fact the slave system had to a large extent, driven out the once free and prosperous labor not only of Etruria but also of lower Italy, Sicily, Asia Minor, large parts of Greece, Spain and the smaller islands; and Rome was becoming the fattening pen of the arrogant grandees who lived in degenerate profligacy upon the lash-enforced drudgery of millions of slaves. Perhaps in telling these portentous truths to the world in the light of a social historiographer, we are among the first to discover the germ of a deeply hidden virtue in the revolt whose history occupies but eight poverty-solemnized lines in the great history of Livy. But to the student of sociology even this poor sketch brings back to us the profound wisdom of Anaxagoras and Aristotle who taught that all knowledge, all virtue and all progress emanate from humblest origin and that we can have nothing permanent or perfect except through investigation and experiment involving the severest trials. And although the poor slaves fell in thousands by the lash, the dungeon,

³⁰ *Aufsl. d. unf. Arb.* "Trotzdem gelang es ihm nicht ohne heftigen Kampf die einzelnen Haufen zu zerspringen."

the cross and although hundreds of years elapsed before the bonds of their slavery were broken yet who shall say their dying agonies here did not contribute to the cumulous of forces which at last swept their fetters away?

L. Furius and Claudius Marcellus were consuls at Rome when this agrarian uprising occurred. Their offices of state requiring their attention, the prætor, M. Acilius Glabro had in charge the "peace of the community." Little is known of the details of this uprising. The slaves were inhumanly oppressed and ready to accept desperate conditions if they held out the least promise of success in freeing them of their sufferings. On the other hand, the old cultivators had for centuries lived in ease upon the public lands and their organizations interlinked with those of the *collegia* and *sodalicia* which were just then being treated with severe censure and even threat by the Roman citizens who managed legislation. Efforts were begun about this time to suppress most of the labor organizations. The wealthy who were engaged in driving out free agricultural labor and supplanting it by that of slaves on the plantations, were particularly bitter against free labor, both in city and country.

When the news of the uprising reached Rome, Glabro immediately set out with one of the two legions of soldiers at command. By the appearance of things, the organization was not complete among the insurgents. The slaves, as Livy calls them in his sweeping terms, but more probably also the disaffected part of community generally and now locked out—those who formerly tilled the land on shares and also the slaves themselves—all of whose cause was common, met Glabro hilt to hilt and in a bloody battle were overcome. Bücher surmises that though the Romans were victorious, it was not without a heavy battle.³¹ Great was the number of fallen workingmen and the number of those of their ranks taken prisoners was still greater. The leaders of the revolt were scourged and hung upon the cross. The remaining slaves were given up to their merciless masters to receive at their hands a double portion of hardships in the future. The freedmen engaged in this insurrection would, under the Roman custom of

³¹ Livy, XXXIII, cæp. 36: "Ex his (the strikers) multi occisi multi capti: alios verberatos crucibus adfixit, qui principes conjurationis fuerant, alios domibus restituit."

treating enemies taken in battle, be sold as slaves or held as criminals and sent to the quarries and mines to linger for life at hard labor; for Bücher here correctly states that only under extraordinary circumstances did the Romans ever treat with lenity their captured enemies and the slave insurgents of all others, are known to have received the most relentless measure of malignity at their hands.²²

One of the countries in which Spartacus was best received and from among whose people he obtained the largest number and the best volunteers who accepted with gratitude his offers of freedom, was Apulia. It was that rich, well watered, pastoral tract lying to the north and bordering on the Tarentine gulf. About 120 years before the great and memorable war of Spartacus broke out, these fine lands lying between the eastern slope of the Appenines and the Adriatic, were prey of the slave system. "Where earlier, the industrious farmers had thrived in happiness and plenty, herdsmen now in loneliness drove and herded countless flocks of cattle and sheep belonging to Roman Senators and knights."²³ Apulia being on the opposite side of the mountains from Rome and most of the opulent cities of Italy, was a region topographically suitable for robbers, both of land and sea. To the west were the mountains, whose rocks and forests afforded shelter for men of desperate nerve. The introduction of servile hands through the slave trade which had driven free labor from the agricultural and pastoral regions of Italy had naturally been followed by a variety of desperadoes whose bands at the time of our story, infested the whole stretch. He also surmises with much intelligence that these organized gangs were not without a distinct purpose in working for their fellow men, and our own inspection satisfies us that a philosophy or culture had from high antiquity existed for the redemption of the poor everywhere.

In another chapter we shall show the relationship between the societies of *Dionysoi* and those of the *Bacchantes*. Indeed there appears little difference between them. In both words, one Latin, the other Greek, we have

²² Büch. *Aufst. d. unfr. Arb.* S. 31.

²³ Lühders, *Dionys. Künst. passim.*

the same meaning. They were in Greece, in the islands, in Asia Minor and Palestine, mostly organizations of artificers or skilled mechanics;⁸⁴ but because they held festivities and conducted them on methods peculiar to themselves as well as because they were working people, they were looked upon with suspicion. No author of antiquity or orator could speak with respect of the bacchanals. We know by the inscriptions that they had many societies at Rome and in the provincial cities. Cicero and Livy spurn them. No doubt the obloquy they suffered drove them into these fastnesses and made them, by sheer compulsion, assume suspicious attitudes. However this may be, we find Livy associating them with another great strike or uprising of the workingmen which occurred B. C. 185-184, in Apulia and along the coast between there and Bruttium.

It was during the days of the stern Cato's power, in the consulship of Appius Claudius Pulcher and M. Sempronius Tuditanus.⁸⁵ The so-called province of Apulia was in the care of the prætor, L. Postumius. This man's watch-ground was Apulia and the shores of the gulf of Tarentum. A few years afterwards the famous Spartacus led his army of rebel workingmen, consisting of volunteer gladiators, shepherds, bacchantes and slaves, to Metapontum, where he spent the memorable winter of B. C. 73-72.⁸⁶ Too just to allow disorder, too wise to permit even a draught of wine to be drunk in carousal, too good to give his loved soldiers the bridle, this modest gladiator here proved himself the terror of the haughty Romans and a prototype of modern military virtue, genius and discipline. And this town was in the very valleys of the scenes of our present story.⁸⁷ Livy, as is usual with ancient historians, when speaking of the uprisings of the oppressed working classes makes short work of his story. We linger upon his stingy descant because of the peculiarly interesting associations connected with the mightier revolt of the great gladiator chieftain, one hundred and ten years afterwards upon the same spot.

There had been many cases of dissatisfaction, some of which had reached the ears of the vigilant Romans.

⁸⁴ Livy, XXXIX. cap. 29.

⁸⁵ Consult chapter xii of this work.

⁸⁷ Livy, XXXIX. 29, and 41.

⁸⁶ Büch. *Aufst. &c.* S. 31.

Great organizations among the enslaved shepherds and drovers were heard of. A case was reported in which detachments of half starved cowboys and ploughmen threw away their bondage, knocked down and garroted their overseer, seized his knife, his sword and club and made their way to the mountain caves and jungles whence with desperate revenge and want, they returned reinforced to plunder and sack their master's goods. It got so that the government highways were unsafe; and in ten years from the time of our last story of the strike in Etruria, 192-182, another enormous "slave conspiracy" had been found to exist.

As soon as reliable news of this reached Rome, L. Postumius³⁸ the prætor, or as the same informant names him "proprætor" in another place,³⁹ instantly marched with a large force of troops to the scene.⁴⁰ The prætor had previously had charge of all Apulia and Bruttium. He had the watch of all the Adriatic coast from Rhegium to Mt. Garganus, east of the Appenine range and most likely also a considerable force of troops stationed at different points where Roman *praesidia* or garrisons existed.⁴¹ This is self evident; since the senators and knights owning the lands and the slaves who worked them were also military officers as well as lawgivers and it was easy for them to legislate for placing the standing army where it should best protect their gluttonous acquirement of wealth.

The details of the manœuvres, skirmishes and battles gone through with before the climax was reached, are left unwritten. But there can be no doubt that a battle was fought; because, of the total number of the insurgents taken, no less than 7,000 were condemned to the mines and of the great number who were captured many were executed which means, of course, crucified.⁴² Those who were caught were certainly sent either to the mines, *ad metallum*, to the Roman prison, *carcer Tullianus*, or to the quarries, *lapicidinae*. But the most probable thing is,

³⁸ Livy, XXXIX. 41, ad fin: "L. Postumius proprætor, cui Tarentum provincia evertat, magnas pastorum conjugationes vindicavit et reliquas Bœchanalium quæstionis cum omni est cura."

³⁹ Bücher. *Aufstände der unfreien Arbeiter*, S. 31, note 2.

⁴⁰ Weissenborn. *Com on Livy*, xxxv. 20

⁴¹ Livy, XXXIY. 29. "De multis sumptum est supplicium."

⁴² *Idem*, cep. 41: "Partim comprehensos, Romam ad senatum misit, in carcerem omnes a P. Cornelio conjecti sunt."

that there being so many, they were distributed according to their adjudged guilt, in the three prisons.⁴³ The horrors of either of these three places have been described. But this awful retribution inflicted upon the poor struggling workingmen and their suffering families by the military arm of Rome, protecting slavery the most brutal and demoralizing institution that ever cursed the nations of the earth or whetted the appetites of the greedy by locking out honest laborers from their natural employ, failed to stifle the hopes of those hardy mountaineer farmers whom tyranny had turned into brigands. Bucher renders a word of comment on Livy's short-cut information, to the effect that those who escaped, re-organized their banditti in a distant point and began anew their work of pillage, which he characterizes as having become the plague of the times—a plague which was in effect, the foundation of that terrible brigandage, never suppressed in Italy until in recent years. This, then is the origin of those terrible "bacchanalian orgies"—the innocent workingmen, long organized in the unions or guilds⁴⁴ for self-protection and co-operation entirely under the laws and sanction of Numa and Tullius in the old, happy days of Rome's golden economies, now driven and dispersed to the wailing winds of her night of slavery!

Noble writers of the very ancient past have spoken kindly of the Bacchantes both of the Greek and Latin-speaking races of mankind, and lately Böckh, the archæologist who has done more than any other man to reveal the true status of ancient life and has uncovered many errors which policy and prejudice have cultivated, openly acknowledges that he finds no element of harm or of wrong intention in the bacchanalian organization among Greek-writing Societies of Asia Minor, and his invaluable evidence we shall bring forward in a subsequent chapter, because he fixes his opinion from the unerring evidence of the stones bearing inscriptions from their own hands.

Hesiod the poet and celebrated master who lived probably more than a thousand years before Christ and came of the lowly stock, was the first known labor agitator. His greatest poem, "Works and Days," full of pleadings for the

⁴³ For an elaborate description of the trade unions under Numa, also on Servius Tullius and Clodius, see chapters xiii.—xix. of this work.

poor, is the first book on the labor question. He may be styled the father of the emotions of pure sympathy, because the earliest witness.

But already at his time there were thousands of labor societies that were discussing with him this great problem and with him practically building a cult of co-operation full of the tender sympathies of human brotherhood and of mutual support.

CHAPTER VII.

DRIMAKOS.

A QUEER OLD MAN OF THE MOUNTAINS.

Strike of Drimakos, the Chian slave—Co-operation of the Irascible with the Sympathetic—A Desperate Greek Bondsman at Large—Labor Grievances of the ancient Scio—Temperament and Character of Drimakos—Vast Number of unfortunate Slaves—Revolt and Escape to the Mountains—Old Ruler of the Mountain Crags—Rigid Master and loving Friend—Great Successes—Price offered for his Head—How he lost it—The Reaction—Rich and Poor all mourn his Loss as a Calamity—The Brigands infest the Island afresh since the Demise of Drimakos—The Heroön at his Tomb—An Altar of Pagan Worship at which this Labor Hero becomes the God, reversing the Order of the Ancient Rights—Ruins of his Temple still extant—Athenæus—Nymphodorus—Archæology—Views of modern Philologists.

We are indebted to the geographer and historian Nymphodorus Siculus for an account of a very remarkable strike and maroon-like revolt of slaves in the island of Scio. This island—the ancient Chios—which lies in the Greek archipelago at a distance of 7 miles from the coast of Asia Minor, contains an area of little more than 500 square miles. It has, from high antiquity, been celebrated for the ever varying beauty of its scenery, its perpetual verdure, its forests that are inaccessible to civilized life, its countless streams and streamlets whose pure waters rush from calcarious steeps and fall into the tiny rivers or the sea.

Chios is aged as the primeval home of the Pelasgians and the Leleges of Cyclopean fame and antiquity, and

consequently is Greek in its remotest sense. It was of all lands most accursed with slavery.¹ While the Peloponnesus and Attica recruited their slave ranks with their own sons and daughters and their prisoners of war, Chios betook herself to the disgraceful slave traffic to secure her recruits—a custom undoubtedly borrowed from her neighbors, the Phœnicians. What the tale of startling uprisings and shocking cruelties of these struggling people would be if told, we know not;² for we are obliged to let all knowledge lapse in the æons of an unwritten past and patiently wait until the era of our story, accidentally recorded by Nymphodorus, a geographer, as having transpired a short time before his day.

Judging from this we are able to fix its date,³ not at about 250 years after the birth of Christ as surmised by Dr. Bücher, but at a very much earlier period. We follow the story of Nymphodorus, who received this informa-

¹ All over Greece and especially in Chios in Ionia there was constant fear of slave rebellions. Plato (*Republic* ix. 5 fin. and in very many other passages), mentions this fact as a constant terror in those days.

² The indications are that there constantly occurred in those times mutinies among the working people. Many of them were prodigious. Dim information of one in Southern Greece is found, which occurred between 300 and 400 years before Christ. The cruelty of masters was so great that when an earthquake destroyed 20,000 people it was believed to be their punishment for cruelty. The all-prevailing fear of being murdered by slaves is frequently hinted at by Plato. To read the eleventh chapter of the first book of Macrobius is really worth the attention of the thoughtful. It is replete with evidence that anciently there was a strong anti-slavery movement. Macrobius, (*Saturnationum*, l. xi. 7-9, Eyssenhardt), says: "Vis tu cogitare eos quos ius tuum uocas isdem seminibus ortos eodem frui celo, æque uiuere, æque mori? Serui sunt: immo homines. Serui sunt: immo conserui, si cogitaueris tantum in utrosque licere fortuna. Tam tu illum uidere liberum potes quam ille te seruum. Necis qua ætate Hecuba seruire cœperit, qua Croesus, qua Dærei mater, qua Diogenes, qua Plato ipse? Postremo quid ita nomen seruitutis horremus? seruus est quidem, sed necessitate, sed fortasse libero animo seruus est. Hoc illi nocebit si ostenderit quæ non sit. Alius libidini seruit, alius auaritiæ, alius ambitioni, omnes spei, omnes timori." Again (*Idem* 13-14) come the prophetic words. "Non potest amor cum timore miseri. Unde putas adrogantissimum illum manasse prouerbium quo iactatur totidem hostes nobis esse quot seruos? Non habemus illos hostes sed facimus, cum in illos superbissimi contumeliosissimi crudelissimi sumus et ad rabiem nos cogunt peruenire delicia, ut quicquid non ex uoluntate respondit iram fuoremque euocet." But it was fear rather than compassion that forced our hard-hearted forefathers to talk in this strain.

³ Schambach, *Itolische Slavenaufstand*, I., S. 5; refers to this slave insurrection in the following clearly expressed language: "Auch das riche Chios war zu derselben Zeit B. C. 134, der Schauplatz einer wilden Slavenenpöhrung, die erst nach mehreren Jahren unterdrückt wurde. Athenæus VI. He seems to have no doubt as to the era of the story of Drimakos being identical with that of the great servile wars. But what time did it begin? This is the important question. Athenæus says or intimates that Drimakos was in the vigor of manhood when he began the revolt; but he was an old man when he died and up to the last the malcontents held their ground. Now if we agree with Schambach that his "zu derselben Zeit" meant the end of the period, or thereabout, we must add at least 30 years to allow him to become an old man which makes the rebellion to have begun about the year B. C. 364.

tion directly from the Chians themselves, from whom he must have received his data while visiting the island and its inhabitants in search of information for his book which was a description of the coast of Asia minor and the multitude of islands, large and small, that stud the Archipelago.

The islanders recounted to Nymphodorus that a slave named Drimakos had lived and died in those parts, whose history was remarkable. Consequently this Sicilian Greek, whose errand was knowledge, became curious to know about the strange man Drimakos and all the particulars, in order to embellish the chapter of his "Nomima Asias" or customs and habits of the Asians—in other words, his descriptive geography. And now that our attention is fastened upon so weird an object as a runaway slave with drawn dagger, bolting from his pursuing owner and climbing a crag to a mountain den with a dozen abolitionists as desperate as he, we pause to ask, who is this Nymphodorus?

Alas such curiosity is rewarded with the aggravation of a mystery! We know nothing of Nymphodorus. We only know that he lived and wrote in his geography a description, not only of the island of Scio as it was before the time of Christ, but also of the customs and usages that were practiced by its inhabitants; and interspersed in his work there was many an incident, description and story, one of which was this tale of Drimakos, the runaway slave. We know that this priceless literary gem, like the noble but lost chapters of Diodorus, and Sallust, of Livy, of Fenestella, Dion Cassius, Theophanes, Nicolaus Damascenus, Cæcilius Calactenus and a wealth of others with their flood of facts, come to us only in the second-hand and oblique mention of others who read them before they were destroyed; or sometimes in mutilated fragments of the originals which escaped the vandals who perhaps thought that by robbing posterity of facts that disclosed the beastliness of their institutions they might confer a favor upon the sin as well as the sinners whose power they fawned upon and flattered. At any rate the work of Nymphodorus is lost; and the question remains: who is Nymphodorus and what about Drimakos the Chian runaway slave?

The fact is, Athenæus,⁴ an Egyptian of antiquity, saw and read this book of Nymphodorus the geographer, and in his "*Deipnosophistae* or Banquet of the Learned," a *pot pourri* or hodge-podge of science, history and anecdote, reproduced for us the essential facts concerning this affair of Drimakos, which was no little incident to make light of, but a vast insurrection of slaves, like that of Eunus and Spartacus, involving a lifetime, with bloody wars and a great and terrible and successful struggle of "outlaws" against society. It is Athenæus, the middleman then, not Nymphodorus, whom we must follow and carefully scan, picking every word down to the bone, to get the meat of his language; always suspicious enough of translations to avoid them entirely, especially when exhuming such literary mummies as those wrapped and preserved in chemicals musty with the taint of labor.

Nymphodorus in his lost work on the customs and usages of the Asians,⁵ says it was not long before his time that the facts concerning Drimakos occurred. But although no doubts exist regarding the truth of the general facts, nobody is clear as to the exact time of Nymphodorus. Whether the insurrection of the Chian slaves was a spasmodic affair, belonging to one lifetime, or whether the episode of Drimakos was simply one incident distinguished for its magnitude and duration among many that for ages were constantly occurring, is a problem.⁶ We shall present the facts as given in the *Deipnosophistae* of Athenæus carefully adhering to the points in the text and seasoning the story only to befit the character of our pages for the general reader. But there seems to be no evidence to confute our theory that Nymphodorus wrote his story at least a century before Christ, and that the true age of Drimakos was that of the other great slave rebellions which began to rage about a century and a half before Christ.

⁴ Most chronologists make Athenæus to have lived about A. D. 250. Dr. Bücher, therefore, must certainly be entirely incorrect in putting the date of the work of Nymphodorus at "Mitte des dritten Jahrhunderts nach Christo; *Aufstände der unfreien Arbeiter*, S. 22, since Athenæus himself lived before that time. We are fully confirmed in the opinion that Drimakos' uprising was contemporaneous with that of Eunus of Sicily and Aristonicus of Pergamus, and was an outcrop of that great agitation.

⁵ *Νόμιμα Ἀσίας*. The island of Chios was only separated from the continent of Asia by a strait 7 miles wide, and easily visible from the main shore. For a good description of this island, see Eckenbrecher: *Die Insel Chios*, Berlin, 1845.

⁶ Pauly's *Real Encyclopædia*. Vol. V, S. 193, contains an article from Westermann, discussing the probable time of Nymphodorus, q. v.

From the story as related by Athenæus it does not appear that Drimakos escaped from his master amid scenes of blood-shedding, but that those horrors were reserved for the immediate future. He was then a young man of great sternness and determination, shrinking from nothing he had set his mind upon, and too nervous and sensitive to bear the galling humiliations of slavery. He was also a man of sympathies, and felt for his fellow slaves as well as himself. In such a frame of mind he could not but have felt deeply for the thousands of poor creatures who had been bought or kidnapped from their native homes and brought to this island to be sold like animals and here forced to delve under the merciless lash. Most of the labor of land culture and mechanics, all the household drudgery, as well as the attendance upon arrogant lords and ladies, and the office work of the government, was performed in those days by slaves; and Chios was no exception.

Like Achæos, Cleon, Athenion and Spartacus, the desperate young man broke his bonds by some violent effort. It may have been the immediate result of a quarrel with his master or his overseer, or perhaps a conspiracy of a handful of fellow bondsmen as in the case of Athenion or Spartacus; perhaps a stampede after a battle with clubs and butcher-knives. One thing we know upon such points in general: masters were on the alert at all times, having little confidence in their human chattels, and kept them under guard, often chained at night and in many places, branded.

When Drimakos arrived in the mountains with his band of runaways, he found in the clefts of rock and among the sun-warmed ledges, suitable fastnesses wherein not only to hide in safety but to sleep, and obtain repose. Hunters and other mountaineers had been there before them and built an occasional cabin. With the rocks and fragments they erected more, and with axes and perhaps saws and other tools, covered them and constructed for themselves rough seats and tables. But food was only to be had in the granaries and houses below, in the richly cultivated valleys, and in the distant city they had left.

Here the masters were up in arms, ready for an expedition in pursuit of their escaped bondsmen. The word

went vigorously forth that they must be retaken, either dead or alive. On the other hand while preparations were making for a grand pursuit, other slaves took flight and centered to the mountain fissures of Drimakos, now their acknowledged leader.

How they got their first supply of provisions we are unaware, but they certainly did not starve. The same question might in the absence of these particulars also be asked as to how they were supplied with arms with which to do battle with their pursuers. What we know is that they were the recipients of good luck; partly through their own courage and partly through a combination of circumstances which favored them from the start.

The whole truth is, they, like Eunus and the smiling goddess Demeter, or Spartacus and his fortune-telling wife, who foretold prodigies of happiness, had also their Messiah, soothsayer, prophet and warrior in the person of Drimakos, whom they implicitly obeyed and worshiped with a superstitious awe; and so long as the enthusiasm of this belief in him as a Savior remained untarnished, their heaven-inspired dash and valor were insurmountable and their prowess was unscathed. Moreover there prevailed a superstition among the slave-owning Chians themselves, against slavery and especially this class of slave-holding practiced on the island of Chios. In proof of this we quote from Athenæus the following:

"Nymphodorus, it is thus seen, has furnished us with the account; but I find that in many copies of his history Drimakos is not spoken of by name. Yet I cannot imagine that any of you are ignorant of what Herodotus, that prince of historians, said regarding the Chian, Panionios, and what righteous punishment he underwent for having castrated three boys and sold them.¹ Then again Nicol-

¹ Herodotus, *Historion*, viii. *Urania*, 105-106. The horrible story of revenge is thus told by Herodotus and tersely illustrates the almost inconceivable brutality and cruelty of slavery or of the greed which inspired it. "Εκ τούτων δὴ Πηδασέων ὁ Ἑρμότιμος ἦν τῷ μεγίστῃ τίσις ἢ δὴ ἀδικηθέντι ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. ἀλόγῃ γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πολεμίων καὶ πωλεόμενον ὠνεῖται Πανιώνιος, ἀνὴρ Χίος, ὃς τὴν ζῶην κατεστήσατο ἀπ' ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων. ὅπως γὰρ κτήσαιο παῖδας εἰδὸς ἐπαμμένους, ἐκτάμνων, ἀγιώνων ἐπώλεε ἐς Σάρδις τε καὶ Ἐφεσον χρημάτων μεγάλων. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι τιμώτεροί εἰσι οἱ εὐνοῦχοι πιστοῖς ἐνεκα τῆς πάσης τῶν ἐνορχίων. ἄλλους τε δὴ ὁ Πανιώνιος ἐξέταε πολλοὺς, ἅτε ποιεύμενος ἐκ τούτων τὴν ζῶην, καὶ δὴ καὶ τούτων. καὶ οὐ γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἐδυστόχεε ὁ Ἑρμότιμος, ἀκινεῖται ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ βασιλῆα μετ' ἄλλων δάρων χρόνον δὲ προΐοντος πάντων τῶν εὐνοούχων ἐτιμῆθη μάλιστα παρὰ Πέρση. 106. Ὡς δὲ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Περσικὸν ὄμα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας εἶν ἐν Σαρδίσι, ἐνθαῦτα καταβὰς κατὰ δὴ

as the peripatetic as well as Poseidonius the stoic both wrote in their histories that the Chians were afterwards enslaved by Methridates, tyrant of Cappadocia, and bound hand and foot, were given over to their own slaves. Surely the gods were angry with the Chians."⁸

Nor was this superstition against all kinds of chattel slavery confined to the island of Chios. The people of Attica and different parts of Greece were tormented with conscience on account of their unjust system of slavery and the ever-recurring revolts of their slaves; and the Lockrians, who never tolerated slavery, taunted them for their wickedness.⁹ But the revolts of the slaves themselves, and the growing number of the *psomokolaphoi* or runaways and the consequent loss to their masters, together with the desperate, often bloody deeds of these runaways whetted their sins and inflamed their fears lest the gods should frown upon them as the upholders of this national abomination. Add to all this the further and significant fact that the freedmen all around them were in sympathy with the slaves and were often organized into powerful unions which sometimes even permitted the slaves to membership.¹⁰ Especially was this the case

τι πρῆγμα ὁ Ἑρμῆτιμος ἐς γῆν τὴν Μυσίην, τὴν Χίοι μὲν νέμονται, Ἄταρνεὺς δὲ καλέεται, εὐρίσκει τὸν Πανιώνιον ἐνθαῦτα. ἐπιγυνοὺς δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλοὺς καὶ φιλοῦς λόγους· πρῶτα μὲν οἱ καταλέγων ὅσα αὐτὸς δι' ἐκεῖνον ἔχει ἀγαθὰ· δεῦτερα δὲ οἱ ὑποσχευόμενος ἀντὶ τούτων ὅσα μιν ἀγαθὰ ποιήσει, ἢν κομισάμενος τοὺς οἰκέτας οἰκίῃ ἐκεῖνῃ· ὥστε ὑποδεξάμενον ἄσμενον τοὺς λόγους τὸν Πανιώνιον κομίσει τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα· ὡς δὲ ἄρα πανοικίῃ μιν περιέλαβε, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἑρμῆτιμος τάδε· "Ὁ πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἤδη μάλιστα ἀπ' ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων τὸν βίον κτησάμενε, τί σὲ ἐγὼ κακὸν ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν τις ἐργάσατο, ἢ σὲ, ἢ τῶν σῶν τινά, ὅτι με ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς ἐποίησας τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι; ἐδόκεές τε θεοὺς λήσειν οἷα ἐμπῆχανώ τότε· οἱ σε ποιήσαντα ἀνόσια, νόμοι δικαίῳ χρωσμένοι, ὑπήγαγον ἐς χέρας τὰς ἐρὰς, ὥστε σε μὴ μέμψασθαι τὴν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τοῖ ἐσομένην δίκην." Ὡς δὲ οἱ ταῦτα ἰσείδισε, ἀχθέντων τῶν παιδῶν ἐς ὄψιν, ἠναγκάσθητο ὁ Πανίωνιος τῶν ἐωντοῦ παιδῶν τερσίρων ἐόντων τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀποτάμειν· ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ ἐποίησε ταῦτα· αὐτοῦ τε, ὡς ταῦτα ἐργάσατο, οἱ παῖδες ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἀπέταμνον. Πανιώνιον μὲν νυν οὕτω περιήλθε ἢ τε τίσις καὶ ὁ Ἑρμῆτιμος"⁸

⁸ Athenæus *Deipnosophistæ*, Lib. VI. cap. vii.

⁹ Athenæus, *idem*; Böckh, *Public Economy of the Athenians*, mentions it.

¹⁰ See Lüders, *Die Dionysischen Künstler* S. 46-47, also S. 22. We have however given Lüders' views and proof (see p. 98 and note 27) in full in another chapter, q. v. The evidence as to slaves being sometimes members is overwhelming. Foucart, *Associations Religieuses Chez Les Grecs*, pp. 5-6 says: "Il en était tout autrement pour les thiasés et les éranes. Non-seulement ils étaient ouverts aux femmes mais encore les étrangers, les personnes de condition ou d'origine servile y avaient accès. Ce dernier point est d'une grande importance, fort heureusement, les témoignages des monuments épigraphiques sont assez précis pour l'établir avec une entière évidence. Il serait inutile de citer toutes les inscriptions qui en donnent la preuve; j'en ai seulement choisi quelques-unes, pour montrer que cette composition était la même dans les différents pays. Les exemples sont assez nombreux pour qu'il soit permis d'entendre la conclusion aux cas mêmes où la preuve directe fait défaut, et de regarder l'admission des femmes, des étrangers, des affranchis et des esclaves, comme un caractère commun de toutes ces associations." Foucart further shows that freedmen and freed-

among the Greek-speaking slaves—far more so than among the Romans—and in these society meetings they all, bondsmen and freedmen alike, under protection of their secret *eranos* or union, discussed their sufferings and perhaps also concocted their plots of salvation. Thus, from all sources—the inner-consciences, the frowning gods, the slaves' own grievances and the constantly recurring strikes maintained by runaways and bloody battles—greedy capitalists were reminded of this abomination which they were hugging, even in ancient days.

The words of Nymphodorus plainly tell us that in the Island of Chios revolts and escape to the mountains were of common occurrence. His words reproduced in the banquet of the learned by Athenæus make the matter plain. We give them below in a note from the old scholiast latin version of 1557, as they introduce the story in plain words.¹¹ The reader is now fully prepared by this description of the surroundings to comprehend the story of Drimakos whom we left in the mountains with his followers, busily at work with saws and axes building rough cabins and meditating a desperate swoop upon the city they had left, that they might seize a part of the grain and stores which their own former labor and that of their fellow bondsmen had created. This expedition was well planned. Of this we have assurance in the words of

woman got their freedom many times through their organization. Under the head "Affranchis ou esclaves," p. 7, he cites inscriptions whose epigraphs clearly explain that slaves were members in Rhodes. We have elsewhere shown that the ancient states owned slaves. They were known as public servants. "Une inscription de l'île de Rhodes mentionne une société religieuse composée des esclaves publics de la ville (voyez p. 112, note 4). La mutilation du monument enlève à ce témoignage une partie de sa valeur. Mais l'examen des noms propres qui se rencontrent dans les autres inscriptions prouve que ces associations admettaient les affranchis et probablement même les esclaves." On page 112, cited by Foucart occur the words: "Un fragment d'inscription, restitué par Keil d'une manière hardie, mais, à tout prendre, vraisemblable, montrerait la composition particulière de la société qui se plaçait sous le patronage de Zeus Atabyrios. Elle aurait été formée des esclaves publics de la ville de Rhodes, et c'est l'un d'eux qui aurait exercé le sacerdoce. Ὑπὲρ Διοσαταθριῶν ἀστῶν τῶν τὰς πόλεις δούλων, Ἐὐαί. . . εὐος γραμματεὺς δαμ ὄσιος ἱερατεῦ σας Διὸς Ἀταθριῶν . . . τῶν κυρίων Ῥοδίων ἀν ἔθηκε Διὶ Ἀταθριῶν. . . . Philologus, 2d suppl., p. 612." It seems exceedingly strange that this learned author should lack the power of penetration so far as to continually make a hack of a pet idiosyncrasy regarding these innumerable organizations having been strictly religious orders. The fact is, as we continually show, braced also by epigraphists like Mommsen and Böckh that they were *bona fide* labor societies compelled under vigorous laws to cover their real object with the shield of the Pagau faith.

¹¹ "Haec igitur de illis scripsit Nymphodorus in Asiæ Navigatione, Chiorum servi ab ipsis dominis autigentes in montes sublimioraque, ipsorum devastantes multi simul coacti sunt. Est enim ipsa insula aspera multisque arboribus re-ferta." Athenæus, VI., chap. vii., (*Natalis de Comisibus, Veneto, 1556*).

Athenæus who says that Drimakos was not really the aggressor but that the Chians sent an expedition into the fugitives' retreat, and that the latter being favored and well generaled, came off victorious. This means that the Chians were decoyed into ambush by Drimakos, attacked, cut to pieces, their arms captured and the slaves left complete masters of the field. In other words, there was fought a bloody battle, even a succession of battles, and of such terrible cruelty that even the heart of the stern Drimakos was melted with sympathy and he soon sought a council of arbitration to put a stop to the ruthless effusion of blood. But this did not occur until sometime after the first decisive contest with the masters was fought.

When, by this and other victories, the slaves found themselves in full possession of their caverns, and their new home supplied with provisions, their soldiers with arms captured from the defeated masters, and their numbers much augmented by incoming detachments of runaways from all parts of the island, they began to think of discipline and order. Drimakos was made king, commander-in-chief and despot; and he began to exercise an iron rule over his subjects nearly as severe, but more just than that of their former masters.¹² Having vanquished the armies of the masters in repeated and bloody battles, causing a state of things which may have lasted for years—since both the duration and dates are forgotten by our historian—the slaves continued to get their provisions from the granaries, barns, farms and stores, in the following extraordinary manner:

A council or conference was called by this victorious man of the mountains, whereat the Chian masters were invited to participate with him and his victorious legions on equal terms, under a flag of truce. When the generals and magistrates of the city and the rebels met, king Drimakos made a speech which contained a covenant of arbitration, perhaps unheard of before or since. We give

¹² The latin version Athen, VI. chap. viii. *Natal. de Com. Ven.* 1556, tells it in these words: "Paulo ante nostra tempora famulum quendam, narrant ipsi Chii, profugisse atque in ipsis montibus habitasse, qui cum esset bellicosus animoque virili fugitivorum servorum Dux ac imperator declaratus erat, non aliter atque reges solet exercitus cum sepius postea Chii copias in eum eduxissent, nihilque facere possent, ubi eos Primacus (sic enim servus nominatur) frustra interior conspexit, sic ad illos locutus est." The gist of his speech we give in full, *Vide Supra.*

the substance of his proposition in his own words, in order to show that singular examples of co-operation and arbitration have been tried in the remote past:

“An oracle has been consulted and our revolt has, from the start, been upheld by the gods. We shall never lay down our arms. We shall never again submit to the drudgery of bondage. We are fixed in our own minds and act under counsel of the Almighty. Nevertheless if you follow my advice and adhere to it in the strictest faith, after signing this pledge and contract, the war may be terminated and the further effusion of blood dispensed with; then we can mutually live in peace and enjoy tranquility on terms which will be full of prosperity to the whole state of which we all are members.”

The Chians who had been humbled by their defeats and losses consented to an armistice of war, thus recognizing for the slaves the dignity of a public enemy. They found it a convenience, doubtless against their will, to submit to propositions of reason. Drimakos then explained his plan:

“What we want is enough to subsist upon;—no more. In future, when hunger and need inspire us, we shall visit your granaries, flocks and stores and take what we require but always by weight and measure. The weights and measures are to be these which we have brought you and exhibit before your eyes. Here also is a signet¹³ with which we propose to seal up your storehouses and granaries after taking from them what we require, as by this means you will be able to distinguish our work from that of common robbers. Regarding the slaves who in future shall escape from you to our camp, I shall rigidly investigate the causes of each man’s running away, weigh his story carefully, and after submitting his case to an unbiased examination, if he be found to have suffered injustice at your hand, proving that he has been treated wrongly by you, I shall protect him. If on the contrary, the runaway slave be found not to have had a sufficient cause, I shall return him to his master.”

Drimakos, it is seen, thus recognized and upheld slavery as an institution, only punishing its abuses. This fact

¹³ By the word used in Athenæus meaning signet or seal we are probably to understand a contrivance of some kind for locking up the store-houses and granaries—locks and keys

corresponds with the ancient opinion that slavery was right; a thing not at all to be wondered at, considering the prevalence of this aged institution and the inculcation of the competitive system through its massive religious and political machinery, based upon an unscrupulous ownership alike of men and things, by the ancient law of entailment and primogeniture. We do not find that the slave system was ever publicly and boldly and philosophically denounced as an institution. But it is certain that it was fought in the secret unions and communes until Jesus daringly came out in open discourse against it and founded Christianity upon the new basis of absolute equality of man, which was essentially, as the results have proved, a revolution or upturning of the entire system of paganism and its heathenish discrimination between the grandee and his human chattels; and to him must be ascribed the authorship of the idea of unconditional emancipation. But while Drimakos could not unscrupulously war with slavery as an institution his course is exactly in line with the great movement of his day which in other chapters we are describing¹⁴ in these arguments. He betrays himself in the foregoing speech to have been, like Eunus, a soothsayer, or prophet, or Messiah, such as the innumerable *sodalicia* and *thiasoi*, or labor unions everywhere possessed.¹⁵ He, like Spartacus, Blossius, Eunus, and the rest, was infused with this strange, everywhere-prevailing idea of some Messiah coming to the redemption of the poor slave. All the slave runaways were superstitious, and used in good faith and in harmonious consistency with their creed, this nympholepsy of the Messiah, long before the real Messiah came.¹⁶

These conditions of Drimakos were readily agreed to by the Chian capitalists, who were not in a condition to refuse. In consequence, so soon as the stipulations were formally signed they went into effect and the slave-king for many years had only to send his troops boldly and openly on their strange marauding adventures, always tak-

¹⁴ See chapter xxii and elsewhere, on *Trade Unions* which adduces proof that the freedmen arose out of slavery through their own efforts and argued up the idea from their own narrower basis.

¹⁵ Consult Lüders, *Die Dionysischen Künstler*, Foucart, *Associations Religieuses* for the Greek, and Mommsen *de Collegiis et Sodaliciis Romanorum* for the Latin unions *passim*.

¹⁶ See Bücher, *Aufst. d. unfr. Arb.* S. 79.

ing quantities by weight and measure as agreed upon, and always locking up the storehouses and granaries when they left them. The result was a mercy to the whole island which had been hitherto infested with robbers. It is not stated, but left to be inferred from the sequel, that Drimakos drove all other robbers from the island; for we know that his armed force, now legalized, acted as a sort of police to the whole personality and property of the people, slaves included. He adhered with severity to the stipulation of the agreement and when runaways appealed to him for protection he instituted a strict investigation of their case; those not having been maltreated being always sent back to their owners. This of course had the effect to cause masters to treat their slaves with kindness and never to overwork or otherwise abuse them, lest they incur the terrible wrath of the god-favored umpire seated on his throne among the crags and eagles-nests of the mountains. On the other hand the would-be runaways were surer to reflect cautiously before making the attempt, being in deadly fear at the just judgment of the despot before whom they were to be arraigned for trial immediately after their suit before him for protection. Thus the revolted slave became not only an absolute ruler, king and general-in-chief of the slave population, but also, in some respects, a judge in a court of justice with a standing army at command to enforce his decisions—an umpire over the whole population, bond and free.

Years rolled by and Drimakos felt old age approaching, yet did not flinch from what he considered the dignity and honor of his plan of justice. He remained at the helm, punishing or rewarding like a czar, until he was old and feeble and weary of a lengthier existence. He had a friend in the person of a young man, also a psomokolophos or runaway, who probably deserved this appellation for being pliant and perhaps a little parasitical and given to the recipiency of tit-bits in payment for flatteries ingeniously brought to the old man's ear. He, like many of the other slaves, was a native of a distant land, having when very young been kidnapped or taken a prisoner of war, and as a victim to the vicious slave-trade, sold to the planters of Chios. He was one of those young fugitive slaves who had proved his grievance under the investiga-

tion, been accepted, retained and trusted. Drimakos loved him and confided in his youthful honesty.

Meantime the Chians, unsatisfied with what they regarded as their burden, offered a large reward in gold to whomsoever should bring them the head of Drimakos. This they did against their true interests; since at that moment while under the eagle-eyed justice of this weird old judge in the mountain cliffs, their true interests were being more reasonably and economically subserved than ever before or afterwards, as the sequel of this story bears record. Perhaps the old man in his peevishness was grieved by their ingratitude in offering a bounty on his head. At any rate, we are told that he grew weary of his hoary hairs and enfeebling senectitude, and resolved that the ungrateful masters should pay the bounty and take the consequences whether of pleasure or of regret. In other words he resolved to send them his head and make it bring its price in gold!

In our own days of comparative sympathies and sensibilities a resolution like this could scarcely emanate from any person other than a madman; and our first judgment, shocked at the bare conception, is that no horror so appalling could have been devised by anything saner than some idiocracy of an errant brain. But 2,000 years have softened the human mind which, though yet cruel and sometimes even savage, is so comparatively tender that it prone to misjudge the motives and the drastic will which impelled some acts of our progenitors.

Drimakos resolved to shuffle off his mortal coil. Calling to him the friend whose name our informants have not transmitted to us, he spoke to him in the following characteristic words:

"Boy, I have brought thee up nearest to me, ever with the emotions of confidence and love more than that felt for all others of mankind. Thou art child and son and all that to me is dear. I have lived out my span. I have lived long enough; but thou art still young and hast blood and hope and sprightliness, and there is much before thee. Thou shalt become a good and brave man.

"Son, the city of the Chians is offering to him that bringeth them my head a sum of money and promising him his freedom. Therefore thy duty is to cut off my head, take

it to them, receive thy reward, return home to thy fatherland and be happy."

The innocent youth at the thought of such an ungrateful and sickening atrocity, refused for the first time to obey his benefactor, and struggled hard to change the old man's determination, but in vain. Having resolved, he was inexorable. When the youth found him fixed in his horrible resolution and knew by long acquaintance with him that it was unalterable, he allowed himself to be persuaded.

The slave-king laid his head upon the block and the youth cleft it with the axe of the executioner!

Having buried the body of his friend and patron, the youth took the head to the city, received its price, his freedom and an amnesty and departed for his home with wealth and distinction.

The Chians did not long rejoice over their boasted capture of the head of the land-pirate. Soon after he was dead the runaway slaves with whom the rocks and forests of that rugged country was infested, being no longer under the restraint of the ever vigilant Drimakos, returned to their wonted habits of pillage by land and piracy by sea. The Chians were poignantly reminded of the error they had committed in their harsh measures against the powerful but just chieftain, who, for many years had held the discontented and warlike freebooters under control. The fugitive slaves re-began their work of robbery and devastation. Readopting their former habits of plunder based on revenge as well as want, they ceased to be an organized body following a stipulated arrangement like that which so long had existed between Drimakos and the Chian people, and became a desperate gang of land pirates and outlaws.

The treachery of the Chians in securing the removal of Drimakos thus recoiled upon themselves in shape of a calamity. They remembered the prophetic words of the martyred chieftain, that the gods had espoused the cause of the poor slaves and were angry with their masters. A feeling remembrance, kindling a high degree of respect for him now set in, and both combined to produce a veneration which caused them to erect a tomb or mausoleum over his grave, which the Greeks called a *heroon*, and he be-

came the object of hero worship. This was no less a structure than a temple dedicated to Drimakos, the now deified hero.

Such was the sublimity of the subject that this *heroon* or temple arose so splendid and enduring that its ruins¹⁷ remain to this day and have been the object of study by archæologists and other students from more than a dozen points of view.¹⁸ The superstitions of the times now came in play in the flexible imaginations of these people. They persuaded themselves that they often saw in the gloom of night the ghost of Drimakos, now as before their friend, as, bony-fingered and spectral, it appeared to warn the Chians of some foul plot his fellow runaways and brigands were concocting against their lives and property. And many a time were the lurking filibusters thus checkmated in their manœuvres, ambuscades and sallies, and many a time defeated in their bloody designs by the wan and stalking ghost of Drimakos. Curiously enough this superstition was mutual between bond and free; for the brigands themselves worshipped the *manes* of Drimakos as their hero also; and always first brought to his mausoleum the richest trophies of their marauding expeditions before dispersing to their caverns with the rest.

So weird and romantic does this tale of the wild men of ancient Scio sound that we have hesitated before allowing it to contribute its enriching lessons and charms, lest it prove unable to bear the criticism of our learned but skeptic readers. But when our eye at last caught the smiling assurances of its trustworthiness from savants like Dr. Karl Bücher, and other learned teachers of philology, and from their pen we obtained the bracing words that not the slightest doubt¹⁹ exists as to the credibility of the story, we ventured to bring it forth upon its merits as another instance of labor's hardships and struggles for existence.

¹⁷ Consult Stark bei Hermann, S. 40, 16.

¹⁸ See Ross Travels in the islands; *Inscription de Scio*, No. 72.

¹⁹ Bücher. *Aufstände der Unfreien Arbeiter*, S. 23. "Mag man einzelne Züge dieser Geschichte romanhaft finden, es bietet sich auch nicht der leiseste Grund an ihrer Echtheit zu zweifeln, und selbst wenn die klugen chiischen Kaufleute sie zur Erklärung des Heroöns und als Abschreckungsmittel für ihre Sklaven erfunden hätten, bliebe sie darum weniger ein treues Spiegelbild vorhandener Zustände."

CHAPTER VIII.

VIRIATHUS.

A GREAT REBELLION IN SPAIN.

THE Roman Slave System in Spain—Tyranny in Lusitania—Massacre of the People—Condition before the Outbreak—First Appearance of Viriathus—A Shepherd on his Native Hills—A Giant in Stature and Intellect—He takes Command—Vetillius Outwitted—Captured and Slain—Conflict in Tartessus—Romans again Beaten—Battle of the Hill of Venus—Viriathus Slaughters another army and Humiliates Rome—Segobria Captured—Arrival of Æmilianus—He is Out-generaled and at last Beaten by Viriathus—More Battles and Victories for the Farmers—Arrival of Plautius with Fresh Roman Soldiers—Viriathus made King—More Victories—Treason, Conspiracy and Treachery Lurking in his Camps—Murdered by his own Perfidious Officers—Pomp at His Funeral—Relentless Vengeance of the Romans—Crucifixion and worse Slavery than before—The Cause Lost.

The successful issue to Rome, of the third Punic war by which Carthage, agreeably to the inveterate apothegm of Cato: "*delenda est Carthago*," the land of the terrible Hannibal was chopped to pieces and its inhabitants butchered or sold into slavery, caused an enormous amount of suffering to the human race.

Not only did the spirit of greed cause Roman land speculators to press the enforcement of the slave laws which seized prisoners and consigned them to the most cruel wholesale bondage in Asia-Minor, Italy and Sicily, but it extended this mischief also into sunny Spain.

One of the main causes of the rebellion of inner emotions of the celebrated Tiberius Gracchus against Rome, goading him to become the champion of a reform in favor of the poor, was the wretchedly enslaved condition of the working people in all countries under Roman domination. Their terrible condition in Etruria was no worse than in Numantia in Spain. He had seen the indescribable suffering at Carthage, when nearly the entire population were either put to the sword or sold in slavery. Spain was on the verge of rebellion everywhere. Roman conquest had but a few years before, stricken Epirus a fruitful land eastward from Italy. Paulus Æmilius tore from the farmers of this region upwards of £2,000,000 of their savings in gold, and after the battle of Pydna, seized no less than 150,000 people by order of the Roman senate. These people, nearly all farmers and other workers, were dragged from their homes and sold for slaves. Seventy cities were sacked and destroyed.

Towns, villages, cities on every side, as well as farms and small industries, with their unions and communes, were reduced to a desolate waste, and the people, who were still alive, whether suffering under the lash of masters in a foreign land, or gasping under tyranny at home, were burning with bitterness, revengefulness, hatred and other lurking passions, and sinking into degeneracy, recklessness and poverty.¹

Such was also the miserable status of affairs in Spain in the year B. C. 149, when our story of Viriathus begins. Old Lusitania before the Roman conquests, was a populous and enterprising country. There were associations, of the Lusitanian laboring people, which under some favorable rules had existed so long that they had become rich. Traces of their enterprise are still to be seen in form of temples, bridges and roads. It appears to have been in their days of highest glory that Rome, with a blackening curse of human slavery, struck this beautiful, sunny clime and its contented, happy and prosperous people.

Our story begins with a perfidious piece of treachery of one Servius Sulpicius Galba, who commanded the Roman army of invasion in Spain. Like Verres in Sicily, Galba

¹Intarch, *Paulus Æmilius*; Livy, XL. 25-28; Wallace, *Numbers of Mankind*.

seemed to have no moral respect for humanity. He worked his plans to secure the confidence of these people and when the opportunity arrived, perfidiously murdered them in great numbers, seized and dragged others into slavery and robbed their country of its gold with which he afterwards, in spite of old Cato's efforts to have him punished, bought himself free from the sentence of the law at Rome. Soon after these outrages of Galba, Rome withdrew many of the soldiers from Spain and the people rallied with greater determination than ever, to retrieve their losses. They were mostly farmers and mechanics, and men of strong, well established principles.

Among those who had the fortune to escape from the last massacre of Galba was a young man named Viriathus. He is represented by Diodorus as almost a giant in stature² and a person born to command. He was endowed by nature with the rare faculties of honor and truthfulness, while at the same time leading the life of a hunter, a shepherd and finally of a border warrior in defense of himself and his kindred. An excellent description of Viriathus is left us by Diodorus in a short fragment of his histories which have been fortunately preserved. This fragment, while it represents him to have been a robber, extols at the same breath his honor for distributing the plunder among his men.³ Livy speaks of him as a man of warlike qualifications, having had experience as a mountaineer.⁴

The charge against him, of being a lawless bandit is no longer maintained by authors, since the the circumstances under which he careered, show of themselves, that he did

² Diodorus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, lib. XXXIII, Eclog. V. of *fragmenta*: "Οὐριάθου κρησαντες, μεγάλη Ῥωμαίους ἐβλαψαν. ἦν μὲν οὖν οὗτος τῶν παρὰ τὸν ὠκεανὸν οἰκούντων Λυσιτανῶν, ποιμαίνων ἐκ παιδός, ὀρεῖν βίην κατέστη συνήθης, συνεργὸν ἔχων καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος φύσιν· καὶ γὰρ ῥώμη, καὶ τάχει, ἤαί τῃ τῶν λοιπῶν μερῶν εὐκινησία, πολὺ διήνεγκε τῶν Ἰβήρων. συνέϊτίσε δὲ αὐτὸν τροφῇ μὲν ὀλίγη, γυμνασίῳ δὲ πολλοῖς χρῆσθαι, καὶ ὕπνῳ μέχρι μόνου τοῦ ἀναγκαίου. καθόλου δὲ σιδηροφόρων συνεχῶς, καὶ ληστοῖς εἰς ἀγῶνας καθιστάμενος, περιβόητος ἐγένετο παρὰ τοῖς πλῆθεσι, καὶ ἡγεμὼν αὐτοῖς ἡρέθη, καὶ ταχὺ σύστημα περὶ ἑαυτὸν ληστῶν ἤθροισε καὶ προκόπτων ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, οὐ μόνον ἐθανμαστώθη δι' ἀλκίην, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατηγεῖν ἔδοξε διαφερόντως."

³ Idem, *Excerpt de Virt. et Vit.* pag. 591: "Ἔτι οὐκ οὐριάθου ὁ ληστάρχου ὁ Λυσιτανὸς καὶ δικαῖος ἦν ἐν ταῖς διανογαῖς τῶν λαφύρων, καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν τιμῶν τοὺς ἀνδραγαθήσαντας ξειρατέους δώροισι, ἐτι δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν νοσφιζόμενος. διὸ καὶ συνέβαινε τοὺς Λυσιτανοὺς προθυμότερα συγκινδυνεύειν αὐτῷ, τιμῶντας οἰονεῖν τινα κοινὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτήρα."

⁴ Livy, *Epitom. of Historiarum*, Libri, LII. "Viriathus in Hispania primus ex pastore venator, ex venatore latro, mox justi quoque exercitus dux factus totam Lusitaniam occupavit."

nothing which any patriot would not be bound to do in defense of home, family and friends. What the ancient authors seem to be prejudiced against him for, is the fact that, like Athenion and Spartacus, he was poor and that he belonged to the lowly and strictly laboring class. But even with the excusable charge against him that he was a robber, we find very few who do not speak highly of him as a great leader and a man of uncommon justice.

The only thing Galba and Lucullus seem to have been able to think of, when sent from Rome into Spain, was to plunder at an unlimited cost of suffering and blood. Cheating, deceiving, working deeds of treachery against the people and amassing gold was their single object; and to get the gold from Spain and carry it as their own personal property to Rome, was their bent and determination.⁶

Among the few Lusitanians who escaped from the last massacre of Galba, was Viriathus. He adroitly forewarned himself and a few friends, of a treacherous plot, just at the moment of its consummation and with difficulty extricated himself, although great numbers of innocent people were murdered or enslaved. His opportunity was now at hand, and he informed the shattered remnant of the band, of which it appears he was at the time, little above the rank and file, that if they would entrust the future command of their forces to him, he would lead them out in safety. In a speech he told them that they were too confiding; that the Romans were utterly devoid of all instincts of truthfulness or honor, and that the only tactics in future to be pursued must be based upon the idea of treating them as enemies; that whatever the hypocritical pretence of either the Roman senate, or its inhuman emissaries that Spain was in need of protection, the truth at the bottom was, that Rome wanted the whole of this fair and fruitful land, its productive mines, its waving grain fields, its fisheries, timber forests and gems, for her great

⁶ Appian, *Iberia*, 60; Livy, *Epitome*, XLIX. remarks that Cato was stern enough to have Galba punished but the trial came to naught; the infamous traitor had too much gold at command; "Quum L. Scribonius tribunus plebis rogationem promulgasset, ut Lusitani, qui, in fidem populi Romani dediti, a Ser. Galba in Galliam venissent, in libertatem restituerentur, M. Cato acerrime suavit. Exstat oratio in Annalibus eius inclusa. Q. Fulvius Nobilior, et saepe ab eo in senatu laceratus respondit pro Galba. Ipse quoque Galba, quum se armis videret, complexus duos filios praetentatos, et Sulpicii Galii, in eadem littera, et sic miserabiliter pro se locutus est, ut iudicio atque iustitia

lords; and she only wanted these inestimable resources worked for such arrogant darlings of her aristocracy, not by free labor but by that of slaves, subjugated through plots and systematized perfidy. Give me, said Viriathus, the unlimited command of your brave warriors and I will rid the land of our fathers of these mortal foes.

The speech won the distinguished sympathy of the governors. The tall mountaineer received the full command of the army; and now begins one of the most remarkable series of successes, wrought amid difficulties, cruelties and transient triumphs, to be found in the history of Rome. These extraordinary contests lasted, according to various authors from eight to twenty years.*

After the departure to Rome of Galba and Lucullus, with their gold, a prætor or governor, named Gaius Vetilius was entrusted by the Romans, with the care of the Spanish possessions; and Viriathus thus left the flocks under his care in the mountains and valleys of his home to take permanent charge of the broken and disheartened army which had regained some spirit, however, on account of the evacuation of their territory by Galba, and began marching down into the fertile valleys of Turdetania.

Vetilius met them promptly, and before the new commander could organize his troops, or perhaps before he really got command, gained a victory, driving them back and forced them to agree to, and almost conclude an unconditional surrender. This was perhaps the auspicious

* We here give the several authorities for the duration of these wars, from the massacres of Galba to the assassination of Viriathus consecutively as follows: Appian, *Historia Romana, Iberia*, 63, put it at about 8 years: "Ὁ δὲ ἐς ὀκτώ ἐτη Ἰωμαίοις ἐπολέμη' καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὸν Οὐριάτθου πόλεμον, σφόδρα τε ἐνοχλήσαντα Ῥωμαίοις καὶ δυσεργότατον αὐτοῖς γινόμενον, συναγαγεῖν, ἀναθέμενον ἐι τι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου περὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἄλλο ἐγίγνετο."

Livy, *Historiarum, Liber, LII. Eptom.* "C. Vetillum prætorum, fuso eius exercitu, cepit; post quem C. Plantius prætor nihil felicius rem gessit: tantumque terroris is hostis intulit, ut adversus eum consulari opus esset et duce, et exercitu." This mention is found by a careful study of the different commands, to make the duration to have been about 14 years.

Justin, XLIV. 2, says 10 years; while Diordorus makes it to appear about 11 years, and Orosius, *Historiæ Adversus Paganos*, V. 4, about 8 to 10 years.

Eutrope, *Breviarium Rerum Romanorum*, IV. 16, evidently takes his statement from Livy; for aside from putting the wars of Viriathus at 14 years, he uses almost the same language in describing the man: "Quo metu Viriathus a suis interfectus est, cum quatuordecim annis Hispanias adversum Romanos movisset. Pastor primo fuit, mox latronum dux, postremo tantos ad bellum populos concitavit, ut assessor contra Romanos Hispanie putaretur."

Vallejus Paterculius, *Breviarium Historiæ Romanæ*, lib. II. cap. 90 declares the duration of the wars with Viriathus to have been 20 years and undoubtedly Mommsen in putting it at 8 with Appian, is entirely wrong.

moment at which Viriathus first showed himself and made his speech, as we have just recounted.

This hardy Spaniard, on getting the reins firmly into his hands, introduced a method of tactics little understood or anticipated by the Romans. He made an unexpected revolt against the stipulations of capitulation then being drawn up, accompanying the same with a dash of his troops, and by a series of twists and turns in which the swiftest of the Spanish cavalry were brought into play, succeeded in extricating the little army so entirely from the grasp of Vetilius that he effected a retreat into a rocky woodland, and there safely spent the night in rest and needed refreshment, and the following day in religious purifications according to the Spanish creed.⁷ The flight, according to Appian, and others, was accomplished by dividing the army into several parts, each under the command of a trusted leader, with orders to reunite at a given point, and with 1,000 horses under his own command he covered their retreat, first galloping to the rescue of one and then the other. In this manner they all reached Tribola in safety, after holding their pursuers in check for two days by means of various expedients of consummate ingenuity in which he took advantage of the wild and rugged shape of the land.⁸

All this time he was marching southward toward the strait of Gades, to the ancient Carteia. Vetilius could ill brook the escape of his game which so short a time before he believed to be in his hand. He made a desperate effort to frustrate the splendid retreat of the Spanish army, but Viriathus decoyed him into an ambush at the foot of the Hill of Venus where a celebrated battle was fought, which Appian and others graphically describe.⁹

It was a deep gorge, thick-set with briars, rocks, forest trees and other obstructions, which puzzled the best army

⁷ Appian, *Historia Romana, Hispania*, 62; Frontin, *Strategematon*, lib. III, xl. § 4: "Viriathus, cum triduli iter discedens confecisset, idem illud uno die remansurus securos Segobrigenses et sacrificio cum maxime occupatos oppressit."

⁸ Appian, 62, 20-25, of Mendelsohn: "Ὡς δ' εἰκασεν ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν τῆς φυγῆς τοὺς ἐτέρους, τότε νυκτὸς ὁρμήσας δι' ὁδῶν ἀτριβῶν κουφοτάτοις ἵπποι ἀπέδραμεν ἐς Τριβόλαν, Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸν διώκειν ὁμοίως οὐ δυναμένων διὰ τε βάρους ὀπλων καὶ ἀπειρίαν ὁδῶν καὶ ἵππων ἀνομοιότητα."

⁹ Consult also Dion Cassius, *Historiæ*, LXXVIII. p. 33, Wess.; Frontin, *Strategematon*, lib. III. cap. 10, refers to this as one of the great strokes of strategy: "Viriathus disposito per occulta milite paucos misit, qui abigerent pecora Segobrigensium: ad quæ illi vindicanda cum frequentes procurrisissent simulantesque fugam prædatores persequerentur, deducti in insidias caesique sunt."

unaccustomed to mountain life but which least tormented a man like Viriathus, whose life had been that of a hunter and shepherd among glens and precipices.¹⁰ It was about the time when Viriathus, after his three days retreat, was entering the town of Tribola, that Vetilius and his men made a desperate effort to seize him. Some of the Spanish detachments were out reconnoitring when they were set upon by a heavy body of Romans in the ledge, and after many hours of severe fighting the Romans lost their general and gave way with a loss in killed of about 5,000 soldiers—a half of their entire force. It was soon afterwards discovered that Vetilius had met one of the hardy mountaineers, and in a hand to hand encounter had been taken prisoner by him.¹¹ Most writers agree that the Roman general was mortally wounded in this encounter. It was a great and bloody victory.

Immediately after the triumph of Viriathus at the Hill of Venus, an immense number of slaves and free tramps whose condition was worse than that of slaves, came into the camp from all quarters, to offer themselves as soldiers; and although we do not find much in the fragments of history left us on this rebellion, yet it cannot be doubted that a very large army was called into being; and this was probably the prime secret of the continued train of successes attending the career of the insurgents.

There was another army in Spain, subject to Rome, consisting of Spanish militia and mercenaries, or perhaps freedmen who had been impressed into the Roman service. These, 5,000 strong, on the arrival of the news of the disaster to Vetilius, struck out in a rapid march from their quarters on the river Ebro.

The eye of Viriathus was however on the lookout for them. He marched a large force to waylay, and prevent them from joining the enemy who had by this time so far recovered as to show an army of 16,000 men, now marching toward Gades the old Tartessus. He met them at some convenient place and in a second battle destroyed them so completely that nothing was left of the force

¹⁰ Diodorus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, XXXIII, Eclog. V. "Συνείθισε δὲ αὐτὸν τροφῇ μὲν ὀλίγη, γυμνασίῳ δὲ πολλοῖς χρῆσθᾶι, καὶ ὕπνῳ μόνου ἀναγκαίου" καθόλου δὲ σιδηροφῶρων συνεχῶς, καὶ θηρίοις καὶ λησταῖς εἰς ἀγῶνας καθιστάμενος, περιβόητος ἐγένετο παρὰ τοῖς πλῆθεσι, καὶ ἡγεμῶν αὐτοῖς ἤρέθη, καὶ ταχὺ σύστημα παρ' αὐτὸν γηστῶν ἤθροισε."

¹¹ Appian, *Historia Romana*, *idem*, 63.

worthy of being henceforth considered an auxiliary to the Romans.

All these manœuvres, victories, and vicissitudes occupied the year; and by the time the Romans were snugly fortifying themselves in Tartessus, news of the defeat of the armies and death of the governor arrived at Rome. Gaius Plautius was dispatched to the scene with a large reinforcement of 13,000 men, consisting of 10,000 foot and 3,000 horse.

But in the meantime, Viriathus was realizing his highest glory socially and politically, among his own people. He redeemed from its bondage, and reoccupied, the whole province of Karpetania; and large as the Roman army was, they dared not make an attempt against him. He was made a king and given powers and position which became princely but not magnificent; for he refused to accept anything but his wonted frugal fare. He only claimed to be an honest shepherd and workingman. They married him to a lady of high estate and wealth but all he would accept was herself, leaving to those who were flattered by gew-gaws, the shallow pleasures of jewels and gold. His only ambition was to divert his natural gifts from a profession of intrinsic value in the field of labor, to that of the military camp, until he should redeem his people from slavery and danger into which they had been forced by the Roman conquests. He was witty and bright, and he surpassed his fellows in physical stature. An indefatigable worker, he always slept in full armor and fought in the front ranks; and even at the moment of highest triumph ever refused to indulge in intemperance of any kind.¹²

After the arrival of Plautius, as prætor or governor from Rome, with the large force of 13,000 men, as we have mentioned, and time had been taken to reorganize the broken remnants stated by Appian to number 16,000 men, an expedition was arranged to bring the daring revolter to punishment. But in the first dash, Viriathus attacked his detachment of 4,000 and almost exterminated them. In a succession of engagements and stratagems Plautius was so

¹² See also, Fiodorus, *Bibliotheca Romana*. The excellent points of character of the great Lusitanian hero are given by the ancient authors; consult also Bekker,

completely hacked to pieces that he retired in midsummer into winter quarters, at a safe distance from the now dreaded Spaniard. This disaster to the Roman prætor was so complete that he never recovered from it, and was afterwards driven into exile and disgrace.

The next general sent out from Rome against Viriathus was the son of Paulus Æmilius, who a few years before had dragged into slavery 150,000 people, after the battle of Pydna, in Epirus. His full name was Quintus Fabius Maximus Æmilianus. He brought with him an army of 15,000 foot soldiers and a cavalry force of 2,000, which added to those already in Spain but now in a demoralized condition must have aggregated a force of little less than 50,000.¹³ Fabius Maximus pitched his camp at Orsona, not far from where the city of Seville now stands, and remained there until the next year, closely watched by Viriathus.

This Roman governor seems to have left the command to a person less capable than himself whose name was Quinctius; for the Spaniard lured him into some conflict which seems to have been deadly. Appian is not clear as to what it was, but speaks of the shrewd manœuvres of Viriathus, and of a battle, the results of which were the loss of many, by hard fighting. The inference is, that both Æmilianus and Quinctius were defeated and destroyed; for we next hear of the arrival from Rome, of another general, Quintus Servilianus, a near relative of the same Æmilius Paulus.

This general brought with him two whole legions and ten elephants from Utica, a town northward from Carthage in Africa. This new force, in addition to the elephants, consisted of 18,000 foot and 1,600 horse.¹⁴ Servilianus had little difficulty in marching with this army through several of the districts which had been reconquered by Viriathus. He took many of the leaders of the rebellion, and had at one time as many as 500 killed for taking part in the revolt. Great numbers were sold into slavery. Those caught, who were found to have turned against the Romans, were cruelly treated by having their hands cut off.

¹³ Appian, *Historia Romana, Iberia*, 65: "Καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμαχῶν στρατῶν ἄλλον αἰτήσας, ἦκεν ἐς Ὀρσωνα τῆς Ἰβηρίας σύμπαντας ἔχων πεζοὺς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους καὶ ἰππέας ἐς δισχιλίους."

¹⁴ Appian, *Historia Romana, idem*, 67: "Ἀπαντας ἐς μυρίους καὶ ἡκτακισχιλίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἰππέας ἑξακοσίους ἐπὶ χιλίοις. ἐπιστείλας δὲ καὶ Μικίβη τον Νομοδίων βασιλεὺς περὶ αἰοὶ τὰ χεῖρα ἐλέφαντα, ἐς Ἰτύκκην ἠπειγετο, τὴν στρατιάν ἄνω κατὰ μέρος."

At length Viriathus, who was watching his opportunity, caught the old Roman at the siege of the town of Erisane, and after a severe contest defeated him. Driven to a rocky ledge in an angle from which it was impossible to escape, the victorious Spaniards had him completely in their power.

Here, at the zenith of a long list of brilliant successes, virtually closes the glory of Viriathus. He was so foolish as to let his sympathies get the better of his judgment.

So complete was this victory over Servilianus that he was glad to treat on any terms; and the surprising sequel is, that the terms offered by Viriathus and accepted at Rome were so mild. The Spaniard was to be acknowledged king over his native country of Lusitania, and henceforward to be regarded as a brother or ally to the Romans!

Of course this furnished Rome another period of time to recuperate and concoct new schemes of treachery. This she did, by sending the perfidious Cæpio to take the place of Servilianus, and he was not long in bribing the friends of Viriathus to turn against their long trusted master and murder him in his sleep.

An enormous, far-sounding wake accompanied by gladiatorial orgies of shocking ferocity, was held over his remains. The date of this great revolt in Spain is fixed at 149 years before Christ. This disgraceful triumph of Cæpio was followed by the enslavement of innumerable peasants, traders and working people, and the end was worse than the beginning.

If we are to believe Vellejus Paterculus, the great wars of Viriathus against the Roman slave trade—for it was nothing less—lasted about 20 years; and taking all things into consideration, it could not have been a shorter time, although belittled by the historians. Mommsen is anxious to make it appear but 8 years, agreeing with Appian. In the account of Spartacus, written by Vellejus, we found this historian's statement as to the great numbers of that general's men, to perfectly agree with the circumstances in the case, although it throws a flood of light, clearing up and making perfectly reasonable, the details of that great war; and showing it to have been one of the most prodigious conflicts ever known. Yet great efforts seem to have been made to suppress the history of Spartacus, and modern authors appear surprisingly anxious to perpetuate the suppression of it.

The whole affair of Viriathus was caused by a treacherous, wholesale effort on the part of the Roman *gens*, or lords, to reduce Spain to slavery, to choke her liberty-loving people down to chains, unpaid, enforced labor, turn her fruitful lands into slave-worked plantations and stock-farms, *latifundia*, as in Sicily, and thus build up an arrogant landed aristocracy. The immense and long-continued resistance of this humble workingman held that powerful race of optimates in check; and it proved one of the principal reasons of their having never succeeded in brutalizing the Spaniards as they did the less fortunate people of Sicily.

The great gladiatorial wake given in the honor of the murdered Viriathus adds no glory to his name that can descend to an age of sympathy, such as would now embrace his cause; nor could such a scene have been sanctioned, even at that comparatively feelingless era, by the hero himself, could his noble spirit have looked down upon it. It was simply an expression of contemptible hypocrisy that lay concealed in Roman politicians of that day. They often took this hideous method of diverting the human mind from plans of salvation which had been adopted by the murdered heroes.

We have no adequately extended accounts of this special scene, but know those horrors to have been popular among Romans at that time; and we are safe in taking, as a basis of description, the steel engraving of such a gladiatorial event drawn by Heck for the German Encyclopedia.¹⁵

Circling round on the raised seats of an amphitheatre, appears the vast, applauding multitude, as is still seen in the bull-rings of Spain. To the extreme right is an African horned-horse (gnu), in a spasmodic plunge to unseat his athletic rider, a man who is being dragged to the ground by a tiger, its teeth fastened in the wretch's back.

Away back amid the dust and smoke of the conflict are discerned forms of animals and men swirling in the vortex of rage, fear and death. A leopard has killed a naked man and floored another; and farther on, a hippopotamus is crashing through an indistinguishable heap of women,

¹⁵ *Bilder Atlas zum Konversations-Lexikon*. III. A. 2, Tafel 15, Fig. 1; Leipzig 1849-1851.

men, dogs, panthers, dead or dying, some fighting to the last. Closer by, a nude Goliath, his arrows now useless, is wrenching the jaws of some wild beast with his sinewy hands while his other victim, a wild, ox-like monster twice his size, lies underneath the struggling fighters in the final agony.

A little to the left and fairly out in the arena, is seen a ferocious lion rearing high his expressive face to the beholder—a face beaming with dæmoniackal intelligence, as if mingling a malignant laugh with rage—holding his full main erect and one huge paw raised to strike a Bengal tiger whose wreaking teeth and lips are thereby, and with apparent reluctance, forced from sating hunger on the quivering flesh of a beautiful, half-naked woman, prone and dying in the awful quivams of pain and terror.

Above her, half dead with horror, her tiny bare arms extended toward the dying friend, her sweet face fraught with agonies of despairing love and supplicance and fright, but with not the slightest signs of resistance—true to that pleading womanhood that has ever been the controlling power of preservation with our race—stands, in a flowing *chlamys*, an exquisite female form confronting these frenzied monsters ogling, and ready to grapple each other over the expiring body of her friend. And all this time the hilarious shouts of the half-crazed betters and wine-bibbers—"the people"—seem to be made audible, by the visible outward signs of hand-clapping and the waving of handkerchiefs and banners.

But these are mere features of this appalling scene. At the feet of the terrorized woman lie the vanquished forms of two stalwart men in total nudity, and as if fallen in the desperately chivalrous acts of defending the now dying one. Between their bodies, sprawling on his back, lies a mangled lion; and on the loins of the man at the left, an African tiger of proportions huge and with maw distended, is cuffing off a hideous python as though, by some death-instinct, to prevent itself from being throttled in the serpent's squeeze.

A score of the more innocent animals now encounter the eye; some are zebras, some gazelles, and a number are of the ursine brood, dead and dying, as if marked out for the first prey to this sanguinary conflict. Then, between an ugly rhinoceros and a behemoth whose ghastly

teeth **part to let the light** into his cavernous mouth, fight, as if in **mutual compact** for some reciprocal benefit, a muscular **human champion** and a Bengal tiger, the one with the **rhinoceros**, the other, the river-horse; while high above them **all dart the forked tongues** of two jungle serpents—**boas or pythons**—of mouths and coils so huge that labyrinth-like, their lengths are lost in the whirl of the dust and confusion. Above this chaotic cyclone towers a **gigantic elephant** which, having parried by a final blow with his **proboscis**, a panther that is slipping lifeless from his back, **re-engages** with his immense tusks an attacking lioness, and by murdering the two, succeeds in saving for a **transitory moment**, his rider, a large, nude, human creature who, **ghoul-like**, seems wrestling betwixt the exhilarations of a **fleeting triumph** and the horrors of a **portentous foreknowledge**.

With **tail erect**, horns poised, and with fierce, blood-shot eye **impatient** for the onslaught, is seen a bull rushing at a **brace** of wild beasts in deadly grapple farther to the left; and a coil of snakes in the angle closes the furious excitement.

There does not exist the flimsiest argument to support the idea that these human victims were not working people. Most of them were prisoners taken by the Romans during the wars of Viriathus and held for vengeance until this ghastly opportunity to wreak it arrived. The women too who defencelessly, as we have described, shared the horrible game whose moral effect upon the sight-seers was more to madden their blood-thirst than melt the heart into an anguish of pity and of chivalrous indignation, were often—in this case wholly—faithful creatures who, like many grand female characters of our modern days, had, along with Viriathus and his followers, seized the noble cause of human liberty.

CHAPTER IX.

EUNUS.

GRIEVANCES. MORE SALVATION ON THE VINDICTIVE PLAN.

THE IRASCIBLE IMPULSE in its Highest Development and most enormous Organization—Greatest of all Strikes found on Record—Gigantic Growth of Slavery—General View of Sicilian Landlordism and Servitude before the Outbreak—Great Increase of Bondsmen and Women—Enna, Home of the Goddess Ceres, becomes the Stronghold of the Great Uprising—Eunus; his Pedigree—He is made King of the Slaves—Story of his 10 Years' Reign—Somebody, ashamed to confess it, has mangled the Histories—The Fragments of Diodorus and other Noble Authors Reveal the Facts—Cruelties of Damophilus and Megallis, the immediate Cause of the Grievance—Eunus, Slave, Fire-spitter, Leader, Messiah, King—Vengeance—The innocent Daughter—Sympathy hand-in-hand with Irascibility against Avarice—Wise Selection by Eunus, of Achæus as Lieutenant—Council of War—Mass-meeting—A Plan agreed to—Cruelty of the Slaves—Their Army—The War begun—Prisons broken open and 60,000 Convicts working in the *Ergastula* set free—Quotations—Sweeping Extinction of the Rich—Large Numbers of Free Tramps join—Another prodigious Uprising in Southern Sicily—Cleon—Conjectures regarding this Obscure Military Genius—Union of Eunus, Achæus and Cleon—Harmony—Victories over the Romans—Insurgent Force rises to 200,000 Men—Proof—Overthrow and Extinction of the Armies of Hypsæus—Maulius—Lentulus—The Victorious Workingmen give no Quarter—Eunus as Mimic, taunts his Enemies by Mock Theatrical, Open-Air Plays in the Sieges—Cities fall into his Hands—His Speeches—Moral Aid through the Social Struggle with

Gracchus at Rome—Arrival of a Roman Army under Piso—Beginning of Reverses—Crucifixions—Demoralization—Fall of Messana—Siege of Enna—Inscriptions verifying History—Romans Repulsed—Arrival of Rupilius—Siege of Tauromanion—Wonderful Death of Comanus—Cannibalism—The City falls—Awful Crucifixions—Second Siege of Enna—Its 20,000 People are crucified on the Gibbet—Eunus captured and Devoured by Lice in a Roman Dungeon—Disastrous End of the Rebellion or so-called Servile War.

THE enormous growth of slavery just before the beginning of the Christian era was the cause of several of the most gigantic and bloody uprisings the world has ever known. Those convulsive episodes invariably arose from maltreatment of workingmen and women. Dr. Bücher, whose delineations we so often quote, shows that the necessary workmen for supplying slave material to man the great estates which the Roman lords, about this time were grasping from the original cultivators who farmed the government land on shares thus turning them out of house and home, were bought and sold as common goods at ridiculously low prices.¹

In B. C. 103 there were at Rome scarcely 2,000 persons owning property considered taxable; such was the enormous monopoly of the public lands and of other property by a few.² These few property owners were proportionally richer and their management of the army and of the legislature, for suppressing uprisings of the outcasts and the enslaved proletarians was so much the more unlimited. The freedmen who had many organizations for protection which for centuries they had enjoyed when slaves were comparatively few, now found their unions, their business, their homes and freedom undermined and supplanted by countless hordes of slaves as prisoners of war, victims of the prodigious slave trade going on between Rome and foreign markets. When Tarentum was captured, B. C. 209, there were sold 30,000 war prisoners.³ In B. C. 207, af-

¹ Bücher, *Aufstände der unfreien Arbeiter*, S. 35-36; "Tit. Liv. XLI. 28: Sed prohi Gracchi consulis et per o austriaci que legio exerci usque populi Romanu Sardiniam sub g t. In ea provincia hostium cæsa a t capta sunt octoginta milia." We elsewhere quote in our copious footnotes the sources whence modern authors derive their figures.

² Strabo *Geographica*, xiv. 665; Apul jus. IX

ter the battle of Metaurus, 5,400 were captured and sold. In B. C. 200 at least 15,000 were siezed and sold. In B. C. 137, the event of the return of Tiberius Gracchus from Sardinia, the fact that 80,000 men, women and children had been either killed or sold into perpetual slavery, was brought to light. Because Gracchus, whose grand nature, though a military commander, revolted against such atrocities and sought reform, he was set upon by a mob of in-uriated legislators and wealth-owners, and murdered in the streets of Rome. Such was the enormous mass of the Sardinian slaves that prices fell to a ridiculously low ebb becoming a laughing stock and the proverb got abroad: "cheap as a Sardinian." After the siege of Perseus there were 70 cities destroyed and 150,000 people sold at the different slave markets.⁴

This fearful condition of human slavery set into Greece still earlier. By a similar monopoly of land and of other property by the few, it came to pass that in the great city of Athens of 515,000 souls, only 9,000 (B. C. 300) could be allowed political rights graded and franchised by family and property.⁵ Other mention puts it at 21,000 souls or citizens.⁶ At the same time, when there were 21,000 propertied or blooded citizens and 10,000 strangers under protection of the city, there were 400,000 slaves.⁷ But as Athens at that time (B. C. 309,) counted 515,000 persons, we come into a knowledge of the fact that the remaining 84,000 were the plebeian or freedmen population.

The great city of Corinth whose census B. C. 300, gave only 40,000 "souls" had a slave population of 640,000 who of course, according to Plato⁸ and other aristocrats, could

⁴ Liv. XXVII. 16: "Milla trigenta servillum capitum dicuntur capta.

⁵ Liv. XLV. 24; Plutarch, *Emelius Paulus*, 29.

⁶ Diodorus Siculus, XVIII. 18; Plutarch's *Phocion*, 23.

⁷ Bücher. *Aufstände*, 8. 84.

⁸ Athenæus, *Deipnosopistat*, quoting Ctesicles.

⁹ Plato. *De Legibus* vi. in dissertation on the immortality of the soul; *Phædo passim*; especially 74. 125, 7, 8, 9. Bekk.: *Phædrus*, 51-86; *Republic*, vii. 1-4, where the working-people are allotted half a soul, vi. 9: deformed by their craft and servile; So *Timæus*, xvii. shows how souls are a growth, lxxi. *ad fin*; *Laws*, ix. 8, *fin*; *Statesman*, 48: Yoking those who wallow in ignorance to a race of servile beings. The meaning here is that such as labor are undivine; i. e. not fully furnished with souls. Soul is in two parts, mortal and immortal, *Statesman*, 48, *Timæus*, 71, *Laws*, vi. 19; Nothing healthy in a slave's soul, says Plato, and quotes the *Odyssey*, XVII. 332-333, where far-thundering, aristocratic Jove deprives the slave of half his mind, soul or upper nature.

not possess souls because too mean to be honored by the gods with a thing so noble; and this accounts for their not being enumerated in the census of the city. They appear to have been too lowly to belong to the numbers of mankind.⁹

Notwithstanding this fearful condition of despotism we find that the Locrians in south Italy had no slaves, being organized communists. From the first settlement of this rich country by the Pythagoreans no slaves are known to have existed until after the Roman conquests;¹⁰ and consequently the culture among them of equal rights when it came to clash against the enormous spread of slavery by the cruel conquests of Rome, no doubt urged the great epidemic of uprisings which form the subject of this and other chapters of the present work.

It is somewhat surprising, in the full face of these facts and the agonizing struggles of competitive warfare upon which these brutalities existed, that men still ask in wonder regarding the causes of downfall of the Greek and Roman empires! Another veritable *renaissance*, this time comprising sociologic research and comparative history, is at our threshold, destined to clear up many a point that for want of a true knowledge of the problem of labor has, through the ages, lain obscured midst the shortcomings of scorn and the musty vellum of histories and of laws.

In Sicily the condition of affairs was shocking. This fruitful island, which as early as B. C. 210, had been conquered by Rome and turned into a Roman province, was an especial offering to that hideously cruel system of slavery which Roman character, above all others, seemed by nature most suited to develop with the blind attributes of barbarity. As an instance of their grasping concentration of Sicilian property into few hands we quote authorities to the effect that Leontini had but 88 landed property holders; Mutice but 188; Herbita 257; Agyrium 230. The property owners of whole cities could be counted by the dozen.¹¹ All Sicily was overrun with slaves by birth

⁹Xenophon, *De Vectig.* IV. 14; Athenæus V.; Böckh, *Laurische Silberb.* 122-4, all give accounts of great slave owners.

¹⁰The Locrians had no slaves which seems to be regarded by Plato as something phenomenal: *Timæus*, ii. Bekk.; Böckh, *Pub. Ökon. Athn.* also declares that they had no slaves. Not only did the ancients have vast numbers of slaves (see *Encyc. Brit.* vol. xx, p. 140), but there were many freedmen at a very early age. See Homer, *Odessey*, XI. 460.

¹¹Bücher, *Aufst. d. unfr. Arb.* S. 39.

ENORMOUS SLAVE AND FREEDMEN'S WAR.

and slaves of the auction shambles. The original inhabitants were dispossessed and driven from the land or remained as slaves. The small farmers had been either annihilated or crowded together in little towns to eke out a wretched existence under the terrors of intimidation, or had been dragged down to bondage.¹² Great numbers of Syrians who from their mountain homes where they were inured to brisk physical activities, were brought over by the Romans in chains, to till the lands as slaves. Such was the extent of slavery everywhere.¹³ Greece at that time was being conquered and her hardy warriors humbled to slavery, sent in great numbers in chains to Syracuse to be transported to the fruitful lands which in the days of Verres were styled the granary of Rome.¹⁴ The Roman conquests of the Carthaginians and the victories over Hannibal were followed by the greater cruelties for their having been dearly won. Thousands of Africans hardened to army life in the Punic wars, were sent into Sicily as slaves to dig the soil for the proud Roman occupants of that land.¹⁵ Only the fattest portions of land were cared for, the new possessors' idea being only gain. Strabo declares that so far as the æsthetic was concerned all was a barren waste. There were many beautiful and fruitful valleys and some plateaus which had long been celebrated for fertility and fine landscape.

Among the wonderfully fertile and paradisaical plateaus of Sicily was that of Enna, the seat of the greatest proletarian strike, insurrection or bond and free labor war of which history, tradition or inscriptions give an account in any country of the globe.

This great strike or labor mutiny of Enna in Sicily took place, according to the conclusions of Dr. Bucher,¹⁶ between the years 143 and 133 before Christ, lasting 10 full years. During a period of three years the Syrian slave-king Eunus, from Apamea near Antioch but a few leagues

¹² Diodorus Siculus, XXXIV. argument i, 3, 4 and elsewhere, Dind.

¹³ Drumann, *Arb. u. Komm.* S. 24; "In Epidaurios gab es keine Handwerker als die öffentlichen Sklaven."

¹⁴ Diod. i, 1, 2; i, 27; Columella, *De Re Rustica*, I, 6, 3, 8, 15, 16,

¹⁵ Strabo, *Geog.* VI.; Büch. S. 40.

¹⁶ *Aufstände d. unfr. Arb.* S. 121-128, *Excurs.* As to the name, notwithstanding Dr. Siebert we follow the Greek Έννα, though some Romans wrote "Henna."

to the northward of Nazareth, held sway over all of the central districts of Sicily; and from the most reliable evidence he reigned, after his coalition with Cleon in B. C. 140, for seven more years, over the whole island of Sicily.

Introductorily to this extraordinary fact, proving the great power and vigorous leadership of some of the ancient labor agitations, it will be necessary to bring upon the scene a brief description of the place, the prevailing social conditions and an outline of the character of the men.

The three leading men who originated and managed this great servile war, were Eunus, Achæus, and Cleon. Their two enormous armies, aggregating 200,000 soldiers were united in B. C. 140, when Eunus was proclaimed the monarch over Sicily entire.

We thus introduce these three branded, enslaved workmen to the reader. We say branded and mean in the expression by no means a figure. They were not only branded, as at the moment we write, leaders of this labor movement are branded, with obloquy, black-list and stigma of men at the helm of public literature. They were literally and indelibly branded with hot irons." Large numbers of quotations from the authors most explicitly prove that all slaves were branded; and the field workers were not only branded on the forehead and limbs, but often on the body; and since they were obliged, like the helots of Sparta, to go mostly naked, these disfigurements were summer and winter exposed to view and not only was their disgrace stamped upon them forever but their chances of escape from bondage utterly destroyed.

Once on the very spot where this great outbreak of the slaves and freedmen occurred, the plateau valley of Enna, there lived a very rich man named Damophilus. He possessed legions of slaves whom he forced under sting of the lash, to work naked upon his farms. His wealth of acreage, "latifundium," consisted in part of stock farms. These teemed with herds of cattle and other animals which in those times throughout Europe were a large source of

¹⁷ Büch. S. 42, "Dass Alle gebrandmarkt, nur die Feldarbeiter auch gefesselt waren." Consult the following ancient and modern works: Diodorus, XXXIV. frag. ii. 1, 27, 32, 36; Florus, III. 19; Marquardt, V. i. 186; Mom. "Römische Geschichte;" Mom. "G. I." no. 845; Siefert, "Erst. Sicilisch. Sklavenkrieg," S. 12; Plato.

Roman wealth. One day a few of his poor, naked slaves, shivering in the chill winds of the mountain height upon which Enna stood, came to him and beseechingly implored a few rags to cover their bodies and shut out the cold which added to their sufferings. Their daring plea was answered by this cold-hearted capitalist with something like the following cutting leer: "Don't wandering tax-gatherers tramp the country naked and must'nt they give their clothes to those who want them? Would'nt I be taxed a customs duty on the rags I gave you?"¹⁸ With that Damophilus ordered the shivering wretches to be tied to the whipping post and warmed up with a sound flogging, then sent back naked to their labor of caring for their master's flocks of a thousand animals.

Under such intense aggravations what else could be expected than a secret organization of the thus abused and degraded laborers who worked the lands? This question comes the more cogently as we realize that large numbers of them were as intelligent or more so than their own masters. Just at this epoch, as already shown,¹⁹ all over Greece, Syria, Palestine, Asia Minor and the islands of the Archipelago vast numbers of trade unions and social societies existed among the freedmen and some among the slaves. We also know that when the Romans seized upon newly conquered countries they likewise seized the people, bond and free and sold them into slavery. Large numbers of these unfortunates were organized unionists, accustomed at home to the art and secret of practiced combination.²⁰ Another still more important cause of the terrible strike which resulted from such ill-treatment was a similarity of language. All Sicily was Greek. The Greek was the principal tongue spoken in Syria and even Phœnicia and other portions of Palestine at and before the time of Christ; although a bad Hebrew was the popular idiom. All the island inhabitants near by spoke the pure Greek. It also was spoken in Magna Græcia or Lower

¹⁸ Diod. frag. 41. 38, Dind.

¹⁹ Chapter xx. *Infra*, on trade unions citing inscriptions, laws &c. in evidence. Diodorus, XXXVI, frag. 6 Dind. tells us that not only slaves but many freedmen were engaged in these mutinies and strikes causing great tumults and confusions.

²⁰ Compare Lüders, *Dionysische Künstler*,; Also Foucart, *Associations Rel.* throws much light upon the subject of their religious beliefs.

HOME OF CERES, GODDESS OF LABOR.

Italy. Thus with intelligence, with a practiced knowledge of social combinations, with a sense of their wrongs made keen by the memory of happier days, with the true blood of the proud Greeks coursing more or less through their veins and finally but most practically, with the powerful Greek tongue uniformly at their command, they undertook that immense strike-rebellion amidst certain advantages which must go far toward clearing away the phenomena of its transient success.

The slave grievance rapidly grew into a movement for resistance in and around Enna, the little pastoral city, famous for its temple of Ceres whence Plato had carried Proserpine, the daughter of that goddess to whom shepherds, planters and especially working people had from a high antiquity looked, for her gifts of prosperity.²¹ Thus here we find the link completing the chain of curious interest connecting the history of the Eleusinian mysteries with that of the ancient labor movement. Those laboring people were religious; but about this time they were bitterly complaining that Ceres their favorite goddess had forsaken them.²² Enna was the original, ancient seat and citadel or throne of the great goddess Demeter, called in Latin *Ceres*. She was the protecting immortal who in the Pagan mythology, seated in her temple on the heights of Enna in the island's center, shielded all Sicily from famine. Her name had spread to foreign lands and she was worshiped in Attica and Syria. Thousands came on annual pilgrimages to Enna to worship at the temple of Ceres; and great feasts to her were here regularly celebrated, because she was believed the mother of the world and the fructifying goddess of all nutritious, fruit-bearing seeds of agriculture, especially the cereals. Near that city lay, at the time of our story the meadow and by it the stream and the spring and grottoed rock where her beautiful daughter²³ Persephone or Proserpine, whilst gathering flowers, was stolen by Pluto and long hidden from her disaffected mother. The meadow was bedecked with a grand carpeting of roses, hyacinths and violets and the soft zephy-

²¹ See chapt. r iv. on the mythical legend of Proserpine's abduction, the Eleusinian mysteries and the grievance of the proletarian outcasts.

²² Bücher, *Aufstände*, S. 52

²³ Consult *Encyc. Brit. Art. Ceres*; *La Rousse, Dict. Univ. Art. proserpine*. Much literature is extant confirming these statements.

ys of summer were aromatic with their odors. All the landscape was adorned with nature's tempting vegetation. Many a tiny lake with pure, clear waters peeped from between the hills and hillocks of Enna and rich, well cultivated lands on every side were, and had for centuries been the pride of Sicily.²⁴ Wheat and other cereals had long prospered with such success that the place had obtained a celebrity. And yet, midst all these magnificent offerings of nature we see this region a scene of the most brutal and greed-cursed slavery to be found in the annals of that insatiate institution.

Antigenes is the name of one of a joint stock company whose business at that time was traffic in human beings. He certainly owned a city residence at Enna and kept his slaves about the house.²⁵ Among these was a man who, born and brought up in Apamea near Antioch, Syria, had more than probably been a leader of an "eranos"²⁶ or a "thiasos" in his native home. This is made the more probable by his being a pretentious prophet and Messiah while in a state of bondage at Enna. It was the wonderful Eunus; the magician, fire-spitter, wonder-worker, prophet and the plotter of the hugest slave insurrection of ancient or modern times; slave-king of Enna, then king of all Sicily and commander in chief at one time of over 200,000 soldiers:—the man who, with his sagacious generals, faithful and true, beat army after army of the Romans, sent years in succession, to meet his slave and freedmen troops and who in the teeth, as it were, of Syracuse and of prouder Rome, actually reigned in humane splendor, apparently beloved and respected, for a period of ten years; constituting a veritable epoch of history, though nearly lost and quite unrecognized through the taint of labor. We shall confine ourselves to a relation of all the facts and particulars to be had, based upon the evidence quoted and which per-

²⁴ Strabo, "Geog." VI.: Consult the exquisite picture of the landscape given by Dr. Bücher, "Aufstände" etc. S. 52.

²⁵ Diod. XXXIV frag. ii. 5, Dind.

²⁶ "Id." frag. ii. I, 5, "seq." For fuller description of these trade or labor unions see chapters xiii.—xx. Eunus, Cleon and Athenion were all born near the home of Jesus.

²⁷ Büch. S. 54: "Er war ein grosser Magier und Wunderthäter, der zu den Göttern in nächster Beziehung stand und nicht nur im Traume von ihnen die Zukunft erfurh, sondern auch in wachendem Zustande sie lebhaft vor sich sah."

haps, no person on thorough criticism, will be able to controvert. Eunus was a prophet. He pretended to work miracles,²⁷ and was one of the ancient Messiahs.

But we must not suppose that he was a weak minded man because he knew how to blow fire from his mouth or because he vaunted presages which often came true. He was in all probability an extraordinary man, full of shrewd wisdom, endowed with almost superhuman courage and certainly with great judgment and patience in selecting his generals and in giving and indulging, to keep them in place and power while holding to himself supreme control.²⁸ When a slave he foretold that although the goddess Demeter or Ceres had apparently forsaken the poor, yet she was revealing herself in dreams to him and promising her might to their deliverance.²⁹ So certain was he of theocratic interference that he told of his mediatorial powers not only to his fellow working people but even to his master and to all the lords and ladies, who, to beguile their evening hours, used to invite or more probably, order him to recount the results of his nightly interviews with the august goddess. Pretending that as she was also the patron deity of Syria his native land, he maintained that she revealed herself to him with an assurance that he was to become a king and deliverer. Even these supernatural things he told to Antigenes at these banquets amid the laughter and derision of the skeptical guests. His ingenuousness worked upon their curiosity and their invitations were apparently made with a purpose of amusement during their orgies of wine and gluttony. Their sport, he however, seems to have overlooked, taking their vein of merriment or ridicule in a manner peculiar to himself.

From what followed, it cannot be imputed to Eunus that he was weak minded. He promised Antigenes to except and spare him on the day of wrath—an obligation which he religiously kept and faithfully carried out.

The cruelties of Damophilus,³⁰ who caused his working hands to be whipped, struck deeply into the sensitive feelings of thousands of other men. They were able to come together, secretly or otherwise to discuss their sufferings

²⁷ *Diod. Idem*, fragment ii. 5, 6.

²⁸ *Diod. XXXIV*, 5, 6, 7, and 8 of frag. ii.

²⁹ *Idem*, XXXIV. frag. ii. 34, 35. *Dind.*

and form their plot. Dr. Bücher understands from gleanings of the Vatican and other fragments that the plot originated with the slaves of Damophilus.³¹ It is however, quite certain that what came to pass was spontaneous resulting from a combination of grievances and a strong religious belief in Eunus. The other slaves of Antigenes also took part.

Damophilus and his yet more cruel wife Megallis, appear to have been models of ferocity. Their young and beautiful daughter was the exception. Megallis was in the habit of whipping her female slaves to death with her own hand. It was like a mania people sometimes possess, for delighting in scenes of suffering. Endowed with unlimited power through the Roman laws and usages, to do as she pleased, she suited any action to fancy and gloried in tearing the poor life from her helpless victims. Nor was the ferocity of her husband much less. The incident we have recited was probably one of leniency compared with many that remain untold. Certain it is, that his atrocities together with those of his wife toward her defenceless female slaves are what decided this great uprising.

But we have the extremely pleasing assurance that the feeling which those slaves entertained toward the kind-hearted daughter of this ferocious pair—a young maiden whom they all loved—proved her palladium; for with the greatest tenderness they guarded and spared her through the scenes of blood.³²

Plans of a great revolutionary revolt were soon decided upon, and collusion with Eunus secured the sympathy of the city slaves. These arrangements were then communicated to those in the country.

The plot was thus completed and the moment set. All had enthusiastically determined to break loose by a desperate struggle, from their unendurable tortures and dauntlessly brave the storm with all the consequences this perilous action entailed. They had worked themselves up to believe that their goddess would be propitious.

By preconcerted arrangement, four hundred slaves assembled at the setting in of night, in a field near the cita-

³¹ Bücher *Anstånde* &c. S. 55.

³² Diod. XXXIV. li. 39: "Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ἦν τοῦ Δαμοφίλου θυγάτηρ Ἐρμείας, ἀπήγαγον εἰς Κατάσθην πρὸς τινὰς οἰκείους."

del of Enna. They quickly organized a meeting. They then each took a sacred oath to persevere in their enterprise and hold fast together. The little multitude came armed. Their weapons each had obtained as best he could. All were armed with courage and with anger; and each determined to defend his new liberty to the death. They marched up to the Enna heights under a leader who used all his prodigious arts and legerdemain, gesture, and fire-spitting, to encourage them and prevent a panic. Without meeting resistance they gained admission through the gates, into the city.

There were the millionaires with the ladies, the temple of the goddess, the theatre, the place of entertainment. The insurgents instantly took possession of the streets and as they marched, singled out their well known victims. Rich men and women who long had held unbridled power over hitherto helpless slaves, now saw the danger as they felt their guilt. Pitiless was the retributive reaction of the enraged and surging mass. They brained their owners; and those who had made sport of their leader Eunus, likewise bit the dust. All slaves and prisoners found in dungeons and in irons were set free.³³ A terrible scene followed. Children were torn from their mothers' arms, and women ravished in presence of their husbands, who, bound in cords, could make no resistance to this fiendishness. Scenes of death were everywhere enacted; for from the onset of this bloody work, the slaves, stinging with a keen memory of their sufferings,³⁴ enjoyed with a peculiar glee which fills the savage, the opportunity, each with cuts and gashes to cross out his ghastly account. To a thus quickened lust of vengeance, there rushed a remembrance of the cruelties of Damophilus who gloated on the bruises of his clubs and the sting of his whips, and of Megallis, his wife, who had whipped to death her female servants. It was an hour of vengeance. All centered upon this sweetest morsel of the savage;—summary retribution. Blood of the now helpless rich flowed freely amid the yells of the naked slaves whose brands and scars gleamed hideously by the fires of the burning houses of their fallen masters. Great numbers of slave-holders paid their former acts of indiscretion with their lives.

Large numbers of slaves who were kept in service within the city and who had previously been prepared for the crisis, now joined the insurgents, swelling their forces and making the capture of the city complete.

We have in other pages³⁵ shown that in nearly all trade unions, especially the branch of them known as the *thiasoi*, they seem to have had an officer whose duty it was to foretell, work miracles and do other sage things, such as in those early ages of the world were not only common, but were thought necessary. The idea of a Messiah or deliverer sent from heaven to ransom the lowly from their everywhere prevailing misery permeated all their organizations.³⁶ Eunus therefore, in his pretensions, but copied from thousands.

The hours of grateful vengeance sped on the breezes of that truculent lullaby. Object after object of their detestation and hatred was dragged forth and amid screams for mercy, relentlessly silenced with knife, flames and bludgeon until before the fury waned the pitiful wails of the slaughtered grew faint through sheer extermination.

But one there was who yet remained uncaptured and unpunished. This was Damophilus. On consultation it was ascertained that he was cowering in his pavillion, a little distance from the city. The insurgents sent thither a detachment with orders to bring him in alive. By this time the rage of the slaves had begun to assuage. They brought their great abuser before Eunus in the auditorium of the theatre, whither they adjourned to hold a trial of his case. Damophilus, covered with wounds and bleeding, his arms pinioned, his fine dress torn and soiled, was dragged before the still maddened crowd, his wife Megallis with him, both trembling in fateful expectancy of their doom.

The rich man was granted an opportunity to answer and spar the scathing accusations that were heaped upon him—bitter reminders of his mercilessness to them when the power was his to abuse them. But Damophilus coyly and cunningly met each accusation with words clothed in ambiguity and dazzle and parried off their bitter bluntness by his affected utterances of honeyed words. He was

³⁵ Chapter xviii, and elsewhere.

³⁶ Foucart, *Associations Rel*

making inroads upon their sympathies when Zeuxes and Hermias, two powerful Greek slaves, who had themselves, in other days been victims of his cruelty, rushed between him and hope, one with a dagger and the other an axe. These men were keenly sensible to the progress Damophilus was making on the susceptibilities of his tatterdemalion jury; and fearing lest his mellifluous explanations should overcome them and that they might thus commit the absurdity of punishing thousands less stamped with cruelties and turn loose the deep-dyed monsters whose atrocities were the immediate cause of the revolt,³⁷ they crashed down the aisle of the theatre, advanced upon him weapons drawn and put a violent end to this mock trial of their foe by beating out his brains upon the spot. Diodorus relates that one of them stabbed him with a knife in the side and the other chopped off his head with the axe. Nor was this all. The terrified Megallis, who must have seen the reeking knife and the merciless guillotine by which her husband had fallen, heard his pleadings for an extension of life and with horror beheld his ghastly punishment, was delivered up, bound hand and foot, to the tender mercies of her female slaves little less instinctively savage than their male companions frenzied with woman's hatred and still goaded by memory's spectres of their own mothers and daughters perishing under the lash once wielded by this most pitiless enemy, the now supplicating Megallis' own hand. Little could be hoped for under such circumstances. Mercy was impossible. The horrified and shrieking lady was, like Damophilus, arraigned for mock trial before a horde of nude and blood-grimed women, taunted until each imbibbered one requited herself with censure and derision, with dallying flings and a satiety of jeers such as only wild women avenging a wounded love, possess the genius to consummate. When all these preliminaries were ended, Megallis was seized by a dozen muscular females, stripped of her finery and undoubtedly her clothes, dragged to the pinnacle of a lofty crag in which the mountain city of Enna abounds. All effort of the shrieking, fainting woman to writhe out of their clutching fingers fast fixed upon her throat and body were unavailing

³⁷ Diod. frag. ii 14. Dindorf.

and fruitless. They drew her out upon the projecting prominence yawning over the abyss well known to the shuddering unfortunate as the Golgotha of miscreants and recalcitrant slaves. From these frowning crags eagles and ominous night-birds were wont to startle the listener with their screams. Legends of horrors of this fatal rock were told by mothers as early inculcations to their babes. This wretched victim may have also more than once contributed her ingenuity descanting upon its boding gloom and terrors as she lavished it on the torture of her now avenging chattels.

But all this sentimentalism suffices nothing in presence of so ghastly a reality as the death that now frowned, and stared this quivering mother in the face. The unimpressible avengers were not to be frustrated by the moans and sobs which formed a part of the solace of their grievances. When they had dragged her to the very brink they no doubt made her undergo some of the prevailing formulas of death and then plunged her headlong down the precipice where she was battered to a jelly upon the sharp flints of the dell below. Such, according to Diodorus, Strabo, the modern critics and some tale-telling inscriptions, was the fate of an ancient millionaire and his wife whom great prosperity had rendered void of all the amenities and loveliness of civilized life.

There yet remained one member of that fate-stricken family—the daughter already alluded to; a young lady of both tender age and heart.⁸⁸ This damsel had from her babyhood shown exceeding sympathy and kindness toward the female slaves in their misfortunes. Never had she taken part in her mother's cruelties. She had, on the contrary, shown them the tenderest commiseration; and her many little offerings during their sufferings, had often gone far in the direction of healing a breach between fate and despair. Those whom the master's love of vengeance had left bound and often chained in dungeons of the *ergastulum*, with which ancient slave farms were cursed, she had comforted and administered to. Could such kindness be now forgotten? Could the remembrance of this child-benefactress, even in that awful vortex of violence, be overlooked? Could conscience be stifled even midst butcheries

⁸⁸ Diod. frag. 89.

whose mocking carnival made death a satire upon empty ideas of right and wrong? Or could such a pretty thing as sympathy wedge itself in amongst the howls and turbulence that shook this scene of oblivion and of death? Yes. A love which was stamped into their fierce, rough natures still lived and warmed them like a sunbeam, forcing itself foremost, even into this terrible qualm reacting against morality. Not a ruthless hand was laid upon her trembling form. Speechless unanimity prevailed on the question of sparing her life. All would spare and protect a faithful friend. On consultation Hermias, one of her father's executioners, was chosen leader of a picked band who soon after performed the perilous task of escorting her safely to the distant city of Catana, the home of some relatives near the sea.

We have in this episode another instance substantiating the opinion heretofore expressed, that the emotion of sympathy has been a growth in the breast of the crushed and humiliated classes, fledged from their schools of mutual love or commiseration and common support. Poor people are themselves the makers of most of the sympathies which they enjoy. Even the daughter of Damophilus grew in sympathy at the sight of misery. However rude the crust screening from view our inner nature, that nature never had, under Pagan control, much sympathy allowed it. Sympathy seems clearly to have been a growth out of a vast association in many parts of ancient Greek and Roman states and did not thrive among the opulent. Concupiscence with its cupidity and irascibility were the pillars on which rested the ancient paganism and its aged competitive system; and though the majorities who were of the working class possessed enough of the latter in its crudest form, yet they had little greed or avarice. They in fact, developed sentiments of a reverse nature. They longed for a socialism that would breed sympathy with its mutual love and care. Diodorus, one of our informants on this subject of the slaves of Enna, in referring to their treatment of the daughter of Damophilus and Megallis, says: "These slaves on strike demonstrated, in showing no sympathy or mercy to those who had been their masters and in delivering themselves up to their own violence and wrath, that what they did was not the mean prompt-

ings of barbarity, but a just retribution or punishment for the injustice which had been done to them;"³⁹ bold words indeed, but just and true; and the student of sociology may now divine the reasons why that brave publicist has lain for 2,000 years in obloquy, with his wonderful tales and descriptions in tatters among the rubbish of the vaults, or later, in the literary sepulchres of the Vatican.

It appears that this theatre which had been the scene of the fury we have described became the focus of deliberation after the frenzy of their vengeance had subsided and the more serious matters connected with the future began to force themselves upon their reflection. They saw that as soon as the news of their action reached Rome, the scornful power which for ages had thrived by conquest and its booty of lands and slaves, there would spring up an immense army to suppress them. They had the sagacity to foresee that their only hope was in a strong army well equipped and disciplined, powerful enough to cope, even with the forces of Rome. It further appears from the evidence that so deep had been the foresight and so long the communings on this matter, so secretly had the whole uprising been concocted, that all things necessary to this resistance were well-nigh prepared beforehand; and the general appearance with its sequel demonstrate that the central idea of a tumultuous feast of blood and dissipation and of subsequent demoralization and gluttony was far from them. But it cannot be denied that they had already determined to throw down the slave system of which they were victims and upon its ruins build up a social fabric which should deal equitably and humanely by all. To one acquainted with the vast and inexhaustible power of Rome, this dream of the poor slave socialists would have seemed an absurd machination of the fancy. But on the other hand they were on an island with whose rocky cliffs, caverns, forests and by-paths they were well acquainted. They wanted to build up a kingdom of men and women emancipated from slavery and economic want with their leader Eunus, on the throne. They held good to this resolution.

Eunus was elected king.⁴⁰ It does not appear that their

³⁹ *Ibid.*, XXXIV, fragment ii. 39.

⁴⁰ *Idem.* frag. ii. 14.

choice of him was on account of any military tact which he had shown as their leader nor on account of his superior capacities of any kind, unless it was that of working wonders. This however, was extremely necessary in the mind of superstitious men, as were most of the ancients, especially the laboring class who, in their unions among the freedmen, often kept a sorcerer who knew how to spit fire, dawdle with the little oracles and pronounce prophecies. Even the rich had their *magi* or fortune-tellers and their *haruspices*, as well as higher priests who often decided the turn of conquests by the simple consultation of an oracle. Eunus could blow fire, tell wonders, pretend and prophecy; and Eunus was elected king. Again, the name *Eunous*, the beneficent, was considered a harbinger of deeds certain to bring forth good.

King Eunus, on receiving his crown, rose equal to the majesty of his new estate. He assumed all the oriental bearing of kingly dignity. He established the offices of state with such splendors as he could command. There was given him for a queen a female slave who like himself, hailed from Apamea in Syria—probably old play-mates. Such was the happy one to be raised to the queenship. To crown himself in still more royal imitation of the dignities of his fatherland he named himself Antioch.

From the moment Eunus began his reign he appears to have been successful. Full details are wanting. From Cicero we have hints⁴¹ that the temple of Ceres or Demeter was preserved with scrupulous care, as well as all the property belonging to it. No doubt however, he changed the officers of the temple from high priests to vestal virgins, supplanting the old by a choice of his own people.

Bücher thinks⁴² that his administration from first to last, considering all circumstances peculiarly connected with the character and notions of the Semitic and Aryan races with whom he had to deal, showed more than usual fitness. He understood the theory of government. It is certain that at Enna there was one of those cavern prisons, such as had been dug by Dionysius the tyrant at Syracuse. We know that those pestilential subterranean

⁴¹ Cicero, *Verres*, iv. 50, 112

⁴² *Aufst.* S. 59: "Mehr als gewöhnliche Befähigung" Siefert, S. 18: "Man wählte ihn zum König weil er den Aufstand begonnen hatte."

dungeons existed in great numbers, called by the Romans *ergastula*, in many parts of Italy and Sicily. They were often underground workshops like the quarries—the horror of the ancient slave. Florus and Diodorus combine in the statement that more than 60,000 fighting soldiers of the great rebel army were convicts turned loose from these prisons⁴³ during the war. Eunus incarcerated a large number of the rich in the holes at Enna and it may be presumed that the old prisoners were first discharged to give room for the new. A council of war was held and it was decided to put all these many prisoners to death. This was the result of a mass meeting of the faithful and unfaltering to Eunus, as a forewarning of the certain result of taking part in any effort to escape, or of mixing and intriguing to restore the old government. Few of the old rule people were left alive except the free mechanics who could make arms; and even they were compelled to work in fetters. To those who had invited Eunus to a seat of mock honor on account of his pretended powers in legerdemain and gifts of divination at their symposiums and for the amusement of guests, and whom he had promised their lives in case he realized his heaven-offered kingdom, he held good his word. He also saved them their fortunes.⁴⁴ They were spared by a royal decree and the mandate was sent them in true regal form. He also saved the temples and other holy property.⁴⁵

At length Eunus called a council of permanent government. First of all was chosen Achæus. "He was, in a formal manner made *consiliarius* of the faithful." The ancient author who leaves us these choice fragments of history⁴⁶ suffixes his opinion that Eunus in making choice of him as lieutenant and counselor general, showed wonderful ability and prudence. This man understood and deeply sympathized with the Syrian element of which the slave population of Enna by conquest was largely composed. But he was moreover endowed with extraordi-

⁴³ Florus, *Epit. Hist. Rom.* III. 19, § 6; "Hoc miraculum primum duc millia ex obvitiis, mox jure belli refractis ergastulis, sexaginta amplius millia fecit exercitum."

⁴⁴ Diod. XXXIV. frag. ii. 42; "Ἰῶν ὅλων δὲ τοῖς ἀποστάταις καταστάς κύριος."; Bücher, *Aufst.* S. 59; Siefert, *Sklavenk.* S. 17.

⁴⁵ Cic. *Verr.* iv. 50, 112.

⁴⁶ Diod. *Id.* frag. ii. 42.

nary wisdom and unscrupulous will-power in expedients, where emergencies required it. He was capable of fearlessly organizing, on the inspection of a circumstance, a resistance powerful enough to shatter the peril whatever it might be ; and he had the judgment and force of character to push it to its immediate and successful results. He was bold enough to plainly tell to Eunus his misgivings and impart to him the truth ; and that dignitary had wisdom and a sufficient amount of common sense to hear him with composure and acquiesce in his views. A perfect agreement was the result.

Dr. Bücher gives it as his opinion that Achæus was one of the thousands of unfortunates who had been reduced to slavery through the Roman conquest of Achaia, B. C.146, or about 3 years before.⁴⁷ Achaia being in the heart of the Greek Peninsula, on the gulf of Corinth, near and including the great city of that name, was of purest Greek ; and Greeks in those days were mighty men. But the brutal fiat of Roman conquest had recently swept over the whole Grecian territory and buzzard-like, swallowed up her famous provinces and cities and sold her braves into slavery. We thus find circumstantial evidence that Achæus had the sagacity, acumen and intrepidity of his race. So well pleased was the slave-king with Achæus that he made him a present of one of the fine houses of his former millionaire masters.

The success of the great insurrection from henceforth is to be attributed in large measure to Achæus, general-in-chief. In three days he had armed and equipped no less than 6,000 soldiers and had them ready for the expected armies from Rome which all well knew would soon arrive by forced marches to put down the rebellion. As all these slaves knew the awful consequences of defeat, we may imagine the incentives which prompted their activity in making ready for coming conflicts.

The outside agricultural places soon began to be heard from. They consisted of heterogeneous ranks—a motly mass, who, rushing from their work on hearing the news of the revolt, straggled into the new head-quarters from far and near. They streamed into the town, each with a

⁴⁷ *Aufst. d. unfr. Arb.* 8. 60.

butcher-knife, an axe, a sickle, a pitchfork of iron or wood. Slings were weapons with which the numerous shepherds were best practiced; and they knew their use with fatal effect. Inspired with a hope of liberty at any price or agony of effort, they were ready to stake their lives under perilous odds for a chance at winning it.

There were at that moment no troops of the Roman legions in Sicily. The only immediate forces to be feared by the workingmen were the militia from the different cities. There had occurred no dangerous strikes among the slaves for many years here, and in consequence, Rome had not, as in Etruria, on the Tarantine gulf and elsewhere, provided a standing army kept stationary under a prætor for the express purpose of suppressing the ever-recurring rebellions of labor⁴⁸ which were not only in this nation troublesome but had proved themselves at Sparta and Athens a great source of danger. Besides this, Rome was busy quelling similar disorders nearer home. The only available force at hand was the militia.

Meanwhile the insurgents were recruiting a powerful force by tapping every resource that offered a promise of strength. Among others, as already noticed, the great cavern jails were full.⁴⁹ All through the country these workhouses whether underground, in towns or out on the farms, were broken into and emptied, the prisoners ransomed and those able to bear arms welcomed to the army of resistance.⁵⁰ Our principal resource whence we extract these facts is Diodorus Siculus, who wrote elaborately on the subject, often giving minute details; but being an honest man and writing of his own native country, committed what in his times seems to have been the error—though no fault of his conscience—of telling the truth. We in consequence, as students of sociology must charge against that slave-holding aristocracy,⁵¹ all mutilation of his history, especially those paragraphs delineating the Roman disaster

⁴⁸ Liv. XXIX. 17, 41, XXXII. 26 XXXIII. 36.

⁴⁹ Diod. XXXIV. frag. II. 36: "Καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν πέδαις δεσμεύσας εἰς τὰς σπινθηροποιεῖας ἐπέβαλλε." Damophilus had also made them work in the fields while chained.

⁵⁰ Diod. frag. II. 25 26.

⁵¹ A similar outrage has been committed upon Livy's history of Sparta provided by the editions of 1825, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 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which followed; for although some clauses are left complete others are bereft of their treasures of priceless information. A large portion of the details, amounting in all, to chapters, has apparently been sequestered through the vandalism of contemporaneous censorship and the inestimable manuscripts disrupted from their historical chain covering at least ten years of this eventful rebellion which went far toward shaping the actions of men and preparing the world for the advent of a different culture.

At any rate we have a statement that not less than 60,000 prisoners were delivered from the *ergastula*⁵² and we know that these also joined the rebellion. Everywhere were the slave-holders murdered, and in proportion as the more desperate ones were delivered from bondage and fetters, the search all over the island to find and exterminate them became more industrious. On the eastern side of Sicily were magnificent fields of wheat and different grains and a large amount of pasture lands stocked with cattle and sheep and bearing prodigious quantities of wine and olive oil. The slave hordes now free, swept over this country, murdering and destroying all before them, notwithstanding the efforts of Achæus at restraint. The story of Cambalos, a wealthy citizen of Morgantion in the upper districts of Symæthus, is told⁵³ as an exception to the usual prudence of this commander: This nobleman while on a hunting excursion came across a band of these prowlers. Alarmed at his close proximity to the dangerous men he turned and ran toward the city, following the high road. When near his own home he met his father on horseback going toward the danger, who immediately dismounted and begged the son to mount and save himself by flight. While thus in filial and paternal love, tarrying, neither deciding to take to flight, the freebooters came up and killed them both.⁵⁴ But Achæus generally forbade such strong measures. Wherever he heard

⁵² Florus, *Epit.* III. 15, elsewhere quoted.

⁵³ Mannert, *Geog.* IX. 2; Cato, *De Re Rustica*, 6; Columella, *De Re Rustica* III. 2.

⁵⁴ Dr. Bucher, *Anfänge der unfreien Arbeiter*, S. 61, extracts the story in full: "Gorgos, mit dem Beinamen Kambalos, ein durch seinen Reichthum und Edelmuth bekannter Bürger von Morgantion im Gebiete des oberen Symæthus zog auf die Jagd aus und stiess auf eine Sklavenbande. Er floh die Strasse zur Stadt zurück und begegnete bald seinem Vater der zu Pferde des Weges kam. Dieser stieg sofort ab und flehte den Sohn sein Leben zu retten. Der Sohn hinwieder den Vater; und während sie so in dem Wettstreite kindlicher Liebe und väterlicher Zärtlichkeit sich erschöpften, erschienen die Aufrührer und erschlugen beide."

of atrocities committed by his men he is said to have exerted every energy to prevent their recurrence, appealing to the danger should the Romans gain the upper hand. The rebels began to comprehend that something nobler than mere rage was wanted. They soon began to be more careful of the stores of grain and other necessaries. They also spared a large number of the small cultivators who had not been active in injuring them.

There were also great numbers of freedmen, now little better than beggars; for as most farm labor since the new impetus of the Roman slave system had set in, was performed by slaves, they were obliged to beg because they had no work. These wretched tramps, perceiving their opportunity, soon began to organize in secrecy.⁶⁵ The great war now raged in earnest. The new force of beggars who hitherto had been roaming in a demoralized condition do not seem to have done credit to the slaves; for while they turned their hands to destruction of property and delivered themselves up to gluttony, their faults were all laid to the slaves. By this circumstance we are made aware that the actual status of intelligence was higher among the slave population than the tramps, who had become demoralized and degraded through discouragement and suffering.

It was a long time before the Romans, tormented with the terrible struggles of the proletaries at that moment raging in Italy over the agrarian question, could awaken to a full sense of the situation. There was certainly some provincial government at the time, for mention is made to the effect that Roman prætors⁶⁶ then had the province in charge; but they were both too much enfeebled by their enormous wealth at Syracuse or the dissipation concomitant to it and by their being practically without a force sufficient to the emergency. The insurrection seems not to have been uniform in different parts. In those days it took some time for slaves to communicate with each other; and when that was accomplished there must be time to ponder over the dangerous experiment and prepare for action; but it is known that almost everywhere in, and

⁶⁵ *Diod.* XXXVI. frag. v speaking of the second war (see chapter XI) expressly states that it was not the slaves alone but also freedmen. So also *Flor.* s. III. 19: *Cum liberis (nec) et ingenis, dimicatum est.*"

⁶⁶ *Sücher. Aufs.* S. 61-62.

close about the cities, the uprising was general; for everywhere the slaves ran away from their masters and hurried to join the Eunian army.

Achæus in a short time found himself master of a well equipped army of 10,000 men. He devoted his energies to drilling these raw troops and teaching them their new business. We are wanting details for showing the exact dates, but the events of which we speak, according to the close examination of all material by Dr. Bücher, make it between B. C. 143 and 140.⁵⁷ Repeated skirmishing took place between Achæus and the advance guards of the Roman prætors but as often the latter were totally overthrown. Undoubtedly many great and terribly bloody battles were fought.⁵⁸ Certainly the results were disastrous to the Romans; for the territory of Eunus' kingdom gradually enlarged stretching over upper Symæthus and eastward down to the sea. It also struck northward and extended for a considerable distance to the west. But we hear of nothing having occurred in the south, up to this point.⁵⁹ There was however, a great uprising there, soon to be heard of. The signal successes of Achæus had become noised abroad. Slaves everywhere were waiting for a leader. A new and almost distinct strike was preparing to burst forth southward near the coast, among the productive fields and pastures long celebrated for stock-breeding, especially that of draft animals and fine horses. Along this seaboard no harbors appear. The land lies in plateaus, with precipitous steeps overhanging the Mediterranean; but the levels above and the occasional valleys, are exceedingly fruitful.⁶⁰ It was the celebrated Agrigentum. Along the southern coast of Sicily at that time few inhabitants existed. The old places which had once been occupied by the colonists from Megara and Rhodes had been long depopulated.

Acragus, well remembered by the Romans as having

⁵⁷ *Idem, Excurs.*, "Über die Chronologie des sicilischen Sklavenkriege und Verwandtes." S. 121-129. Here Bücher gives data (which we follow,) showing that it must have been B. C. 143-140 or the first two years before the army of Achæus amount d to 10,000 men.

⁵⁸ *Idem* XXXIV, frag. ii. Dind.

⁵⁹ Bücher, *Aufst.* S. 62. We mostly follow Bücher's admirable tracings of the map from this point.

⁶⁰ Strabo, *Geog.* VI.; Cicero, *Verr.* II. i. 28; D'Orville, *Stucula*, p. 289 Plin. *H. N.* VIII. 64.

withstood, during the Punic wars all those terrible vicissitudes and had long been inured to hardships, still maintained itself and a good share of its population. It was a rich portion of the island and large numbers of the land owners possessed and exploited slaves who became so numerous that they performed all the labor leaving none for the freedmen who were thus reduced to the condition of roaming tramps and beggars. Some men owned 500⁶¹ in the earlier days and there still existed very rich men in the city, holding large portions of land and many human creatures as chattels. Here was the seat of a recorded instance of the prevailing cruelties: One Polias, having invited to dinner an equally heartless slaveholder, who was unwilling to allow his slaves rest long enough to sleep, called together his own, especially the women and children, and like the animals, fed them nuts and dried figs—the only nourishment they were allowed for supper.⁶²

It is not to be wondered at then, if the slaves whenever opportunity offered, ran away from such masters and sometimes became cunning and dangerous brigands.

Another desperate character of this war was Cleon, called in Livy, "Gleon," a Cilician by birth,⁶³ from the town of Comana in the Taurian region of southern Asia Minor. It appears that he and his brother, called "Coma" by Valerius Maximus in his *Memorabilia*,⁶⁴ were runaway slaves who, having betaken themselves to the mountains drove a marauding business in the general interest of their fellows still in bonds. Here they plied the arts of the *latrocinia* or highway robbery, and stood ready to espouse the rebellion of Eunus which was now creeping toward their confines. Another theory of Cleon is that like Spartacus, he had elsewhere learned to be a robber but had been seized by a Sicil-

⁶¹ Siefert, *Stellische Sklavenkriege*. S. 38.

⁶² Stobæus, *Floril.* LXII. 48; Cf. Bücher, 64.

⁶³ In his note 2, S. 64, Dr. Bücher refers to Cleon's birthplace, as follows: "Diod. iv. 2, 43: ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ταύρον τόπων. Nach § 20 hies sein Bruder Komatos (Coma bei Valer. Max. IX, 12, Text ist offenbar ein Schreibfehler statt Comanus), woraus mit ziemlicher Sicherheit zu schliessen, dass Komana die Vaterstadt der beiden Brüder war. Ob aber an die pamphyliache oder an die kappadokische Stadt dieses Namens zu denken sei, muss unentschieden gelassen werden. Letztere, inmitten des Antitauros am Saros gelegen, war eine Hauptstätte des den syrischen Dienern verwandten Cultus der Ma (Artemis Taurica) Strabo XII, p. 536; man würde daher den Beweggrund für den raschen Anschluss Kleons an Eunus in religiöser Sympathie zu suchen haben."

⁶⁴ Diod. XXXIV. frag. ii. 29 & 43.; Valerius Maximus, IX, 1., Stel. 11. 14.

ian corsair and brought over to this place where he was sold in slavery and set to work herding horses in the pastures, whence he escaped and made himself the terror of the region, playing his old pranks with success. But this theory fails to account for his brother.

By some means Cleon, who had a strong band ever on the alert, heard of the great movement of Eunus at Enna. The distance was certainly not so great but that they could have held correspondence; especially after the forces of Achæus had, by victory after victory over the prætorian militia, cleared the obstacles away.

Cleon on hearing the particulars of the insurrection, ran up the flag of open rebellion and offered freedom to all slaves who should espouse his cause. The mighty name he had already won went far toward deciding innumerable slaves. Everywhere these Agrigentine bondsmen responded to the shrill bugles of Cleon. As fast as they came into camp he armed and drilled them for service. Battles must have followed for we find him in possession of the city. The two most powerful captains of the rebellion now stood over-against each other, both having won battles, undoubtedly important ones; for as our details are missing and the leading points preserved, we are left to our imagination in making up the links in the chain of history. It was now the hope of the rich owners that these rough commanders would, though at first victorious, soon have a falling out; that jealousy would prove a quicker means of ridding them of their now terrible enemy than their own opposition; for such were the proportions of this uprising that Cleon soon counted upwards of 70,000 men.⁶⁵ With such an army it was reasonably conjectured that he would not long submit to a subordinate position under Eunus. Bücher in assuring us that the reverse was the case,⁶⁶ suggests that the cause of the perfect harmony known to have existed may have been Cleon's superstitious faith in the infallibility of Eunus as a mediator for poor humanity between God and man;

⁶⁵ Livy, LVI. "C. Fulvio Consuli mandatum est, hujus belli initium fuit Eunus servus, natione Syrus; qui contracta agrigentium servorum manu et solutis ergastulis justis exercitus numerum implevit. Cleon quoque, alter servus, ad septuaginta millia servorum contraxit, et copiis junctis adversus populi Romani exercitum bellum sæpe gesserunt."

⁶⁶ Bücher, *Aufst.*, S. 65.

it being fully believed that he was a Messiah.⁶⁷ This might have done much, but the fact that they knew that in the absence of perfect harmony their own lives would certainly be speedily lost, together with their cause, is the more probable solution to this problem. Cleon accepted a position of what, in our military terms, may be called a brigadier-general, of the grand army under Eunus, or rather under Achæus, lieutenant-general to Eunus; and the force assigned him was only 5,000 men.

The two armies of the great mutiny against capital became thus consolidated into one. It is stated by Livy that in Agrigentum alone there were 70,000 men under arms;⁶⁸ and we have seen that Achæus already had a large, victorious force. Thus the combined armies steadily grew in numbers and discipline. This immense force was divided up between many leaders; Eunus being the commander-in-chief with Achæus and soon afterwards Cleon, the two principal lieutenants.

The armies stretched from Enna to Agrigentum and a wing extended south and eastward to the sea—perhaps as far eastward as Syracuse. Soon after these arrangements were accomplished the new prætor arrived in Sicily with an army of well equipped Roman soldiers consisting of 8,000 men. How many stragglers of those demoralized forces whom Achæus had often punished and dispersed, came to swell the freshly landed army of this prætor, L. Plautius Hypsæus,⁶⁹ does not appear. But Dr. Siefert, on the strength of a statement of a fragment, says that no regular troops accompanied Hypsæus from Rome.

Hostilities south now became general. The Roman did not have long to wait. A force of 20,000 slaves probably of both Achæus and Cleon met him, fully inspired with the supernatural powers of their fire-spitting king, as well as burning with old hatred and a desire to settle accounts with their enemies. A great battle was fought. Hypsæus was utterly routed and ruined; and the rebels were left masters of the field.

⁶⁷ Florus, III. 19, 4: "Syrus quidam nomine Eunus fanatico furore simulato dum Syriæ deæ comas jactat, ad libertatem et armas servos, quasi numerum imperium concitavit; idque ut divinitus fieri probaret, in ore abditâ nuce, quam sulphure et igno stipaverat, iceniter inspirans, flammam fundebat."

⁶⁸ Liv. LVI. *Epit. ad fin.*; See quotation in note 65.

⁶⁹ Diod. frag. ii. 18. This is probably a remnant of a full statement to mostly lost.

The news of this additional victory spread rapidly and those slaves who had hitherto hesitated, now flocked to the insurgent army, soon swelling it to the almost incredible magnitude of 200,000 men. The language of our information is, however, too assuring to warrant us in dallying over doubts; for not only do the ancient authorities give these figures but we also find the strong reinforcement of the modern philological critics who make no hesitation in pronouncing it to be true.¹⁰ The people at Rome entertained hopes that the force under Hypsæus would be of sufficient strength to put down the rebellion; but as time wore by, straggling remnants of the shattered army verified a dismal fear that great disasters had befallen them; otherwise the gloomy news of the expedition was lost.

Other expeditions soon followed the sad one just mentioned. As we know that in a similar rebellion by Spartacus some 70 years later, the armies of Rome were large, so in reason, we cannot imagine them to have been small in Sicily. Time and other despoilers have deprived us, it is true, of many details, in histories we know to have been written. But enough remains to attest the enormous proportions of the Sicilian labor rebellion and the success that everywhere attended the arms of the workingmen. C. Fulvius Flaccus, consul, appears next to have come to the scene; his colleague Scipio Africanus going to Numantia. This commander was however, preceded by a certain Manlius, mentioned in the fragments of Diodorus referred to. He, like his predecessors was annihilated. There can be no doubt that this word applies here in its literal sense. So complete was the extinction that scarcely a human being ever returned to convey intelligence of the disaster to Rome. Then followed Lentulus, afterwards Piso and Rupilius. Whenever the Romans gained an advantage by dint of superior military skill they lost it through the overwhelming and ever increasing numbers of the slaves, who in addition to their own manufacture of arms and munitions of war which they forced the freedmen-mechanics¹¹ of Sicily to accomplish for them, turned all the splen-

¹⁰ Büch S. 65: "Bald betrog sie gegen 200,000 Leute;" also S. 125: "Nicht lange nachher belüft sich die Zahl der Anständlichen Insegerer t. soldaten, Fensennänner, und Ungerüstete, auf 200,000, und in vielen kriegsen kämpffen sie glücklich, seltener erliden sie Niederlagen."

did weapons wrested from the defeated warriors of the Roman nobility to their own uses and grew invincible.⁷²

No prisoners were spared. Eunus had undoubtedly resolved upon this plan from the first. He killed Antigenes his owner, also Python, with his own hand, both of whom he had promised a "cheap deal," and spared the friends of the festivities as we have related, only as a mater of faith with his word. He had opened all the dungeons of the ergastula which confined many who labored in those grottoes. What more could they want of those disgusting holes? No. With them there was no lingering prisoner. To be taken prisoner was to die—a ferocious necessity! Besides these barbarous economics, they possessed the remarkable negligence of the Romans which had struck into Sicily at the time of the defeat and final evacuation of the island by the Carthagenians, in B. C. 210. Everywhere the walls of cities and other fortified places were battered down, and left mouldering in disuse and everywhere was found unhindered admission to the cities, the storehouses and the citadels.⁷³ Much of the success of their phenomenal marches was attributed to the supernatural powers of king Eunus.

They believed themselves invincible; and as time wore on, year after year of undiminished prosperity apparently fortified this belief. Eunus once led his victorious forces before one of the few fortified places that attempted to withstand him and to the besieged inhabitants spoke with bitter irony, denying that he was even the cause of the trouble, or his men in rebellion. On the contrary, they themselves by their former atrocities, had driven them to a compulsory step which they little desired to take. In full consciousness of their enemy's helplessness and the stinging remembrance of their former sufferings, they made a great show of their triumphs, parading the now emancipated revolutionists in pompous formality and for-

⁷¹ This fact must be considered as applying to a certain number of freedmen denominated by the modern labor organizations *Scabs*, who had made themselves obnoxious by an obsequious catering to masters; for we find that a few years later (see *Athenion*, chapter x.) there were great numbers of free artisans who espoused the cause of the slaves and took up arms gladly in the defense of a common cause.

⁷² Bucher, *Aufst.* S. 66 "Wurde auch einen kleinen Erfolg errungen im nächsten Augenblicke raffte sich der Aufstand mit doppelter Wuth zusammen und drang unaufhaltsam und grausam, wie alle sociale Kriege, weiter."

⁷³ Consult Diod. XXXIV. frag ii. 45.

cing the reluctant to hear the history of the causes of it,⁷⁴ through mock theatrical representations in mimic composition, as was practiced in Syria the fatherland of Eunus. This practice referred to by Diodorus,⁷⁵ no doubt has reference to the great labor unions called the *eranoi*, or better, their branch, the *thiasoi*,⁷⁶ a part of whose duty was to provide entertainment for the members. It is known that mimic entertainments of a histrionic character were frequently among the programs of amusement. "There was" says Dr. Bücher, "more than one bitter drop spilled into the bowl of misery at such seiges; since overturned riches, unbridled rapine, purposeless power, appeared to gentlemen to be the cause of their destruction; it was in fact, a practical lesson against the will of these compulsory listeners to mimic tragedies, which, like every other lesson where the spirit is against its learning, is fruitless and unheeded."⁷⁷

The bitter and bloody conflict of this great mutiny of the working people of Sicily had now been raging about 6 years with the prophet of Antioch at its head. The military force of Rome such as she could spare, had been exhausted again and again in efforts to regain her foothold in Sicily, but in vain. The slaves were at last masters of the island. Here, by a most fortunate circumstance, the lacerated history of Diodorus remains so unbroken in this particular link as to explicitly transmit this truth; and in words which cannot well be misunderstood.⁷⁸ Diodorus, though his veracity has long lain in abeyance, has outlived his calumniators, and great savants, having proved the truth of statements by his pen which for many centuries lay in ridicule, are now searching for them as being those most valuable in critical use.

Besides the cities mentioned, there were many on the east coast of the island which also, one by one, joined the army of the revolutionists. Some of them, it is known, were taken by force. Others offered themselves to the conquerors, partly through their own wish, partly from a

⁷⁴ *Id.* frag. ii.

⁷⁵ *Id.* 34.

⁷⁶ See Lüders, *Die Dionys. Künstler, Tafeln I-II*. Also *Infra*, chap. xvii.

⁷⁷ *Aufst. d. unzufrieden Arbeiter*, S. 61.

⁷⁸ D. od. xxxiv. frag. ii. § 25. "Ουδέποτε στάσις ἐγένετο τηλικαύτη δούλων ἡλικία συνέστη ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ, δι' ἣν πολλαὶ μὲν πόλεις δειναῖς περιέπεσον συμφοραῖς, ἀναρίθμητοι δὲ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες μετὰ τέκνων ἐπειράθησαν τῶν μεγίστων ἀτυχημάτων, πᾶσα δὲ ἡ νῆσος ἐκινδύνευσεν πεσεῖν εἰς ἔξουσίαν δραπετιῶν."⁷⁹

dread of sack and pillage." Among these were Taormanian and Catania, the place of refuge for the daughter of Damophilus and Megallis. As to Syracuse,⁸⁰ the great and long celebrated capital of Sicily, seat of the former proud tyrants, home of Dion, Plato's friend, and center of the mechanical sciences of Archimedes, the city whose hills were quarried and pierced into horrid dungeons—the suffocating latomies, where workmen by thousands, un-comforted and forgotten, had worked and smothered for painful centuries to the delight of monsters such as Dionysius ;—as to this formidable theatre of the *lapicidinae*, we are so far informed as to be able to say with a degree of certainty, that also this haughty mistress of the Mediterranean fell before the rebel arms.⁸¹

Messana to the north, had been least abusive to these people when in bondage, and in consequence was spared. Yet even Messana made a strong resistance ; for situated on the strait separating Sicily from Italy, an important pivotal position by being almost as much Italian as Sicilian, it at last gave way.⁸²

The capture of this important seaport and stronghold was the immediate cause of the uprising or strike of the slaves and other working people, in large numbers, over on the Italian side, of which we give an account in another place.⁸³

⁷⁹ Strabo. *Geog.* VI; Diod. frag. ii. 20, Orosius, V. 9.

⁸⁰ From Diodorus we have one tattered fragment (ii. 9.) which makes it probable that Syracuse also fell into the rebels' grasp.

⁸¹ Elsewhere we have endeavored to show that there existed some unexplained reason for Plato's strange experience among the fishermen of Syracuse and the motives of Dionysius in banishing him thither. Plato was hated by the workmen. The fishermen among whom he was relegated certainly were organized; and they were in sympathy with the mercenary soldiers on strike because Dionysius reduced their pay. We herewith reproduce the words of Dr. Bücher in his text pp. 66-8 and footnote †: "Eunus war zuletzt fast Herr der ganzen Insel geworden*** wahrscheinlich selbst Syrakus &c. Diod. frag. 9: τοῖς καταφαγοῦσι τοὺς ἱερομένους ἰχθύς οὐκ ἦν πῦλα τῶν κακῶν. τὸ γὰρ δαιμόνιον ὡσπερ ἐπίτηδες εἰς παραδειγματισμὸν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔπαντας τοὺς ἀπονενομημένους περιεῖδεν ἀβοηθήτους. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἀκολουθῶν τῇ παρὰ θεῶν κολάσει καὶ τῆς διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας βλασφημίας τετευχότες ἀπέλασαν τῆς δικαίας ἐπιτιμήσεως. Das Bruchstück gehört hierher schon wegen seiner Nachbarschaft stehen in der Exc. Vatic., welche sämmtlich auf den Sklavenkrieg Bezug haben. Beiden "heiligen Fischen" kann nur an die der Arethusa auf Ortygia gedacht werden von welchen Diod. V, 3 Folgendes erzählt: ταύτην (την Ἀρέθουσαν) οὐ μόνον κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους χρόνους εἶχεν μεγάλους καὶ πολλοὺς ἰχθύς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἡλικίαν συμβαίνει διαμένειν τούτους, ἱεροῦς ὄντας καὶ ἀδίκτους ἀνθρώποις. ἐξ ὧν πολλάκις τινῶν κατὰ τὰς πολεμικὰς περιστάσεις φαγόντων, παραδόξως ἐπέσημνε το θεῖον καὶ μεγάλας συμφορὰς περιεβάλεο τοὺς τολμηράντας προσενέγκασθαι. περί ὧς ἀκρῶς ἀναγράφουμεν ἐν τοῖς οικείοις χρόνοις

⁸² Orosius, *Historiarum Libri Adversus Paganos*, V. 6, 9; Julius Obsequens, *De Prodigiis*, I. 1.

⁸³ Consult chapter IX. *Infra*.

The terrible scuffle into which Rome was drawn, during these momentous times, together with the murder of Tiberius Gracchus,⁶⁴ in B. C. 133, show how this mighty people were paralyzed by the labor problem of that century. But with the death of this powerful tribune and faithful friend of the poor, the fortunes of the victorious Eunus crumbled. The real but hidden cause of the comparatively unobstructed career which had now held him king of Sicily fully 10 years, was probably not Rome's inability to cope with him in military force and tactics; it was her social and political demoralization. It was an interregnum of wills;—whether paganism should continue its reckless course against nature, against justice, against human development, and cover the earth with slaves, or whether a revolution against it should, in defiance of its haughty and despotic predilections and unbridled greed, be submitted to. When we look back at the astonishing conquest of Eunus and of his generals and men from this point of view we shall see the waves of the phenomena of Rome's final downfall then and there begun, roll back, together with many another dark political obscurity.

Gracchus was not yet dead, but still in the vortex of his anti-slavery land agitation, spurred on by Blossius his devoted friend. C. Calpurnius Piso was one of the consuls chosen for that year. On him devolved the command in Sicily. He arrived at Messana with a large force and finding it in possession of the slaves, laid siege to the city. After a severe storming the place fell into the hands of the Romans. As many as 8,000 slaves were slain and the prisoners captured were all crucified. Piso was a man of much nerve and business energy, combined with judg-

⁶⁴ Plutarch. *Tyb. Gracchus*. 9-14; Appian, *De Bellis Civilibus*, lib. I. 9: "Μέχρι Τιβερίου Σεμπρώνιου Γράκχου, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανὴς, καὶ λαμπρὸς ἐς φιλοτιμίαν, εἰπεῖν τε δυνατώτατος, καὶ ἐκ τῶνδὲ ὁμοῦ πάντων γνωριμώτατος ἀπασί δημαρχῶν, ἐσεμνολόγησε περὶ τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ γένους, ὡς εὐπολεμωτάτου τε καὶ συγγενοῦς, φθειρομένου δὲ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐς ἀπορίαν καὶ ὀλιγανδρίαν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐλπίδα ἔχοντος ἐς ἀνδρωσιν. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δουλικῷ δυσχεράνας, ὡς ἀστρατεύτῳ, καὶ οὐποτε ἐς δεσπότης κίετω, τὸ ἐναγχος ἐπήνεγκεν ἐν Σικεγία δεσποτῶν πάθος ὑπὸ θεραπεύτων γενόμενον, πύθην μόνων κακείνων ἀπὸ γεωργίας. καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦς Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον, οὐ βράχυν, οὐδὲ βραχύν, ἀλλ' ἐς τε μήκος χρόνον, καὶ τροπὰς κινδύνων ποικίλας ἐκτραπέυα. Ταῦτα δὲ εἰπὼν, ἀνεκαίνισε τὸν νόμον Ἐμμένα τῶν πεντακοσίων πλεθρῶν πλεονέχειν. Παισὶ δ' αὐτῶν, ὑπὲρ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον προσετίθει τὰ ἡμίσεα κούτων καὶ τῆν λοιπῆν, τρεῖν αἰρετοῦς ἀνδρῶν, ἐναλλασσομένους κατ' ἔτος, διανέμειν νοῖς πέννησι." Wordsworth. *Fragments of Early Latin*, p. 221. We have in the preceding chapter, giving an account of the great epidemic of strikes and uprisings which were occurring almost everywhere in the Roman territory, caused entirely by a profound and honest dissatisfaction among the laboring people.

ment. In addition to this, he must have had a large army. All we possess of the facts are hints touching the main events; the particulars are left to be drawn by inference. Certain it is that his force was large enough to assure him in the bold adventure of attacking Enna; and judging by comparison with the magnitude of the Roman armies afterwards sent to subdue Spartacus,⁶⁵ he could not have had fewer than 75,000 or 100,000 men. Considering the results positively known, it may be no boldness to presume that his army was at least 80,000 strong.

The insurrectionary armies on the other hand, were, without doubt, greatly demoralized by their hitherto un-failing successes. They were now no longer slaves, but a host of ignorant and superstitious freedmen regaling un-hindered in wantonness and luxury, having had 10 years of security, constantly under the delusion that king E-unus, if not himself an immortal, was at least in daily inter-course with Ceres, whom nobody dared imagine to be less than the powerful protecting goddess of that island. Thus fortified in delusions confirmed, they had in course of these ten years of good fortune, begun to relax their vig- ilance, leaving to the supernatural, the power which alone their own strong, well-directed arms could accomplish. Things were in consequence, now in perfect readiness for Rome to triumph over the rebellion.

Piso, instead of waiting to skirmish with the generals of Eunus, marched directly to his stronghold. It was a bold strike; and affords us an excellent exhibit of his cour- age and judgment. He was no communist; and an in- stance proving this is recorded which clearly shows that socialistic theories were being discussed in those ancient days, by rich and poor: In the fierce struggle which re- sulted in the murder of the Gracchi, this same Piso said to one of these stanch advocates of the rights of labor, as he railed against the growing spirit of equality threatening extinction to the proud Roman *gens* and making inroads upon the tribunes and the senate: "It is not with my will and consent that you desire to divide your property; but should you do so I shall demand my share."⁶⁶ The slaves were socialists, enjoying their booty in common; and it

⁶⁵ See chapter xi. below.

⁶⁶ Cicero *Tusculanarum Disputationum Libri* III. 26, 48.

could not be expected that any leniency would be shown them by Piso.

According to our authority, Piso, after the capture of Messana, turned his campaign directly toward Eunus' citadel on the heights of Enna. A captain of cavalry led his force too incautiously and got into an ambush laid by the mutineers where he met with some loss in arms, men and horses. Piso singled him out as a coward. He was humiliated, and barefoot and almost naked, obliged to stand before the tent as a watch, forbidden to speak with his comrades or to enjoy his baths. Those left of the defeated cavalry were ordered to give up their horses and go into the company of slingers.⁸⁷ The object of this severe measure was to thoroughly impress the Roman soldiers with the almost deadly results to them, of a failure through disobedience or lack of bravery. On the other hand, both leaders and rank and file were rewarded for an act of valor. Valerius Maximus⁸⁸ also tells a story of Piso's own son, who for having performed some meritorious act in this campaign, was awarded a gold cross weighing three pounds, which he was requested by his father to preserve and wear after he had returned to Rome and it had been publicly presented. This had the effect to fill the minds of all with emulation, adding dash and intrepidity while doubtless dispelling a superstitious fear of the long victorious slaves.

At last the Roman legions arrived before the walls of Enna and immediately laid siege. We are indebted to Dr. Bücher's invaluable dissertation, referring us to Dr. Böckh's inscriptions often used by us; for without his mention we might have missed certain palæographs that shed light upon the otherwise unwritten pages of Piso's siege of Enna.⁸⁹ On the northern steep of the city is a great rock from which the slave women flung headlong the living form of Megallis, wife of Damophilus.⁹⁰ To

⁸⁷ Valerius Maximus, *Fact. Dict. Mem.* II. 7 9.

⁸⁸ *Id.* IV. 3, 10.

⁸⁹ Büch. *Aufstände*. S. 74, note 1 reads: 'Ritschl. P. L. M. VIII. 1: *Corp. Inscriptionum Latinarum*. (Böckh) no. 642 sq. vgl. Nitsch a. a. O. Seite 249. Aus dem zweiten Sicilischen Aufstände: *Corp. Inscr. Græc.* Böckh, No. 5570, 5687, 5748, z. Th. mit dem Namen des Athenion. No. 5748 aus Leontini mit der Aufschrift APAMEO geht vielleicht auf dem APAMEER Eunus. *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* No 646. Sq. stammen wohl aus dem Fieberkrieg.' We however subjoin the remark that Diodorus mentions Athenion as having likewise been of Apamea—a point which the learned philologist may have overlooked.

⁹⁰ See current chapter, page 215

this day there are occasionally found, on and about this rock, balls from the Roman catapults which were hurled at the walls of the beleaguered city during that siege,⁹¹ These relics of Roman projectiles have the name, L. Piso inscribed upon them; as they are found in quantities,⁹² the circumstance goes far to attest the prodigious magnitude of the siege, as well as the great length of time that must have been consumed before the place fell into the Roman consul's hands. In fact, it did not fall before the sword of Piso. He was, in some mysterious manner, repulsed; being probably many times attacked and repelled by the sorties of Cleon. At last he is found in the narrative back on the east coast having without a shadow of doubt, been driven there by the slave-king.

In B. C. 132, P. Rupilius was chosen consul at Rome. As just hinted, Piso had met with some unchronicled disaster at the hands of the stubborn rebels of Eunus, who had in their turn, taken the offensive and surged him back to the sea.⁹³ Rupilius had already held office in Sicily under a joint stock company and had made a large fortune in the capacity of a land speculator. During his official life there he had acquired a good knowledge of the roads and principal objective points of the island.⁹⁴ It was this same Rupilius who, with Popilejus Lænus, urged and in some degree consummated the persecutions of Gracchus, whose revival of the ancient Licinian law and whose socialistic oratory had enraged the land and slave-holding aristocracy

⁹¹ Böckh, *O. I. L.*, nos. 642, & 646? *O. I. G.* 5570, 5637, 5738; *Reichl. Flautus*, VIII. 1. Böckh, *C. I. L.* 5748 gives the word APAMEO I. e: "Eunus of Apamea." It may mean Athenion of Apamea, however; but both were powerful labor agitators.

⁹² Pliny, *N.H.* VII. 86; Cic. *Tusc.* IV. 17, 46; *Lael.* 10, 20, 73, 60.

⁹³ Böckh, *Aufst. D. wäfr. Arb.* 8. 73.

⁹⁴ Valerius Maximus, *Factorum Diderumque Memorabilia*, lib. VI. 9, 8; *Siefert Erster sicilisch. Sklavenkrieg* S. 35, note 57, "Pseudoascon, in *Verr.* II p. 212: P. Rupilius quondam ex publicano factus consul. Valer. Max. VI. 9, 8 erzählt sogar, dass er ursprünglich, ein Diener der Staatspächter gewesen sei: P. Rupilius non publicanum in Sicilla egit, sed operas publicanis dedit. Idem ultimam inopiam suam, auctoritate sociis officio, sustentavit — Er war ein Freund des jüngern Scipio Cic. *Lael.* 19. Als Consul führte er zu Anfang seines Amtsjahres mit seinem Collegen Popillius Laenas die Untersuchung gegen die Mitschuldigen des Tib. Gracchus (Cic. *Lael.* 11, Val. Max. IV. 7, 1) Nach Vellei. Pat. II, 7 wurde er wegen der Strenge, mit welcher diese Untersuchung geführt wurde, gleich Popillius vor Gericht gezogen, während andere Schriftsteller nur von der Verfolgung des Letztern durch C. Gracchus sprechen. Vgl. *Fauvel's RE.* V. 1900. Er endete später, plötzlich aus Aerger und Schreck über die misslungene Bewerbung seines Bruders um das Consulat. Cic. *Tusc.* IV, 17. Irrthümlich nennt übrigens Florus III, 19 den Perperna als den Besieger der Sklaven."

of Rome to a high pitch and caused his murder by a mob of the nobility the year before, while Piso was vainly besieging Eunus at Enna. Such a man would therefore, naturally be selected by them as a proper person to confide in, if sent to quell the great uprising of their chattels in Sicily. It does not appear however, that Rupilius assumed command of Piso's army immediately on his election to the consulship. But that he superseded him⁹⁵ is certain; for his trouble with the unreliableness of his own troops is spoken of by a number of the old writers.⁹⁶ A son-in-law of Rupilius, Q. Fabius, commander-in-chief of a division of Piso's army, had been defeated at Tauromanion on the eastern coast of Sicily, losing the citadel, a stronghold of much value. This had proved a triumph to the revolutionists. But it appears to have been re-taken by Piso in some subsequent struggle.⁹⁷

Rupilius on assuming command, found Tauromanion again in the possession of Cleon and Eunus. As a punishment, Fabius was deprived of his command and compelled to quit the island. Rupilius then resolved to lay siege to Tauromanion. The besieged fought desperately and by an exhibit of courage and impetuosity threw back the Roman forces, driving them into a corner. Still Rupilius was not overcome. Rallying, he attacked the defenses of the slaves and checked their opportunity to do great damage. He then closed them in and began the process of starvation with all the malignant obstinacy of a Roman warrior. How long the siege lasted is not quite apparent; but in time, the provisions began to disappear. Hunger at last made its gaunt and ghastly tread into the abodes of the besieged, turning brave men into cannibals and making life a lottery by adding a horror of the carnivore to the pang of death. The poor wretches first attacked their own children and devoured their flesh; and then with the true beastliness of the gunæcophage, they

⁹⁵ Büch. S. 74.

⁹⁴ Valer. Max. VI. 9. 8.

⁹⁶ Diod. frag. ii. § 20.

⁹⁶ Valer. Max. IX. 12; Oros. V. 9; Flor. III. 19.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* V. 11, 7, 3; Flor. III. 19.

Diod. XXXIV. frag. ii. 20. Κατὰ δὲ Σικελίαν ἤρξατο τὸ κακόν, καὶ πόλεις ἠλίσκοντο ἁπανθροί καὶ πολλὰ στρατόπεδα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστατῶν κατεκόπησαν, ἕως Ῥουπίλιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς τὸ Ταυρομένιον ἀνεσώσατο Ῥωμαίους, καρτερῶς μὲν αὐτὸ πολιορκήσας, καὶ εἰς ἀφανὸν ἀνάγκην καὶ λιμὸν τοὺς ἀποστάτας συγκλείσας, ὥστε ἀρξαιμένους ἐκ ποίδων βορᾶς καὶ διελθόντας διὰ γυναικῶν μηδὲ τῆς αὐτῶν ὀλληλοφασίας, μὴδ' ὄλωσ φεισασθαι.

sated their wolfish appetites on the flesh and the innocent blood of women and other adults who could not fight.⁹⁸

Tauromanion was commanded by Cleon's brother, Comanus. In a moment of extreme desperation the latter, half dead with the grip of famine made an attempt to escape. He was however, detected issuing from the walls of the doomed city. Arrested and led before his hated enemy, the inexorable Rupilius, he was questioned regarding the power of his comrades within the fortifications, their objects and hopes of escape. The hour of the bold man of terrors had come. Never deigning an answer, with an almost unheard-of force of will, the man, after a wild moment's pause and a withering stare, covered his head with his mantle, drew in his breath, and by a superhuman struggle at self-command, refused to breathe again, dying amidst and before the astonished gaze of, Rupilius and his guards!⁹⁹

Finally the Romans succeeded in battering through the lower wall a gap and thus forced an entrance. But there yet remained an excellent and almost impregnable citadel into which the besieged took refuge as the Romans entered the breach. Here again they safely held themselves for a time, until through a treachery of one of the commanders, the Romans were admitted.

The scene which followed must be imagined; it cannot be described. With a spirit of relentless vengeance Rupilius tied the helpless, writhing prisoners fast, until his soldiers could have time to erect a multitude of gibbets; then in the frightful manner of all Roman criminals and the proletarian outcasts, they were hung upon the ignominious cross. Afterwards their bodies were hurled down all precipices which formed an escarpment of the citadel.¹⁰⁰ Little indeed is preserved of this awful martyrdom but a variety of broken gems corresponding with the main body of our narrative, are extant, which leave us the conjecture that its language falls short of the ghastly truth.

It is fair here to state on the other hand that a similar cruelty and want of feeling characterized the men in rebellion. Their vote at the first deliberative council de-

⁹⁸ Diod. frag. li. § 20; Oros. V. 9.

⁹⁹ Val. Max. IX. 12, exc. 1.

¹⁰⁰ Compare Steffert, S. 22 with Bücher, S. 75.

declaring for the butcher-knife policy was an edict inhuman and unworthy of a cause so exalted as that of freedom. Nor do we, except under the sagacious Achæus, find that they once deviated from this cruel and almost internecine policy which may have tended to harden the spirit in Rupilius, of revenge, retaliation and ferocity.

Rupilius, having now partially quenched a blood-thirsting spirit on these victims, marched directly for Enna. On his arrival he found the place an almost natural fortress, as difficult to storm as Tauromanion. Upon one side a similar precipice formed a natural wall, impregnable under any assault. The only thing practicable was to besiege the place, wait until the enemy's stores gave out and apply for a second time, the process of starvation. Cleon, the hitherto unconquerable commander-in-chief, held the fort. Eunus and his retinue had also gone back thither, before the siege of Tauromanion opened. Achæus is lost sight of. He is mentioned as dead; but from what cause is unknown. Comanus had fallen at Tauromanion. At the siege, there frequently occurred sorties of bodies of volunteers who would sometimes dash with precipitation from within the walls, cutting, wounding and taking prisoners, numbers often of the consul's best men. In one of these sallies Cleon, the intrepid chief, now mainstay of the already worn out and fainting slaves, was the leader in person. The number of the party this time proved insufficient to cope with the force which Rupilius detailed against them and in an effort to extricate them from the peril Cleon himself, in a hand to hand conflict, fell mortally wounded, a prisoner of the Romans, and expired.

When the news of the death of this loved and trusted leader came to the ears of Eunus and his people, a general gloom overspread the city. Courage was shattered. The king himself lost hope. His faith forsook him and he shrank in horror and despair. Now followed the work of that perfidious, cruel, with ancient workingmen's organizations, ever-present pest, the traitor. As at Setia, at Sunion, at Tauromanion, so here at Enna, this dangerous gorgon of insidiousness and villainy was at his post with fair words and foul intrigue ready to work his deadly poison for the enemy and against a friend and thus the keys to the gates of the city were soon after the death of Cleon,

delivered to the workingmen's implacable foe. Enna fell into the hands of the Romans.

The wholesale slaughter of the people, all of whom were captured, is an untraced horror. All that we are told by the hints left in fragments of its historians and seen in later commentaries, is that 20,000 of them, including the catastrophe of Tauromanion, bit the dust. The multitude of soldiers, of the aged, of women and children who suffered by sword and cross in other parts of Sicily, may be easily imagined. But at Enna the crucifix for weeks was a busy demon of retribution. A sullen gleam of joy seems to have lit the workers of revenge and to have made the glare of the firebrands of torture and the sobs and moans of the helpless in their hour of agony so cruelly prolonged, moments of a true elysium to the maddened aristocracy with souls steeped in competition whose glaives wreaked as they slashed from heart to heart of these vanquished representatives of labor.¹⁰¹

Eunus who had, during his day of fortune, given himself up to luxury and perhaps gluttony, had probably become demoralized and with him many others.¹⁰² A whole people, suddenly changed from abject slavery and degradation into affluence, becomes in turn, the arrogant master, the owner, lord; and enters and occupies a condition utterly unnatural to their expectations, however well it may conform to their tastes. The result is voluptuousness and degeneracy. The ten years' uninterrupted reign of Eunus may have resulted in jealousies and internal distempers. How Achæus came to his end is unknown; but suspicion points to some fatal feud between him and Cleon.

The great army of 200,000 soldiers¹⁰³ at the time of the junction of Achæus and Cleon is no longer in view upon the arrival of Piso and the first siege of Enna. Where were these legions, invincible at the outbreak of the war? What had occurred internally?

Eunus lost all hope and courage at the death of Cleon; and as Rupilius entered, shrank from his kingly seat and fled with a thousand guards, equally bereft of courage,

¹⁰¹ Siefert, 22: "Die Sklaven wurden unter Martern getödtet, meist von den hohen Felsen gestürzt. Auch hier bei Henna) wurden Tausende nieder gehauen; die Gesamtzahl der in Tauromenion und Henna getödteten Sklaven betrug über zwanzigttausend," ¹⁰² Büch., S. 76.

¹⁰³ Diod., XXXIV. frag. ii; Siefert, S. 29; Büch., S. 65. Bücher and Siefert are agreed in putting the number at 200,000. Livy, Cleon alone, 70,000.

hoping to escape to an inaccessible cleft or hiding place in the mountain. This rift of rocks with its trembling contents was soon discovered by a straggling party of Roman troops. Physical force was at an end and the omnipotent powers of the humiliated prophet were now all that his adherents had to fall back upon for succor. The Romans approached and commenced furiously the work of arrest. Seeing that the goddess had withdrawn her arm of protection, the guards of Eunus, rather than suffer the horrors of the cruel and ignominious crucifixion, fell to mutual extermination and by a desperate inter-suicide, robbed the gibbet of its prey. Eunus with his cook, his baker, his bath attendant and "king's fool,"¹⁰⁴ having no courage for mutual self-destruction, hid in a deep crevice of the crag. Thither the inexorable Romans followed and dragged them out. They then hung his kitchen mates upon a cross.

As to Eunus, he was first taken to the dungeon of Morgantion, under guard; afterwards, according to Plutarch, to Rome, (probably the *carcer Tullianus*, or one of the underground Mamertine caves) where in excruciating misery, covered with vermin and seething in filth, darkness and terror, he ended his extraordinary life.¹⁰⁵

Rupilius was a man too thorough to leave his work unfinished. He sent powerful detachments into every part of Sicily wherever his scouts brought intelligence of any group of rebels still at large. Great numbers of them were seized, brought into head-quarters and thence taken

¹⁰⁴ Diod. XXXIV. frag. ii. 22.

¹⁰⁵ Diod. XXXIV. frag. ii. 23. Dind. "Καὶ παραδοθεὶς εἰς φυλακὴν, καὶ τοῦ σωματοῦ αὐτοῦ διαλυθέντος εἰς φθειρῶν πλῆθος, οἰκείως τῆσπερ αὐτὸν ραδιοῦργίας κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον ἐν τῇ Μοργαντινῇ;" Livy, *Epit.* XC: "Capitur, carcere a pediculis devoratur;" Plutarch, in *Life of Sylla*, 37, says; "This abscess," speaking of Sylla, "corrupted his flesh turning it all into lice." *** "We are told that among the ancients, Acastus, son of Pelias, died of this sickness; and of those that come nearer our times, Almen the poet, Pherecydes the divine, Callisthenes the Olynthian who was kept in close prison, and Mucius the lawyer. And after these we may take notice of a man who did not distinguish himself by anything laudable, but was noted in another way, it may be mentioned that the fugitive slave Eunus, who kindled up the servile war in Sicily and was afterwards taken and carried to Rome, died there of this disease;" Siefert 22 "Mit 4 seiner Diener, dem Koch, dem Bäcker, dem Badesklaven und dem Lustigmacher ward er in einer Höhle gefangen. Er starb im Gefängniß an der Läusekrankheit entweder zu Morgantion oder Rom." According to Prudentius (*Hymn V.*) the ancient cavern prison was constructed with an object to produce as much torture as possible. Other ancient authors agree in conveying the idea that human ingenuity was taxed to invent such bells.

to the many Dionysian quarries or *lapicidinae*, dungeons for which Sicily was famous, and those found guilty of direct participation in the uprising were crucified. But these latter were the most numerous share. All the rest were re-delivered to their masters to receive worse treatment than before.

Such was the first servile war in Sicily; the greatest labor rebellion or strike, on record in any country or at any time. It was a most suggestive matter; being inspired by, based upon, animated, from its inception and all through by grievances against the conditions regulating labor and relying upon the superstitious idea of a Messiah, fervently believed, among the ancient poor, to be their promised deliverer.



Meeting of Achaus & Cleon. — See page 217.

CHAPTER X.

ARISTONICUS.

A BLOODY STRIKE IN ASIA MINOR.

FREEDMEN, BONDSMEN, TRAMPS and Illegitimates Rise against Oppression—Contagion of monster Strikes—Again the Irascible Plan of Rescue tried—Aristonics of Pergamus—Story of the Murder of Titus Gracchus and of 300 Land Reformers by a Mob of Nobles at Rome—Blossius, a Noble, Espouses the Cause of the Workingmen—He goes to Pergamus—The *Heliopolitai*—The Commander of the Labor Army overpowers all Resistance—Battle of Leuca—Overthrow of the Romans—Death of Crassus—Arrival of the Consul Paperna—Defeat of the Insurgents—Their Punishment—Discouragement and Suicide—Aristonicus strangled, Thousands crucified and the Cause Lost—Old Authors Quoted.

THE great uprising or strike, partly of slaves and partly of freedmen, artisans and farmers at Pergamus and in its vicinity, was to some extent the result of the abortive slave revolution in Sicily just described. It is interesting to the student of sociology, but especially so to the student of social life in antiquity, in many respects, if for no other reason than that it occurred but a short distance from Palestine with its Nazareth, its Jerusalem, its thousand memorable scenes that 163–166 years afterwards cradled and founded the mightier, more imperishable revolution of Christianity which aimed the final blow at slavery.

Pergamus, on the river Guicus, was, at the time of this story, a beautiful city, already ancient in years and vicissitudes. Attalus III., a son of Eumenes, a freaky, cruel and jealous monarch, ruled the place from B. C. 138 to 133, when at his death he transferred it without a con-

est to the Romans; so that it was a Roman possession when our story begins. The official news of this testament of Attalus was delivered to the delighted Roman Senate in the early fall of B. C. 133. There had been a great turmoil in Rome, occasioned by the abortive attempt of Titus Gracchus to restore the Licinian law, making it a crime for any person to hold more than 500 acres of land. The entire aristocracy had combined with the most unscrupulous and desperate resistance against Gracchus; and that same year had murdered him for daring to propose a measure which might curtail their arrogant and altogether illegal seizure and appropriation of the public domain, *ager publicus*; thus building up a landed aristocracy. The poor people, freedmen and slaves, had been intensely interested in the results of the commotion, which in the assassination of Gracchus by the lords and the overthrow of his noble measure, had been a disaster to them. Finally the defeat of Eunus and his army of revolutionists in Sicily, at that moment accomplished by Rupilius, added to the woe of the entire plebeian class. But now, as if this misfortune was not enough to fill their cup of bitterness, the news arrives from Asia Minor, a country in which the trade and labor unions were more splendidly organized than almost any other part of the world,¹ that Pergamus and the whole rich province of Eumenes and his successors, was, without a struggle, turned over to the greedy Romans, with its beautiful and fertile valleys of the Gaicus and tributaries, to become the scene of human slavery and its extended horrors. Already this terrible institution was planted there, competing with free labor. But this free labor is proved by the inscriptions to have been so well organized and so self-sustaining that it could exist under almost any government except that of the conquering, trampling Romans. The news, then, that Pergamus had been deeded to Rome, without even consulting her people, was a mournful sorrow which the proletarian class, if we judge by what followed, certainly interpreted to mean the doom of liberty and organization. Plutarch thinks that human slavery and its booty had much to do with this strange transaction, which afforded Gracchus a chance to argue for an immediate

¹ See chapters XX. and XXI.

distribution of money and lands, left in the testament of the dead king, among the poor, under this new agrarian measure which had actually passed and become a law.² Of course such a proposition only exasperated the Roman lords to the frenzy which burst into a tumultuous mob and ended in that eloquent, well-meaning tribune's violent death, followed by a great insurrection or mob of the Roman lords and the murder of over 300 work people at Rome. There has been considerable comment by the historians and others, as to the legality of the testament of Attalus,³ who at the time of his death is thought by his strange conduct to have been insane.

Attalus had a half brother named Aristonicus, a natural son of Eumenes by a woman of the place who was a daughter of a musician whom probably the royal family had employed. According to a clause in the law of succession it appears that this person, now a strong, ambitious and vigorous man, was the real heir apparent to the throne, although only half noble and the other half plebeian by birth. He certainly submitted with a bad grace to the arbitrary testament of the dead king, which, it was suspected, had been accomplished through intriguing Roman lawyers often seen hovering about the palace.⁴ Aristonicus entered his claim to the throne immediately after the tyrant's death. He entered into the new project with energy. Nor was he without friends. The largest part of the kingdom favored his pretention. There were many cities of some dimensions lying in the valleys of the river Gaicus and its tributaries, nearly all of which determined for him from the start as their future king. By the appearance of things Aristonicus was not only one of the common people but very popular among them. Like the

² Plutarch, *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, 14, Oros. V. 8. Gracchus had not met his fate when Endamus delivered the testament of Attalus to the Romans.

³ Livy, *Epitom.* LVIII., LVIX. which give us enough to show that Livy also wrote the history of this great mutiny which he calls a bellum servile. Oros. V. 8, 10. Strabo, XIII. Sallust, IV, *Historiarum Populi Romani Libri*, fragments

⁴ Eumenes, cujus amicitiam gloriose ostentant initio prodidere Antiocho paci. necedem; post Attalum custodem agri captivi sumtibus et contumeliis ex ege miserumnum servorum effecere; simulatoque impio testamento, filium ejus Aristonicum, quia patrium regnum petiverat, hostium more per triumphum luxere: Asia ab ipsis obsessa est: postremo totam Bithyniam, Nicomede mortuo, siripnere, cum filius Nusæ, quam reginam appellaverant, genitus haud dubie esset." Büch. *Aufs.*, S. 103.

⁵ Diod. XXXIV., frags. ii. and iii, Oros. V. 10. Strabo, XIV. p. 646. Polyi XXX. 2

rest, he was a castaway. Rome haughtily refused to recognize his claim. A number of cities like Colophon, Myndum, and thickly populated places as Samos, even if they wished to side with him, were afraid of the Romans. To secure them it was necessary to use armed force. Aristonicus soon found himself at the head of a considerable army and also a little navy consisting of a number of ships. From the palace he had obtained some money and with it he hired Thracian freedmen as mercenaries, a common practice of those times. Besides these, many of the soldiers were those who formerly had done duty for his brother.

The Ephesians, seeing the turn things were taking sent a fleet against him which completely destroyed his little squadron near the coast opposite Cyme. Aristonicus now determined to depend upon trying his fortunes by land.

Great numbers of slaves having heard of the success of Eunus in Sicily, and fearing, as well they might, that the occupation of Pergamus by the Romans would result in their worse degradation, were ready to welcome the new adventurer. The organized freedmen had cause for still greater fears. It was at the commencement of those days of persecution of trade unions by the Romans which culminated B. C. 58, in a law for their suppression.⁵ The workmen of antiquity possessed means of conveying intelligence of their hopes, fears and methods from one center or post to another; and it is ascertained that in this war of the pretender to the throne of Pergamus, large numbers, not only of slaves, but also of freedmen joined his army, although it was always known as the servile war.

In the interior he found the slaves already in rebellion. They had raised in a great insurrection, murdered their masters, taken possession of their estates⁶ and were organizing an army when Aristonicus appeared before them making overtures for their mutual assistance. He offered them their freedom and a respectable place in the army. He promised them that on the result of success he would build up a state based on their ideal of freedom and equality as had been advocated in the meetings of the unions.

⁵ See chaps. xli to xviii, containing full accounts with foot notes of proof reference.

⁶ *D'od. XXXIV, frag. lii.*

The *eranoi* and *thiasoi*⁷ existed in great numbers on this coast of Asia Minor, especially at Cyme, Pergamos and Samos. These, in common with those in Greece, Syria, and the islands, had established a culture of democracy. The promise made to these confiding people was that they should have the enjoyment of their rights guaranteed them and should be made full citizens; their state which the new monarch was to govern for them was to be the "sun" among nations and they were to be the ennobled, dazzling citizens of the sun, *Heliopolitai*. Such a condition bespoke almost the opposite of what they had ever seen in human government. The old groundwork of Greek government was one of lordship and bondsmen, dividing mankind by a gap so wide that it could scarcely be passed by leaps of fortune or aptitude. Yet they seem to have been able to comprehend the force of these promises. The discussions they had previously had in their societies had prepared them to receive and appreciate the promise. On the other hand they were to work with an obedient will and help the new king to establish himself on the throne. Dr. Bücher⁸ points out that the dazzling idea of becoming such citizens of the sun was what enraptured and won the slaves of Enna and all Sicily over to Eunus during the great servile war. The more ancient Syrian religion had been that of sun-worship, and their sun-god was equivalent in power and importance to the Greek Jove.⁹ The Syrians had an idea that their sun-worship was done to a sun-god and goddess; the god being equal to Jupiter and the goddess to Demeter or Ceres. So we hear of Eunus pretending to be the chosen representative of Ceres, who made the sun warm the fruits of the earth. Like the Greek gods who dwelt on the height of Olympus the *ouranos* or vaulted dome of heaven, so Adad and Atargatis, the sun-god and goddess of the Syrians,¹⁰ had their celestial home on the plateau eminence between the twin mountains of Lebanon, at the source of the Orontes, whose waters swept the foot of Antioch. Sun and earth

⁷ For *eranos* and *thiasos*, the ancient Greek-speaking labor unions, see chap. xix. *infra*.

⁸ *Aufstände der Unfreien Arbeiter*, S. 106. "Der name der Heliopoliten weist darauf hin, dass es derselbe war durch welchen Eunus seine Syrer fanatisierte."

⁹ Macrobin's *Saturnaliorum Libri*, I, 13, 10, Eyssenhardt, 1868: "Assyri quoque solem sub nomine Jovis, quem Δία Ἡλιουπόλιτην cognominant, maximis ceremoniis celebrant in civitate quæ Heliopolis nunc ipatur"

¹⁰ Strabo XII.

are within their power which is all that is glory, goodness and light. Thus these poor enslaved beings, stunted by hard labor and sufferings, either as slaves under the master's lash or as freedmen whose organizations are threatened or broken up, and whose business is lost—they being already in a state of insurrection—quickly grasped the offer of Aristonicus and became his soldiers.

Thus began another great strike or uprising of the labor-class; this time in far off Asia Minor, that was destined to add one more link to the already immense concatenation of circumstances leading to the great revolution of Jesus. But it may be looked upon as a most necessary thing in the stubborn logic of a *fiat*, in order that mankind might be taught the utter fallacy of any vengeful policy based upon the purely irascible, combating the acquisitive or concupiscent impulses of human nature.

Aristonicus began the war with slaves and freedmen as soldiers, in a manner similar to that of Eunus. His object was to become a king over a socialistic state. We are not aware of the number of cities that refused him, but it must have been considerable.¹¹ These he stormed and on forcing an entrance, plundered and treated with cruelty. The first city taken was Thyratira; the next Apollonis—large towns built by the Atalæ and Seleucidæ.

Conquest followed and city after city fell into the hands of the pretender and his rebel army. This successful campaign continued until we find them in possession of the entire kingdom. Nothing is imparted to us in regard to whether the neighboring slaves rebelled against their masters, in imitation of these proceedings at Pergamus.

At Rome, little or nothing was done during the year B. C. 133-132, to quell the new uprising in Asia. The great city was still trembling midst the cyclonic billows of the Gracchan revolt. The new servile wars at Rome and Capua, excited to a high pitch by the affair of Gracchus and his agrarian law was a dangerous rekindling of the war of Eunus. Titus Gracchus during this period was assassinated, as we shall soon relate, and a large detachment of the Roman army was still absent in Sicily under Rupilius, putting down th

¹¹ Sallust wrote a full history of the war but his details are all gone. Nothing of his valuable history remains except fragments, some of them so broken as to contain only half a line.

immense social upheaval recounted in the preceding chapter.

Thus, for a short time Rome had no time to turn attention toward her new territory of Pergamus bequeathed her by Attalus III. When the news, however, reached the city that the pretender was earnestly and successfully making headway and with the armed proletaries, rapidly achieving their object, the Romans awoke to a realization of the truth. But wherever the promise of booty showed itself they were seldom known to lie negligent or apathetic.

The two consuls for the year 131 were P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus and L. Valerius Flaccus. According to an old usage, Licinius Crassus was the Pontifex Maximus, and as such, through a religious superstition, could not leave Italy. Pagan religion also interposed against the other consul taking the field; he being *Flamen Martialis* to his colleague. There arose a dispute among the senators, and the illustrious name of Scipio Africanus was brought up for the general command of the expedition. But this plan was rejected and it was at last resolved to send Crassus, who had been one of the ardent friends of Gracchus and his land reform, and for this reason was beloved by the common people. Another reason for preferring him for the command of the expedition was, that he was not only master of the Greek but also spoke its Asiatic dialects; and having exhibited talent as an orator, he was believed to possess a variety of abilities necessary to insure success.¹²

He set sail from Rome during the early part of the year, with his whole army and the navy constituting in all a large force, and with a prosperous voyage on the Mediterranean arrived safely in the harbor of Pergamus.¹³ He had no other idea than to make himself master of the new legacy of Pergamus; for it does not appear, because he sympathized with Gracchus and the Italian proletariat, that he even understood or cared in the least, for an almost exactly similar state of suffering and somewhat similar movement in Asia. The question of sympathy with the poor seems to illy besit the objects of the commander of the expedition

¹² Valerius Maximus VIII. 7, 6: "Jam P. Crassus, cum in Asiam ad Aristonicum regem sebellandum consul venisset, tanta cura Græcæ linguæ notitiam animo comprehendit, ut eam in quinque divisam genera per omnes partes ac numeros penitus cognosceret. Quæ res maximum ei sociorum amore conciliavit, qua quis eorum lingua apud tribus illius postulaverat, eadem secreta reddenti." Cic. Phil. XI, 8, 18.

¹³ Gell. I. 13, 11.

against Aristonicus. It would seem that the impulses of tenderness he had manifested for Gracchus and the Italian poor and his rising power shown by his election might have played a deal in deciding upon Crassus against Scipio to get him out of the way.

On landing, Crassus had interviews with Nicomedes, king of Bithynia; Mithradates, king of Pontus; Ariarthes, king of Cappadocia and Pylæmenes of Paphlagonia; all of whom were seriously alarmed about the labor agitation, expecting similar uprisings would take place in their own territories; and they were probably trembling in view of the danger. They all eagerly joined with the Romans in their effort to put down the rebels. Each pledged himself to contribute a strong force of troops.

On the other hand, Aristonicus, in addition to his proletaries, had also engaged another body of soldiers, consisting of Thracian mercenaries. Phocæa, one of the finest cities supported him and many others staked their interests in him. But his best piece of fortune was meeting with Blossius of Cumæ, a stoic, who infused with the spirit of the movement of Gracchus and also of Eunus of Sicily, had risen in Asia Minor as advocate of the rights of mankind and become a social reformer.¹⁴ Plutarch tells the full story of Blossius. We reproduce his and other points.

A man named Blossius from the Italian *municipium* of Cumæ, subject to Rome, who, it appears, was an educated patrician, for some cause unexplained became greatly charmed by the majestic eloquence of Gracchus and his extraordinary defense of the poor working population of Italy. What inspired him to it may be conjectured to have existed in some degree independently of an enthusiasm for one man. The city of Cumæ was itself a home of labor unions.¹⁵ It was about that time also that persecutions, frowns and threats had set in against labor organizations of every kind. Roman aristocracy had lived to see the steady growth of human liberty and was shrewd enough to perceive that trade unionism was a potent factor in its promotion. Labor unions took a political shape notwithstanding the severe

¹⁴ Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus*, 17, 20; Valerius Maximus, IV. 7, 1; Cicero, *Læli.*, 11, 37.

¹⁵ Orellius, *Inscriptionum Latinarum Collectio*, Nos. 2,263, 6,422, 6,463, 5,158, 131. These figures refer to slabs of stone on which are found inscribed the registers of collegii or trade unions. Cumæ must have been a hive of unions at that time.

laws against them. To head off these tendencies of organized labor, existing not only in Cumæ but everywhere, the Roman lords were combined almost to a man, heart and soul and with malignant determination, to destroy them. To do this the more effectually they appealed to the avaricious instincts of the so-called citizen class, portraying the immense individual wealth which might be developed from the great accessions of stock and farm lands falling to the Roman arms through conquest. This wealth was already in many places being realized and the power to be used for its development was *human slavery*. The slave power was the muscle of the subjugated tillers of the land. But to accomplish this there must be rigorous laws for suppressing free labor. Gracchus, who had seen the horrors of slavery in Etruria while once traveling through that country on business, had determined to devote his life to the rescue of the slaves and threatened freedmen. Blossius saw him and they became intimate friends.

On the morning of the fatal patrician mob, "Gracchus," says Plutarch, "who was a grandson of Scipio Africanus, set off for the Forum of Rome when he heard that the populace were gathering there; but not without a presentiment of ill omen. A brace of snakes had laid eggs in his highly ornamented helmet. The chickens from whose entrails the *aruspex* was to forshadow his augury, refused to come from their coop and eat. Two black ravens were seen fighting on the roof of a house and one of them rattled a stone down at his feet."¹⁶ All these were bad omens¹⁷ which to those superstitious people proved so disastrous by prostrating their faith, hopes and consciences in many an hour of trial and caused disasters more terrible than their enemies themselves. The boldest of the comrades of Gracchus were staggered. Further than this, when he left the threshold of his home, Gracchus had stumbled and hurt his toe so badly that it bled profusely. Blossius was with him, and it seems was the spokesman of the train.

Gracchus, like many another leader among the ancients, shrank at this array of ill omens, but Blossius dissuaded him from his timid design of returning by the following per-

¹⁶ Plutarch, *Titus Gracchus*.

¹⁷ Fusiel de Coulanges, *Cité Antique*, is the best work we can refer to for an explanation of the influence of superstitions in ancient times. For the superstitions themselves, see Julius Obsequens, *de Prodigiis*, *passim*.

suasive speech: "For Tiberius Gracchus, grandson of Scipio Africanus and tribune of the Romans, to be scared at a crow, and disappoint the people who are assembled to receive his aid, would be an unendurable disgrace. His enemies would not alone laugh at such a blunder but they would malign him to the common people as an insolent tyrant." Friends also now came to herald the fact that a great number of people were gathering and were impatient of his arrival and that all was calm.

The outcome of it was that Gracchus yielded, but was soon beset by one of those terrible mobs of Roman nobles and their hirelings, denounced as an ambitious schemer who wanted nothing but the votes and support of the rabble and intended to make himself tyrant of Rome. They set upon the defenceless man and murdered him with kicks and clubs.

So great was the faith of Blossius in Gracchus that when afterwards asked if he would have burned the capitol had he been commanded by him to do so, he replied that Gracchus was too wise to have made such a command, but supplemented it when pressed with the daring answer that he should have obeyed.¹⁸ Blossius, notwithstanding the treason, escaped and was not pursued, probably because he was thought to be infatuated. He now bent his course toward Asia Minor¹⁹ and joined his learning and influence to the insurrection of the freedmen and slaves, under the leadership of Aristonicus.

We now return to the career of Publius Crassus, a relative of the Gracchi—Caius, the brother of Tiberius Gracchus, having married his daughter Licinia. As mentioned, he had no sympathy whatever with the emancipation movement which was then raging over the known world, excepting

¹⁸ Cicero, *Laelius*, II, makes this account almost exactly similar with that of Plutarch, or of Valerius Maximus *De Antiquitate*, VIII vii 1: "Nam cum senatus Rupilla et Lænatii consiliis mandasset, ut in eos qui cum Graccho consenserant, more majorum animadvertent; et ad Lælium, cujus consilio præcipue consules utebantur, pro se Blossius deprecatum venisset, familiaritatisque excusatione interetur, atque is dixisset. Quid site Gracchus templo Jovis Opt. Max. facere subdere iussisset, obscenitate voluntat illius, propter istam quam factas familiaritatem, fuisse? Nunquam istud, inquit, Gracchus imperasset. Fatis, imo etiam iudicium; totius namque senatus consensu damnatos mores defendere ausus est. Verum quod sequitur, multo audacius, multoque periculosius; compressus enim perseveravit, interrogatione Lælii, in eodem consensu ante gradum stetit; sequere etiam hoc, si modo Gracchus animasset, facturum respondit."

¹⁹ Valerius Maximus, *idem* note of Thyss. "Tibe. inim. et Caium, fratres, ob gravissimas seditiones, quas in podulo suis legibus et citabant nostes a Senatu fuisse iudicatos, et utrumque a nobilitate caesura, alterum a Nasico, alterum ab Opimio. Quo tandem casu, Blossius ad Aristonicum regem confugit. Prodigatis deinde rebus Aristonici, mortem sibi concivit."

so far as that of Rome proper was concerned. He landed at or near Pergamus and formed an alliance with the princes of the Pergamenian kingdom and the kings of Bithynia, Pontus, Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, engaged as many native soldiers as possible and with his own army and the auxiliaries, made an assault upon Leucæ, a strongly fortified city. A protracted siege must have followed; for he was there fighting in the following winter, when his consulship had nearly expired. He was laying his plans to leave for Rome when entrapped and surprised by the arrival of heavy reinforcements for Aristonicus. Crassus was forced to give battle and was totally defeated. He was himself surrounded by the enemy and taken prisoner. Treated no doubt, with severity, and discouraged if not distracted, he sought death rather than disgrace; and one day, infuriating one of the Thracian mercenaries by a punch in the eye with his riding whip, the latter plunged his sword through his body and killed him on the spot.²⁰ The head of the dead Roman general was cut off and the body taken to Smyrna and buried.

In the meantime, at the *comitia* at Rome, M. Paperna had been elected one of the new consuls for the year 130. The news of the turn of military things in Asia Minor cast an alarm at the home government and Paperna was fitted out and soon on his way with an army large enough to crush the forces of Aristonicus at a blow. Arrived in Mysia and receiving the particulars of the disaster of Crassus at Leucæ he betook himself to the spot where the slaughter occurred. The time of year when he arrived must have been March or late in February; for Aristonicus was yet at winter quarters.

Before the latter could prepare himself for resistance, Paperna fell upon him by surprise. A great battle ensued in which Aristonicus was totally overthrown. With the

²⁰ Valerius Maximus, III. ii. 12, *De Fortitudine*: "Militis hujus in adverso casu tam egregius tamque virilis animus, quam relaturus sum imperatoris. P. enim Crassus cum Aristonico bellum in Asia gerens, à Thracibus, quorum is magnum in præsidio habebat, inter Eleam et Smyrnam exceptus, ne in dittonem ejus perveniret; dedecus, accersita ratione mortis, effugit. Virgam enim, qua ad regendum equum usus fuerat, in unius barbari oculum direxit. Qui vi doloris accensus, latus Crassi sica confodit: dumque se ulciscitur, Romanum imperatorem majestatis amissæ turpitudine liberavit. Ostendit fortunæ Crassus, quam indignum virum tam gravi contumelia afficere voluisset; quoniam quidem injectos ab ea libertati suæ miserabiles laqueos prudenter partier ac fortiter rupit, datumque se jam Aristonico, dignitati suæ reddidit." Cic. Legg. III. 19, 42: Strabo III.

shattered remnant of his army he fled to Stratonicæ but was doggedly followed by the Romans who surrounded the place and starved him to a capitulation. With most of the slaves he fell a prisoner to the Romans.

Paperna's time being about to expire—the manœuvres, cross marching and other vicissitudes of the campaign having absorbed the summer—Aristonicus, with a portion of his rebel soldiers and officers, was conveyed back in irons to Pergamus. Paperna pressed his design to take his distinguished prisoner, as well as the Pergamenian treasure bequeathed by Attalus III, back to Rome, before the arrival of the new consul should deprive him of his laurels; since it was often the habit in such cases, where the consulship lasted but a year, for the new comer who had done nothing, to bereave the real winner of his honors, if the latter's works were incomplete. Just before Aquilius the new consul appeared on the stage, Paperna was taken sick at Pergamus, and died.²¹

A word remains to be said as to the probable fate of the poor slaves and freedmen who formed the principle part of the army of revolution. Almost nothing is left us on this point. Aristonicus it is known, was taken by sea to Rome in chains and strangled in the cell of his prison, B. C. 129. His ardent and faithful friend Blossius of Cumæ, seeing his cause, and lifework, thus ground to powder between the millstones of Roman power, desired no longer to live. In his philosophy of human equality which this defeat had practically extinguished, death seemed preferable to a lonely existence and he put an end to himself.

But what of the rank and file? It would seem by the silence itself of historians and the otherwise unaccountable delay of Paperna at the scene of his victory—delay which brought his departure for Pergamus late into the following fall although the battle was fought in the early spring—nearly the entire summer had been consumed in the horrible work of crucifying the unfortunate working-people who,

²¹ Valerius Maximus, III. iv, 5: *De Humili Loco Natis*. "Non parvus consulatus rubor M. Perperna, utpote qui consul ante quam civis; sed in bello gerendo utilior aliquanto reipub. Varrone imperatore. Regem enim Aristonicum cepit, Cassianæque stragis punitur extitit. Cum interim ejus vita triumphavit, mors Papia lege damnata est. Namque patri in illius, nihil ad se pertinentia civis Romani jura complexum, Sabelli judicio petunt, redire in pristinas sedes cogerunt, ita M. Perpernae nomen adumbratum falsus consulatus, caliginis simile imperium, caduceus triumphus, aliena in urbe improbe peregrinatus est."

through that battle, had lost their cause.²² Could there have remained to us one faithful copy describing the scenes of vengeance²³ and the dangling corpses left rotting on the gibbets of Stratonicæ in Careæ, we should then have a chronicle of things perfectly harmonious with the brutal nature

²² Plato, *Laws*, book IX, chap. 9, in giving his directions regarding the treatment of a slave who is a murderer or accessory to the crime, lays down the rule that if a freeman or citizen commit homicide he shall be turned over to the murdered man's relatives, who have the power to redeem him for money, for good previous conduct, or through the intercession of his friends. If however, the crime be committed upon a citizen by a slave, such offender is to be handed over to the relatives who are to torture or otherwise punish him without limit, as they please: the only proviso being that the torture or punishment *shall not stop short of death*. This is Plato's state of the "Blessed"—blatant in comparison with the existing laws—and as the customs of the Greek-speaking Asians and islanders were fully as severe as those of the Athenians and fellow countrymen of Plato, it cannot be supposed that anything less than death could have befallen the victims of Paperna. The following is Plato's law; which we give in English: "If a slave kills his master in a passion, let the kindred of the deceased use the murderer in whatever manner they please, and be clean of the acts, so long as they do not by any means preserve the life of the slave." But in the same law Plato rules that this happy republic shall "let him who kills his own slave, undergo a purification." (Translation of Burges). Surely a human low-born was considered inferior to a dog, for that animal was often exempt by reason of his irresponsibility!

²³ That this was a genuine labor rebellion there seem to be no grounds for doubt. Dr. Bücher, *Anstände der Unfreien Arbeiter*, S. 107-8, in the following significant language brings forward the question of the prevailing ideas of those people, especially the laboring class, whose organizations were being seriously threatened by those events: These *Attalic* societies had always hitherto been not only befriended but protected by the Pergamian kings. We quote the words of Dr. Bücher on the *Dionysian Communists*: "Die letztere bestand darin, das sich die Feiern len durch Weihen und Sühnungen, durch üppige Tänze unter dem Klang der Flöte und der Handpanke in sinnberückenden, Taumel und wilde Begeisterung versetzten, in der sie sich zur Gottheit emporzuschwingen, Wunder sehen und verrichten zu können meinten. Wenn gerade damals diese Kulte auch im eigentlichen Griechenland in einer grossen Zahl von geschlossenen Vereinen und frommen Bruderschaften gepflegt wurden (S. 34. 92), so ist das, was ihnen Verbreitung verschaffte, nicht sowohl das Zaubermeer eines schrankenlosen Sinnenrausches, in das sich ein unberiebigtes, überreiztes Geschlecht so gern versenkt, als vielmehr die diesen Genossenschaften eigenthümliche, der socialen Anschauungsweise der Hellenen fremde Gleichstellung aller Mitglieder, mochten sie Griechen oder Barbaren, Männer oder Frauen, Freie oder Sklaven sein. Darnach ist die Bezeichnung, Bürger der Sonnenstadt, zu beurtheilen; sie schied die Anhänger des Aristonikos als die gläubige Gemeinde des Adad von den Ungläubigen, die verbrüdeten Armen und Elenden von ihren feindlichen Bedrängern, wie wir den von Eunus auf den Schilfgehobenen Namen der 'Syer' demzufolge auch nach der religiösen Seite werden zu nehmen haben, als das Kennzeichen der Anhänger der Atargatis." This Atargatis was the veritable goddess Ceres, protectress of labor, of whom we have already spoken so much in our chapters on the Eleusinian Mysteries, and on Eunus and Athenion of Sicily. Several coincident circumstances crowd themselves into this connection, to-wit: This is the prolific, original soil of the early Christian church. The apostles must have used the half-sistered communes, ready in advance, perforce their own previous cult, to embrace any new idea that promised relief; for the rebellions having failed, all the free farmers, mechanics and laborers were dragged down to slavery; and their condition was, at the beginning of our era infinitely worse than it had ever been before. Again, this very spot together with the adjacent island is to this day the repository of innumerable inscriptions—the marvel of Archaeologists—which begin to be the subject of contention among scholars who are anxious to record nothing such a thing as a labor movement, and who are consequently nonplussed regarding anything other than that

of the Romans and bearing the reflex of probability, in the similar pictures of horrors which, in every other case we have described, were painted by the historians' pen, as in letters of blood, warning all workmen of the ghastly wages of rebellion. We are left no personal description even of the hero of this great uprising which involved 3 years of savage fighting, many drawn battles with the Asians, the siege and taking of several fortified cities, and the defeat and disastrous overthrow of one large, well generated and thoroughly equipped consular army of Rome. All we know is the short but numerous and fully corroborated statements given as cold and feelingless facts, by chroniclers of different periods, different nationality, sentiment and language. To suppose this to have been an exception to the deeply fixed habit of intimidation and con-
 dign vengeance of the Romans, or that these rebel workmen were treated with more lenity than those who had espoused the cause of Eunus and Cleon, or were to espouse in the coming struggles of Tryphon and Athenion or of Spartacus and Crixus, would be to admit that unheard of departure of the Romans from a sacred principle. No; the scenes of blood-spilling which followed the downfall of Aristonicus were appalling. But that very blood was the seed of a sect which soon afterwards, near that very region, bore fruits destined to destroy the Pagan system of slavery and to rear a new one based upon kindness, forbearance, mutual love, brotherhood and recognized equality of the human race.

own debatable grounds regarding their origin as well as their immense numbers. What were they; who were they; whence are they? Our answer is that they were nothing, other than labor societies, which for hundreds of years had been legalized at Rome, in Greece, in Egypt. (See Herodotus, II, 164-8 and 169, which makes it almost certain that Solon carried his law from Egypt over to Greece, but which the then existing anti-labor hostility at Rome, caused by the greed of Roman land and slave speculators and their politicians, was in a desperate struggle to subdue, by a measure which they finally passed, known in many times as *conspiracy laws*. After this hostility set in, the poor creatures were obliged in conformity to some law, to shield themselves by the cloak of obstinate religious rites, graven into their inscriptions, and it is here that the archaeologists are misled.

CHAPTER XL

ATHENION.

ENORMOUS STRIKE AND UPRISING IN SICILY.

SECOND SICILIAN LABOR-WAR—Tryphon and Athenion—Greed and Irascibility Again Grapple—The War Plan of Salvation Repeated by Slaves and Tramps—Athenion, another remarkable General Steps Forth—Castle of the Twins in a Hideous Forest—Slaves goaded to Revolt by Treachery and Intrigue of a Politician—Rebellion and the Clangor of War—Battle in the Mountains—A Victory for the Slaves at the Heights of Engyon—Treachery of Gaddæus the Freebooter—Decoy and Crucifixions—Others cast Headlong over a Precipice—The Strike starts up Afresh at Heraclea Minoa—Murder of Clonius a rich Roman Knight—Escape of Slaves from his *Ergastulum*—Sharp Battles under the Generalship of Salyus—Strife rekindles in the West—Battle of Alaba—The Proprætor punished for his bad Administration—Victory Again Wreathes a Laurel for the Lowly—A vast Uprising in Western Sicily—Athenion the Slave Shepherd—Another Fanatical Crank of Deeds—Rushing the Struggle for Existence—Fierce Battles and Blood-spilling—What Ordinary Readers of History have not heard of—Fourth Battle; Triokala—Meek Sacrifices by the Slaves, to the Twins of Jupiter and Thalia—March to Triokala—Jealousy—Great Battle and Carnage—Athenion Wounded—He escapes to Triokala and recovers—Fifth Battle—Lucullus marches to the Workingmen's Fortifications—Battle of Triokala—The Outcasts Victorious—Lucullus is lost from View—Sixth Battle—Servilius, another Roman General Overthrown—The Terrible Athenion Master of Sicily and King over all the Working-People—Seventh and Final Field Conflict—Battle of Macella—Death of Athenion—Victory this Time for the Romans—End of the Rebellion—Satyros, a powerful Greek Slave escapes to the Mountains with a Force of Insurgents—They

are finally lured to a Capitulation by Aquillius who treacherously breaks Faith and consigns them as Gladiators to Rome—They fight the Eighth and last Battle in the Roman Amphitheatre among wild Beasts—A ghastly mutual Suicide—The Reaction—Treachery of Aquillius Punished—The Gold-Workers pour melted Gold down his Throat.

AN enormous and memorable uprising or strike, both of slaves and wage workers of antiquity, occurred in Sicily, beginning 29 years after the close of the war of Eunus, which ended B. C. 133, bringing the date at B. C. 104.

As in the account we have given of the first servile war of Eunus, Achæus and Cleon we have followed the admirable chronology and other points of Dr. Karl Bücher, so in this second war, we follow the splendid elaboration of Prof. Otto Siefert, the learned doctor-professor at the college-gymnasium of Altona.¹

It has already been observed that there existed among the ancients, an occasional asylum where slaves and freedmen driven to straits by the cruelty of others, could in emergencies, flee and hide in security, under the protecting ægis of a certain divinity. There existed such an asylum in Sicily. It was located on the sombre shores of two small lakes westward from Syracuse in the interior. The asylum was built in honor of the *Palikoi*, twin children of Jupiter and the nymph Thalia. The legend is, that out from the surface of one of the lakes a hideous column of sulphurous waters sprang high into the air like a fountain, causing an unendurable smell and a deafening roar.² Here stood a temple or Pagan convent and asylum. All around was the hideous forest. In view near by was a craggy mountain-steep where dwelt elves and urchins,

¹ Siefert, *Sklavenkriege auf Sicilien*, Altona, 1860, S. 24-40, *Brochüre*. We quote his note 69, S. 36, on the sources of information whence we derive our knowledge of this uprising, and the duration of time it occupied, as follows: "Quellen dieses zweiten Sklavenkrieges sind: Florus, *Epitom. Historiarum Romanarum*, lib. III. cap. 19; Dion. Cass. Exc. Peiresc. 101, 104; Diodor XXXVI. Liv. LXIX. Die Dauer: ὁ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Σικελίαν τῶν οἰκετῶν πόλεμος διαμεινῶς ἔτη σχεδὸν πού τέτταρα τραγικὴν ἔσχε τὴν καταστροφὴν. M. Aquillius beendigte ihn im J. 99, nachdem er 101 als Consul den Oberbefehl übernommen hatte; als der Krieg ausbrach, war Licinius Nerva Proprætor, nach ihm kommandierten L. Lucullus und C. Servilius; also begann die Empörung im Laufe des Jahres 104. Euseb. Arm. setzt irrthümlich das Ende um 4 Jahre später an auf Olympiad. 171, 2, (95)." The events being obscure though thrilling and often highly romantic, we shall reproduce *verbatim* many of the paragraphs of these and several other highly respectable contributors to the history.

² Aristotle on *Wonders*, 57. Diad. Sic. XI. 88-90. *Ἡαλικῶν λιμνῆ*. It seems to have been a forest marsh or swamp

demons of the mountain and of the wailing woods. Satyrs and wizzards danced the mad antics of fury to the æolian strain of their harps; while Thalia, mother-goddess of the twins, smiled on them as their idyllic muse; and her guardian command hushed the frenzied winds and waters, and balméd their sulphurous odors with the breath of encouragement.³

This was the spook and goblin-haunted asylum where, in the summer of B. C. 104, a large number of naked, hard-worked and sweat-begrimed slaves gathered together for the protection of the institution. They were stragglers from Syracuse who had undergone an examination of their eligibility to life and liberty.

What was the deep motive which inspired so strange a visitation as this, coming unheralded to the old castle at the swamps of the twins?⁴ The workmen had, as it were, of their own spontaneous instincts, centered there for safety! A full explanation of this is a history of one of the most desperate and sanguinary rebellions recorded in history.

Marius was one of the two consuls of Rome in B. C. 104. In order to help him carry out the war measures which had been determined upon, the Roman Senate had authorized him to secure troops by conscription from the conquered provinces. Sicily, ever since the Punic

³ Diod. XI. 89 'Ἐπει δὲ περὶ τῶν θεῶν τούτων ἐμνήσθημεν, οὐκ ἀξιόν ἐστι παραλείπειν τὴν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀρχαιότητά τε καὶ τὴν ἀπιστίαν καὶ τὸ σύνολον τὸ περὶ τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους κρατήρας ἰδιώμα. Μυθολογοῦσι γὰρ τὸ τέμενος τοῦτο διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχαιότητι καὶ σεβασμῷ, πολλῶν ἐν αὐτῷ παραδόξων γεγενημένων. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ κρατήρες εἰσι τῷ μεγέθει μὲν οὐ κατὰ πᾶν μεγάλοι, σπινθηρίας δ' ἔξαισίους ἀναβάλλοντες ἐξ ἀμυθῆτον βυθοῦ καὶ παραπλήσιον ἔχοντες τὴν φύσιν τοῖς λέβησι τοῖς ὑπὸ πυρῆς πολλοῦ καιομένοις καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ διάπυρον ἀναβάλλουσιν. Ἐμφασιν μὲν οὖν ἔχει τὸ ἀναβαλλόμενον ὕδωρ ὡς ὑπάργει διάπυρον, οὐ μὴν ἀκριβῆ τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν ἔχει διὰ τὸ μηδένα τολμᾶν ἀψασθαι τούτου· τηλικαύτην γὰρ ἔχει κατάπληξιν ἢ τῶν ὑγρῶν ἀναβολή, ὡστε δοκεῖ ὑπὸ θείας τινὸς ἀνάγκης γίνεσθαι τὸ συμβαίνειν. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὕδωρ θεῖον κατάκρον τὴν ὄσφρησιν ἔχει, τὸ δὲ χάσμα βρόμον πολλὸν καὶ φοβερὸν ἐξίσι, τὸ δὲ δὴ τούτων παραδοξότερον, οὔτε ὑπερκεχίται τὸ ὑγρὸν οὔτε ἀπολείπει, κινήσιν δὲ καὶ βίαν ρεύματος εἰς ὕψος ἔξαιρομένην ἔχει θαυμάσιον. Τοιαύτης δὲ θεοπροφείας οὕσης περὶ τὸ τέμενος, οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν ὄρκων ἐνταῦθα συντελοῦνται, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτοκήσασιν σύντομος ἢ τοῦ δαιμονίου κόλασις ἀκολουθεῖ· τινὲς γὰρ τῆς ὄρασεως στερηθέντες τὴν ἐκ τοῦ τέμενος ἀφοδὸν ποιοῦνται. Μεγάλως δ' οὕσης δεσιδαιμονίας, οἱ τὰς ἀμφιβητήσεις ἔχοντες, ὅταν ὑπὸ τινος ὑπεροχῆς κατισχύωνται, τῇ διὰ τῶν ὄρκων τούτων ἀντιρῆσει κρίνονται. Ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ τέμενος ἐκ τινων χρόνων ἄσυλον τετηρημένον, καὶ τοῖς ἀτυχοῦσιν οἰκέταις καὶ κυρίοις ἀγνώμοσι περιπετωκόσι πολλὴν παρέχεται βοήθειαν. Τοὺς γὰρ εἰς τοῦτο καταφυγόντας οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν οἱ δεσπότης βιαιῶς ἀπάγειν, καὶ μέχρι τούτου διακεμένον ἀσιτεῖς μέχρι ἂν ἐπι διωρισμένοι φιλανθρώποις πείσαντες οἱ κύριοι καὶ δόντες διὰ τῶν ὄρκων τὰς περὶ τῶν ὀμολογιῶν πίστει καταλλαγῶσι. Καὶ οὐδεὶς ἱστορεῖται των δεδωκότων τοῖς οἰκέταις πίστιν παύτη παραβάς· οὕτω γὰρ ἢ τῶν θεῶν δεσιδαιμονία τοὺς ὀμόαντας πρὸς τοὺς δούλους πιστοῦς ποιεῖ. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἐν πεδίῳ θεοπροφεί κείμενον καὶ στοαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις καταλύσεσιν ἰκανῶς κεκοσμημένον.

⁴ *Id.* See note above. "Μυθολογοῦσι γὰρ τὸ τέμενος τοῦτο διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχαιότητι καὶ σεβασμῷ, πολλῶν ἐν αὐτῷ, παραδόξων γεγενημένων."

wars had been one of these provinces. Almost every human creature not possessing the blood of a *gens* family in this *palæstra* of suffering was now a slave.⁵ The condition, bad enough before, was rendered worse if possible, by the ghastly defeat of the 200,000 slaves, in their uprising and war of rebellion under Eunus a generation before.⁶ But it was for Nicomides, king of Bithynia, in far off Asia Minor, to kindle the war-fagots. Bithynia though a kingdom of some independence was nevertheless a satrapy of Rome; and the order of Marius the consul, that Nicomides should levy troops out of his dependency, for the Roman army, could not be carried out for the reason that the rapacious Roman tax-gatherers known as publicans⁷ had sold almost everybody into slavery and it was degrading, and contrary to all law and rule of antiquity except in the severest emergencies, to make soldiers of slaves. This made the *senatus consulti* a dead letter. Rome was vast in actual dominion at this time and any law touching one part, generally held good also for any other. It was found on test that also in Sicily, the majorities were slaves and that, like Nicomides, so also Nerva, proprætor over Sicily under Marius, was cut off from the hope of supplying his quota of troops for the Roman army.

What was to be done? On an investigation it was found that most of the workingmen best able to bear arms, were slaves. Again, their owners were unwilling to hear to their being set free. It would be a loss of property. These clubbed together and pooled their money, being politicians enough to know that an offer of a bribe would

⁵ Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliothecæ Historiæ Reliquiæ*, XXXVI. li. 1, 2, 3: "Κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Κίμβρους τοῦ Μαρίου στρατείαν ἔδωκεν ἡ σύγκλητος ἐξουσίαν τῷ Μαρίῳ ἐκ τῶν πέραν θαλάττης ἔθνῶν μεταπέμπεσθαι συμμαχίαν. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Μάριος ἐξέπεμψε πρὸς Νικομήδην τὸν τῆς Βιθυνίας βασιλέα περὶ βοηθείας· ὃ δὲ ἀπόκρισιν ἔσπεκε τοὺς πλείους τῶν Βιθυνῶν ὑπὸ τῶν δημοσιωνῶν διαρπαγέντας δουλεῦειν ἐν ταῖς ἐποποιαῖς. Τῆς δὲ συγκλήτου ψηφισαμένης ὅπως μηδεὶς σύμμαχος ἐλεύθερος ἐν ἰσπαρχίᾳ ἐουλεύη καὶ τῆς τούτων ἐλευθερώσεως οἱ στρατηγοὶ πρόνοιαν ποιῶνται, τότε κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ὡν στρατηγὸς Δικίνιος Νερούας ἀκαλούθως τῷ δόγματι συγχροῦς τῶν δούλων ἠλευθέρωσε, κρίσει πείρεις πρᾶξις, ὡς ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις πλείους τῶν ὀκτακοσίων τυχεῖν τῆς ἐλευθερίας. Καὶ ἦσαν πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον δουλευόντες μέδωροι πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν."

⁶ Diodorus, XXXIV. frag. li. 18.

⁷ The *publicani* must not be confounded with the *vectigalarii* as tax collectors. The latter were workingmen with a plebeian society. The publicans were blooded, grasping aristocrats, belonging to the *equites* and were, according to Cicero, the "flos equitum Romanorum, ornamentum civitatis, firmitamentum rei publicæ" (*Pro Planc.*), words characteristic of this boasting aristocrat. The publicans scattered horror and destruction everywhere. See *New Testament*, also *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, art. "Publicans."

have the desired effect upon the proprætor Nerva.* Nerva, it appears, took the bribe; but in doing so, performed some queer diplomatical gymnastics in order to glide away from a semblance of blame and thus unintentionally set the whole island into an uproar. He had first published a proclamation requiring all slaves who believed themselves entitled to emancipation, to come and receive their liberty. This was under a new law just enacted by the senate at Rome. The law was suited to the emergency and was indited to read that subjects must no longer be seized by the publicans and sold for taxes; and that those who had been thus sold should be entitled to appear before city officials of their vicinity and receive their liberty.⁹

Now what was the governor to do? The slaves to the number of 800, having become aware of this by the proclamation actually calling them in and eager for liberty, had escaped from their masters, probably by running away and were already thronging around the proprætor in impatient expectancy of the promised papers of emancipation, hoping to join the Roman army and thus become free and honored men. Alas! No such happiness was in reserve for them. The miserable liar, ready to grasp his bribe even at the expense of sullyng conscience with malfeasance in office, when the banded slave owners thickened around him pressing on all sides, issued another edict to the slaves advising them to go back to their masters with the treacherously perfidious supplement that he would stand between them and all harm.

Struck down with horror, the poor wretches, feeling that in their surreptitious escape they had partly taken the initiative in procuring their own freedom and knowing the dreadful extent of vengeance which awaited them on their returning to the now exasperated masters, betook themselves as stated, to the citadel of the twins at the lakes of the *Palikoi*. And well they might; if we may believe the words of Florus who of all other writers had the least sympathy for the slaves in rebellion.¹⁰ Yet Florus

* This statement is made on the strength of Dion Cassius (*frag.* 101), who latinates as much in speaking of the sums pooled by the slave owners.

⁹ Diod. Sic. *Bibliotheca* XXXVI, *frag.* iii. 2. as quoted in note 5, q. v.

¹⁰ Florus, *Epit. Rerum Romanorum*, lib. III. cap. XIX. S. 1, speaking of the first servile war says: *Ut cumque etsi cum sociis (nefas!) cum liberis tamen et ingenuis dimicatum est.* This word *nefas* characterizes the struggle as a *mispheny*.

describes them as prisoners in chains. All over Sicily there existed prisons called in Latin *ergastula*, in Greek *ergasteria*, where slaves were kept in custody over night in irons. Some were forced to work in these dens; but most of them were marched out in the early morning to their grinding labors on the farms.¹¹ During the servile war 20 years before, Eunus attacked these horrid slave-pens and set fully 60,000 of the manacled slaves at liberty.¹² These immediately joined his great army of revolution, swelling it to such an extent that the slaves were victorious in many battles.

What took place at the asylum in the forest of Jupiter's twins we are but imperfectly told. They conspired;¹³ though as in the case of every strike of the ancient slaves, so also here, our histories are riddled to fragments. But enough has been preserved from the ruthless vandal's hand to make clear what we shall with confidence relate. A most bloody and devastating war soon burst forth, spreading, in a few days over nearly all of Sicily.

There is a town now called Scillato but in those days the Sicilian Greeks knew the place by the name of Ancyte.¹⁴ Here a massacre announced and kindled the first flames of war. Thirty slaves organized under a leader named Oarius, broke chains in the night, set upon their masters and murdered them in their sleep. Later in the same night, probably through the action of the first thirty, 200 more slaves were delivered from their shackles, or at least from bondage, and the whole neighborhood was made hideous by scenes of terror which they enacted. It was at the slopes of the Nebrode heights not far from the town of Engylon. A fastness crowned the height which, like

¹¹ Flor. 19, "Hic ad cultum agri frequenta ergastula, catenatique cultores."

¹² *Idem*. c. 6 "Hoc miraculum primum duo millia ex obviliis, mox jure belli refractis ergastulis, sexaginta amplius millium fecit exercitum." See war of Eunus chap. IX.

¹³ Diod. XXXVI. frag. iii. 3. Dind. says: Οἱ δ' ἐν ἀξιώμασι συνδραμόντες παρεκάλουν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀποστήναι ταύτης τῆς ἐπιβολῆς. Ὁ δ' εἰτε χρήμασι πεσοθεῖς εἰτε χάριτι δουλεύσας, τῆς μὲν τῶν κριτηρίων τούτων σπουδῆς ἀπέστη, καὶ τοὺς προσιόντας ἐπὶ τῷ τυχεῖν τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐπιπλήττων εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους κυρίου προσέταπτεν ἐπαναστρέφειν. Οἱ δὲ δοῦλοι συστραφέντες, καὶ τῶν Συρακουσῶν ἀπαλλαγέντες, καὶ καταφυγόντες εἰς τὸ τῶν Παλικῶν τέμενος, διελάλουν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ ἀποστάσεως. Nothing however, can be clearer than this fragment of Diodorus. The slaves, screened from harm by the hospitable old temple, had leisure to organize their rebellion on a prodigious scale, which they accomplished with effect.

¹⁴ Siefert, *Sicilische Sklavenaufstände*, S. 36, note 71, points to Cicero, *Verras*, III. 45, who writes it "Incensens," and concludes: "die Stadt ist auf dem Nebrodengebirge in der Nähe von Engylon zu suchen."

the asylum of the *Paῖλοι* offered the slaves security. Here they fortified themselves, received allies, sent strong and fearless scouts to cut the bands and set their fellows free and thus in a few days so augmented their force that by the time the Roman prætor made his appearance with an army to put down the *emeut*, they were strong enough to offer front.

This first organized resistance of the slaves was however, destined to meet with disaster through treachery. A man named C. Titinius Gaddæus probably of Roman and possibly of noble stock, prowled, in those days, about this country, in the capacity of a marauder. He was an escaped convict, having a considerable time before been condemned to death for certain crimes. With a banditti of freebooters of his ilk, he stole about at night, hiding by day in the inaccessible fastnesses of the mountain and thus by robbery and deceit, gained a precarious living, always on the alert for an opportunity and always destitute of conscience. The prætor, Licinius Nerva who was the cause of the disaffection among the slaves, sought, and probably by promises of exoneration secured, the alliance of this freebooter who subtly set about making the friendship of the slaves then watching an opportunity to destroy the militia which Nerva had levied to put down the trouble. Gaddæus succeeded in deceiving the slaves into an ambush and by arrangement turned the poor wretches over to the Roman governor who crucified some of them and others he killed by casting headlong from a high precipice to be dashed to jelly upon the rocks.¹⁶

Nerva now believed the trouble to be over. He was even foolish enough to disband his forces, consisting mostly of militia whom he discharged from further service and sent to their homes. But the slaves seem to have been on the alert; perhaps encouraged by the utter want of generalship shown by Nerva. The question now arises in the mind of the reader how poor, enslaved, ignorant creatures many of whom were in fetters, could have been able to rebel at all; much less keep a correspondence with others sufficiently to know what was going on at different points. The answer must be, that they felt themselves in

¹⁶ Diod XXXVI. iii. 8, *fn.* Dind. των δ' ἀποστατῶν οἱ μὲν μαχόμενοι κατὰ λόπῃσαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως δεδιότες τιμωρίαν ἑαυτοῦς κατακρήμνισαν.

a desperate condition and combined their entire energy and intelligence to greater effect than may be naturally imagined. Men engaged in such desperate adventures think nothing of turning night into day; and like the similar case with us in recent days, they may have had secret outposts and means of communication.

At any rate, the Roman general had hardly disbanded his force when the war-cloud gathered in another part of the island. A rich Roman knight named P. Clonius,¹⁶ who possessed estates, such as were celebrated in history as the *latifundia*, was murdered by his slaves near Heraclea Minoa on the southeastern coast of Sicily. This murder was perpetrated by a band of 80 desperate men who concocted their conspiracy during the lull and broke from the *ergastula* helping each other by signal, to free themselves. The number in the revolt rapidly increased. The governor, Licinius Nerva, was now in a helpless condition, without an army. The slaves rushed in every direction, freeing each other, and pitched tent on the banks of the river Alaba¹⁷ coursing at the foot of the Mons Caprianus, to the number of over 2,000 men. This, however, occupied some time, during which Nerva succeeded in mustering a considerable force which he marched or transported by water to the scene of war.

The distance from Syracuse to Heraclea Minoa is not far from 95 miles in a straight line westward but following the road or the shortest route by sea around the Portus Odysseæ and past Agrigentum, it could not be less than 130 miles.¹⁸ To convey his army and *impedimenta* thither and fix his headquarters at Heracleia, occupied so much time that it must have been toward the spring of B. C. 103, before anything serious transpired.

On a favorable position, the two adversaries drew up in line of battle. The name of the Roman commander was M. Titinius,¹⁹ whose forces summed up the largest

¹⁶ Diod. XXXVI. iv. 1, *init.*: "Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τὰ οἰκίαι ἤθη ἀνωλυθέντων, ἤκον τινες ἀπαγγέλλοντες ὅτι Πόπλιον Κλόσιον, γειτομειοῦ ἰσηῆα Γωμαιῶν, ἐπαναστάντες οἱ δοῦλοι κατέσφαξαν ὀδοήκοντα ὄντες, καὶ ὅτι πλῆθος ἀγέιρουσι."

¹⁷ Diod. XXXVI. 4. "εφεξῆς δ' ἐρέοντο τῶν εἰσχιλιῶν οὐκ ελαττοῦς." This force of 2,000 men was collected within 7 days.

¹⁸ In regard on to Nerva's route Diodorus says nothing.

¹⁹ Diod. XXXVI. 4. 3. *Find.* says: Μάρκος Τίτιος. Nevertheless we are constrained to think Titinius the same person who had betrayed them. *v. c.* Titinius G. d. d. d. d.

number that the Roman prætor, with the addition of 600 men drawn from the fortress of Enna, was able to muster. On the whole, relying on the superior armor and other equipments of his own men, compared with the destitute condition of the workingmen, who depended upon butcher-knives, sickles, clubs, slings and whatever they could grasp, the Romans seem to have had the advantage. But the rebels besides being full of that courage which desperation inspires and anxious to meet a hated foe, had also the most advantageous position. No details of this battle have come to us further than that it was a fierce and bloody encounter; the slaves fighting desperately following charge with charge, dealing such ponderous blows against their adversary, composed partly of raw militia, that the latter gave way, or were killed on the spot. The rout of the Romans now became general. A panic seized them. They cast away their arms and ran for life. The slaves grasping their weapons, pursued and hacked those whom they could to pieces, scoring a signal victory.

The strike which hitherto had manifested itself in murmuring and an occasional outburst, now assumed warlike proportions. Section after section of the island broke away from their masters and joined the gathering army. The force under drill, soon after the battle at the Alaba river is reported to have been 6,000²⁰ strong; all well equipped with the best of arms which they had taken from the enemy. Greatly encouraged by this first victory, they set about organizing in earnest. More fettered slaves who were working in chains were cut loose from the *ergastula* or work-prisons. These glad to escape, joined the rank and file, and being the most desperate and brave made reliable soldiers in the insurrection.

A mass meeting was now called for the election of a leader. There was a certain character who had signalized himself as a man of great energy, named Salvius. This man had been the principal in the movement which had consummated the assassination of the Roman knight Clonius, at Heracleia Minoa ending in the defeat of the proprætor

²⁰ Diod. XXXVI. iv. 4: "Και πολλῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀφισταμένων, σύντομος καὶ παράδοξον ἐλάμβανον αὐξῆσθαι, ὡς ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις πλείους γενέσθαι τῶν Ἰθακισχιλίων. Ὅτε δὴ καὶ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συνελθόντες καὶ βουλῆς προτεθείσης πρώτος ἐν εἰλαντο βασιλείᾳ τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Σαλοῦιον δοκοῦντα τῆς ἱεροσκοπίας ἐμπειροῦ ἵναί καὶ ταῖς γυναικείαις θύαις αὐλομαροῦντα."

Licinius²¹ Nerva at the battle of the Alaba river. Like Eunus, the slave-king of Enna in the war of the strikers, which had ended 29 years before, he was a prophet, a worker of incantations, a flute-player, and dispensed supernatural and wonderful doings among the credulous slaves and freedmen. A slave himself, of superior bearing and gift of command, he was elected by acclamation as king.²² King Salvius immediately on assuming power, turned his attention to organization and order. He taught his wild and often gross-mannered men that success does not come from savagery and rapine nor from destruction of property by laying waste the country and its fruits; and brought them to understand that an unbridled career is dangerous. The army was divided into three divisions, under his three picked warriors as commanders, and marched off at different angles into the country with the order to reunite at a given point, at a given time, bringing with them provisions. The plan succeeded exactly. At the appointed time and place the three divisions again united, having collected from the dairy and stock farms so large a quantity of sheep, cattle, horses, grain and other supplies that the question of want for the army which had also greatly increased, was settled for a long time to come.

Great numbers of horses had come into the hands of Salvius. A force of cavalry was organized 2,000 strong, undoubtedly well equipped. The army grew to the majestic proportions of 20,000 foot besides the cavalry—in all 22,000 combatants.²³ With activity this force was drilled to discipline and fitted for receiving the approaching Roman army. King Salvius after completing preparations for a campaign, set off on a march toward Morgantion situated on the coast of Sicily, near the mouth of the river Symethus. Morgantion was a fortified city with a citadel; and had been the seat of a terrible conflict between the slaves and the Romans in the war of Eunus.²⁴ The rebel chieftain hurriedly conveyed his large army

²¹ Diodorus, IV. 4. characterizes Salvius as a Slave who knew the arts of prophecy and could play the flute or horn. He was a favorite with women and possessed the mysterious arts of slight of hand. See note 20, *fin.*

²² Siefert, *Sicilische Sklavenkriege*, S. 27. 'Indess zeigte Salvius doch eine größere Befähigung für seine Stellung, als sich nach seinem früheren Leben erwarten liess.'

²³ Diod XXXVI. frag. iv. §§ 7, 7, 8, Dind.

²⁴ See chap. ix., on the Servile war of Eunus.

thither, a distance from Heracleia **Minoa** of about one hundred miles.

The Roman prætor knowing that greater mischief was meant, had in the meantime collected an army, partly from Italy, partly from Sicily, as well as of stragglers who had survived the last disaster—in all, amounting to 10,000 men. With this force he marched day and night in order to arrive at Morgantion before the rebels could reach the place. This he appears to have succeeded in doing but found nobody but the women and children of the slaves; for the men, aware of the near approach of Salvius and his army had escaped to a hiding haunt which they frequented, by a gate or other means of egress through the walls, during a dark night. Salvius now determined to give his enemy battle. He led his troops in solid phalanx and good order against the prætorian army, making the attack with such a shock as to stagger him by the onset. It appears from a remark made by Diodorus that the prætor must have had slaves as a part of his force; for Salvius, taking advantage of some opportunity, gave the soldiers of the Roman army to understand that they would be freed if they threw down their arms. As a result the Roman troops began to throw away their weapons and save themselves by flight. A panic was thus created and the rout became general. Salvius pursued and succeeded in taking 4,000 Italians and Sicilian Greeks, while 600 were killed on the spot.²⁵ Large quantities of arms fell into the hands of the again victorious rebels, together with all the munitions of war that were stored in the magazines. The victory before Morgantion was complete. Quantities of armor and campaign equipments were taken, together with provisions for maintaining the siege of the city itself. Certain it is, that after the battle, the Roman prætor retired within the fortress of Morgantion with his remaining troops, and by promising the slaves the boon of lib-

²⁵ Diod. XXXVI. iv. 7. "Οἱ δ' ἀποστάται ἐξαίφνης ἀντεπιθέμενοι, καὶ ὑπερδέξιοι τὴν στάσιν ἔχοντες, βιαίως τε ἐπιρράξαντες, εὐθύς ἐπὶ προτερήματος ἦσαν· οἱ δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐτράπησαν πρὸς φυγὴν. Τοῦ δὲ βασιλεῦς τῶν ἀποστατῶν κήρυγμα ποιησαμένου μηδένα κτείνειν τῶν τὰ ὄπλα ῥιπτοῦντων, οἱ πλείστοι ῥιπτοῦντες ἔφευγον. Καὶ τοῦτω τῷ τρόπῳ καταστρατηγήσας τοὺς πολεμίους ὁ Σαλούσιος τὴν τε παρεμβολὴν ἀνεκτήσατο καὶ ποριβέητον νίκην ἀπενεγκάμενος, πολλῶν ὀπλων ἐκυρίευσεν, Ἀπέθανον δὲ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῶν Ἰταλιῶν τινες καὶ Σικελῶν οὐ πλείους ἑξακοσίων διὰ τὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος φιλελευθροπρίαν, ἑάλωσαν δὲ περὶ τετρακισχιλίων."

erty, which indeed all those poor creatures were fighting for without really knowing how, inspired them to such valiant resistance against their fellow slaves outside, that for a long time no progress was made by Salvius in getting possession of the city and Dr. Siefert is in doubt whether he accomplished it at all.²⁶ But this doubt proceeds from a misunderstanding of the historical fragment of Diodorus, from the point of view of the actual genius of this theme. Diodorus who so long has been misunderstood, knew perfectly well what he was saying when he told us that Salvius when his army had grown to be 30,000 strong sacrificed, after the conquest of Morgantion, to the twin heroes—the very immortals who had protected him a short time before, at a short distance from there, in the Asylum of the poor and unprotected slaves. At their forest asylum, amid the roar of waters and the fumes of sulphur and gloom and loneliness, these twin sons of Jupiter and Thalia had entertained and protected them with the ægis of divinity and it was now in order, at the moment of conquest and victory to sacrifice to them in purple and splendors, in repayment.²⁷

Another reason why the Roman prætor lost Morgantion is that he had been treacherous to the slaves under his command, promising them, as we have stated, that if they fought bravely against their fellows outside, they should have their freedom. This they did valiantly but the perfidious governor again lied them out of this much longed for and expected boon. Whereupon accepting the offer of Salvius to spare all who would throw down their arms, they joined their fellow rebels.²⁸ Thus again the Romans were forced to open their eyes and behold Sicily,

²⁶ Siefert, *Sicilische Sklavenkriege*, S. 27. "Morgantion aber zu nehmen gelang ihm vorerst doch nicht." "Ob in Folge dessen die Stadt fiel, ist aus der erhaltenen Berichten nicht mit Zuverlässigkeit ersichtlich."

²⁷ Diod. XXXVI. vii. 1. Παλικοί." The exact words which seem to have been misunderstood, are; "Ὁ δὲ τὴν Μοργαντίην πολιορκήσας Σαλούιος, ἐπιδραμίον τὴν χώραν μέχρι τοῦ Λεοντίνου πεδίου, ἤθροισεν αὐτοῦ τὸ σὺμπαν στρατεύμα, ἐπιλέκτους ἀνδρας οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν τρισμυρίων, καὶ θύσας τοῖς Παλικοῖς ἦρωσι, τοῦτους μὲν ἀνέθηκε μίαν τῶν ἀλουργῶν περιπορφύρων στολὴν χαριστήρια τῆς νίκης, αὐτὸς δ' ἀναγορεύσας αὐτὸν βασιλέα, Τρύφων μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστατῶν προσηγορεύετο." The language is unmistakable. Still Dr. Siefert thus missees; "Doch können sich diese Worte auch auf den Sieg über Licinius Nerva beziehen, und so ist es wohl, da πολιορκήσας nicht füglich für ἐκπολιορκήσας genommen werden kann." But the whole phrase reads plainly that Salvius was master of the situation

²⁸ Siefert, *Sicilische Sklavenkriege*, S. 27. "Unbegreiflicher Weise versagte der Prætor diesen Versprechen die Bestätigung und trieb dadurch den grössten Theil dieser Tapferen in das Lager der Auführer."

their "granary of the world," south and east, in the hands of surging, pitiless slaves in the terrible attitude of rebellion.

Lilybæum and Segesta or the old Ægesta stood on the Mediterranean sea; the former at the western extremity, the latter northward in the *sinus Segestanus*, 25 miles apart. This new scene of the slave rebellion opens 150 miles or more from that of the battle grounds of Morgantion. No newspapers, no railroads, no telegraphs to convey news particulars or rumors of events. How then, in a reign of suppression and terror among maddened masters with their whips, chains, *ergastula* and crucifixion-gibbets and their optional use, could all the slaves of Sicily, even those of the farthest extreme, have known, understood, reciprocated with each other, midst these awful tumults of self-enfranchisement?

On one of those western farms of Sicily there writhed in the fetters of compulsory labor, a man named Athenion—a slave, yet born with all the proud and lofty impulses of manhood. Florus who, unlike Diodorus, spoils his histories with unkind allusions,²⁹ unmindful of the desperate acts he himself might have resorted to under similar treatment, speaks bitterly of him but in his words of vituperation gives us valuable facts. This man's name was Athenion. He was a Cilician by birth;³⁰ but having a superior bearing and faculty of command, had charge of 200 herdsmen on one of the great stock farms of that productive region of Sicily. His family and those of his men and fellow slaves were kept at work in the slave pens or *ergastula*, as distinctly stated by Florus. Athenion and his men over whom he officiated as boss or overseer, feeling that a time had come to strike the blow for liberty and, as we are obliged to surmise, posted regarding the doings of King Salvius, far to the other extremity of Sicily, determined to make a desperate trial to obtain freedom from servility and degradation.³¹ He imparted his plan to a

²⁹ *Epitom.* III. 19. "Athenio pastor, interfecto domino, familiam ergastulo liberatam subsignis ordinat. Ipse veste purpurea, argenteoque baculo et regium in morem fronte redimita, non minorem, quam ille fanaticus prior, conflat exercitum; acriusque multo, quasi et illum vindicaret, vicos, castella, oppida driplens, in dominos, in servos infestius, quasi in transfugas sæviebat."

³⁰ "Athenio Cilix." See Dind. paraphrase of Diod. XXXVI. v. 1. Cilicia was on the borders of Syria in Asia Minor but a few miles from Palestine. He hailed from near the stage of the greater movement 100 years later.

³¹ Diod. XXXVI, v. 1-4.

few of his men. The result was that at an appointed time the 200 slaves attacked their owners—two millionaire brothers—killed them, ran and cut the fetters from their families in the slave-prison, set them free, everywhere sounding the bugles of rebellion, and set about arming and drilling the men who came running into the quarters from all directions, begging for enrollment. In five days there were more than a thousand slaves under arms, with Athenion as leader.

Athenion was another man of wonders, and he now began to assume the unnatural powers of Messiah, king, fortuneteller, star-gazer and prophet. The result of such manœuvres of course, was to confirm the ignorant slaves at his command, in the belief that he was initiated into the favors of the gods. They elected him king of the rebel government. Apparently aware of the methods of Ennus and of Salvius; and judging in his own way the errors of their plans, Athenion blocked out a plan of his own, unique and farsighted. He refused to except all the slaves who came flocking into his army, mad with the delirium of revenge, desperate in risks, and eager for war to the knife. He examined them and accepted only those whom he judged most powerful, obedient and fearless. All the rest he sent back to their old employment with orders to cultivate the land and multiply the stock and other land products,³² lest there come a famine which would be more destructive to the army than an enemy from Rome. He set himself up as a star-gazer and proclaimed to his men that he read in the stars how he was to be the king over all the Sicilians. Under these auspices the army had swollen to 10,000 men. We are distinctly informed that he was vain enough to strut about considerably, with fine purple and sporting a silver cane;³³ but the kind-hearted reader, in view of the shrewd policy of this conduct, may see fit to forgive a poor branded slave, whose only clothes probably had hitherto been his naked skin.³⁴

The first campaign of Athenion was against the forti-

³² Many of these farms however were now entirely in their own hands, the owners having been killed.

³³ Flor., *Epitom.* III. 19. "Ipse vesta pupurea. argenteoque baculo"

³⁴ Diod. XXXIV. frag. II. 38, tells the story of the slaves of Sicily branded to the bone, whipped because they dared ask for a few rags to protect them from winter.

fied city of Lilybaeum which he attacked with his 10,000 men. The siege continued for some time without success; and he concluded, with much wisdom, Dr. Siefert says,³⁵ to raise the siege, saying that the gods were so unfavorable to the taking of Lilybaeum that a disaster was about as certain as a victory. The wisdom of thus desisting from this attempt to carry the city by siege, Dr. Siefert does not state. Still it is self-evident, resting upon Athenion's probable information of the arrival from Mauritania of a large detachment of men which king Bocchus, a dependent of Rome, had dispatched to the rescue of Lilybaeum. Even as it was, the shrewd slave-king with all his efforts to vacate did not succeed without his being attacked on the night of their landing, by the Moors and suffering considerably. Athenion who seems to have depended upon his gifts of imbibing counsel from supernatural sources,³⁶ did not expect so much from the fortified cities as did Eumus and Cleon, whose terrible starvation when hemmed in and besieged by the Romans at Morgantion and Enna, was still fresh in the memory of many. Here he seems to have been wise. He afterwards found that those fortresses if left to themselves, conquered themselves, as it were, by strifes and turmoils of the citizens with their slaves who were plotting to get away and join the insurgents under arms. In consequence, the rebels had no fear of the cities joining the Roman forces; since they had all they could attend to, keeping mischief in quell at home. The whole country, however, was soon in possession of the strikers.

A new source of the insurgents' strength now devel-

³⁵ Siefert, *Sivlische Sklavenkriege*, S. 27-28: "Der Sterndeuterer kundig, hatte er in den Sternen gesehen dass er König über ganz Sicilien sein werde; deshalb suchte er den geordneten Zustand auf der Insel, die er schon als sein Eigenthum ansah, aufrecht zu erhalten. Ein Angriff auf das feste Lilybaeum, den er mit zehntausend Mann unternahm gelang zwar nicht, diente aber doch dazu, den Glauben an seine Scherzabe zu bestärken. Als er nämlich mit grosser Klugheit die Belagerung aufzunehmen beschloss, unter dem Vorworte, den Göttern ze alle diese Unternehmung nicht und man könne eine Niederlage nur durch raschen Abzug vermeiden, trat schon das Verkündete ein. Ein Korps maurischer Hülfstruppen, welches der neue Bundesgenosse der Römer, König Bocchus von Maetania unter Anführung des Comon den bedrängten Lilybaeum zugesendet hatte, machte sofort nach seiner Landung einen nachtheiligen Angriff und fügte den schon im Abmarsch begriffenen Truppen des Athenion nicht unbedeutenden Schaden zu."

³⁶ Cf. Bucher *Unfreie Arbeiter*, S. 78. "Man darf sich die Schwierigkeiten, welche den Führer einer Sklavenbewegung erwarteten, ja nicht als gering vorstellen."

oped itself. The poor free people, whose condition was oftentimes worse than that of the slaves themselves, came in great numbers and joined the phalanx of the slaves.³⁷ They were ground to powder between the masters and the slaves. Not unfrequently their miserable condition was such that they resorted to violence of themselves; and many being organized in unions as we have shown, they were a source of turmoil.³⁸ Thus these combined sources of power made up a large army which Dr. Siefert, shrewdly catching a most important statement of Florus and carefully paraphrasing the torn fragments of Diodorus and Dion Cassius, sets aside the contradictory statement of Cicero, thus resuscitating and making tangible what must clearly have been two terrible battles involving the acknowledged overthrow of two Roman prætors, one after the other.³⁹

³⁷ Diod. XXXVI frag. vi. D. nd. There is material extant sufficient for an interesting and instructive essay on the ancient tramps of Sicily and other countries. So interesting is this account of the ancient tramps that we present Diodor's paraphrase of Diodorus in full on the tramp question: "Ingens vero tum rerum confusio, et malorum quod dicitur. Ilias Siciliam universam occuparat. Non enim servi tantum, sed etiam ex liberis egestate afflictis omne rapinarum et flagitiorum genus committabant, et quicumque offerrentur, servi aut ingenai, ne quis perditam illorum maltiam enuntiaret, omnes impudenter trucidabant. Ideo quotquot in urbibus se continebant, vix illa quæ intra pomeria essent, pro suis habebant; quæ vero extra aliena exleque violentiæ mancipata iudicabant. Multa insuper alla a multis contra normam æquitatis et humanitatis per Siciliam audacter peragebantur." But this historian does not stop here. The tramps who were freedmen who, on account of the newly imported cheap labor of the slaves, were suffering from want of means, unable longer to find employment, had grown desperate to the last degree, and fearfully dangerous. Fragment xi. continues the description of those terrible days and desperate men as follows: "Non enim servi dumtaxat rebelles Siciliam vastabant, sed etiam ingenni, quotquot nec prædia nec agros possidebant, ad latrocinia et rapinas conversi, cæteratim per regionem decursabant, et, paupertate simul et mala mente impulsæ, armata et pe ora abigebant. fruges in villis conditas diripiebant, et obvium quemque nullo discrimine, servum an ingenum, obruncabant, ne quis esset qui eorum furor in ac facinora indicaret. Quumque in Sicilia iustum esset eo quod nullus prætor populi Romani jus dicebat, cuncti liberrimam licentiam nacti impune debacchantur; proinde nullus non locus infamis erat rapinis ac latrocinis ac vi perditorum hominum in ditissimi cuiusque fortunas secure invadebant. At il, qui paulo ante fama atque opibus clarissimi inter cives suos fuerant, tunc fortuna subito commutata non modo a fugitivis per summam contumeliam compilabantur, sed prætera injurias et insolentiam hominum ingenorum perferre cogebantur. Quocirca universi vix illa, quæ intra pomerium erant, pro suis habebant; quæcunque vero extra urbium muros erant posita, ea aliena et prædonum violentiæ obnoxia existimabant. Denique per singulas urbes atque oppida ingens confusio ac perturbatio juris judiciorumque erat. Nam perduelles, quum agrum omnem agrinibus suis occuparent infensi dominis suis atque inexplebili cupiditate flagrantes, itinera omnia intercludebant. Qui vero in urbibus supererant adhuc servi, ægri ac defectionem animis spirantes, terrori dominis erant."

³⁸ Sief. rt. *idem*, S. 28: "Diese besitzlosen Freien übten oft nach ärgere Gewaltthaten aus als die Sklaven. Es herrschte eine masslose Verwirrung und Gesetzlosigkeit eine *Kaῶσ* *Ἰλιας*, wie Diodor sagt." See Diod. XXXVI. frag. vi. *init.*; also our note 37 above.

³⁹ Cicero, *Verres*, II. 54, gives it as follows: "Athenionem qui nullum oppidum cepit." Of course; for he had determined wisely from the start, not to molest the towns. Siefert however, *idem*, S. 36, remarks in note 78: "Bei

The truth as to the lost histories of this bloody war is made up by a short but clear statement in Florus' Epitome of Roman history, and for perfect fairness we propose to use the old *recensio* and notes of Fischer and Duker. Florus, being an aristocrat of an exalted *gens* family, either of the proud Julian or of the Annæan stock, enjoying the family prestige of the Cæsars, whose instincts, true to the genius of the Pagan world could muster no sympathy and hardly a contemptuous pity for so mean and degraded a creature as a slave, would surely not have confessed, in writing his epigrammatical story of Athenion, to more than the truth. His sense of humiliation as he confesses the terrible flagellations which his country received during the servile wars, comes repeatedly to the surface in his pages, betraying the feelings of moral nausea; and he confesses no more humiliations of his family and race than truth compels. Yet Florus distinctly tells us that Athenion utterly destroyed two Roman prætors, or at least their armies and camps.⁴⁰ This is perfectly consistent with the general contour of the story. A Roman leader possibly Lucullus, who afterwards fought Salvius, with a probable force of Moors under some commander sent out by King Bocchus, had arrived in time to save Lilybæum from the assault of Athenion. When their fleet unexpectedly appeared, Athenion retired at night but was attacked and somewhat damaged before making good his escape. The rebel commander now prepared himself for a general engagement with the allied armies of Lucullus and Bocchus.

It is, therefore, not until after the battle of Triocala that we can apply the statement of Florus regarding Athenion:

Cicero ist der Zweck der Erwähnung wohl ins Auge zu fassen." See *Supra*.

⁴⁰ Florus, *Epit. Rerum Romanarum*, lib. III. cap. 19, §. 11. "Athenio pastor sæviebat. Ab hoc, quoque Prætorii exercitus cæsi, capta Servilii castra, capta Luculli" (castra). In note h. Fischer explains as follows: "*Servilii Castra, Capta Luculli*. Allos Annales habuit Florus; nam ex nostris, C. Servilii et C. Licinii Luculli castra non modo non capta fuisse, contra vero, et a Lucullo victore sciret, et a Servilio tantum non repressos fuisse servos manifestum est." This is as we surmised Florus had at his command at the time he wrote, works of history which at present do not exist at all as here suggested by Fischer. By the defeats of Athenion are only meant those occurring at Triocala and the previous repulse though not a defeat which he had suffered on his withdrawal from Lilybæum. We now turn to the Duker comments §. 11 p. 919 Delphine classics and this: "Ab hoc quoque Diodorus, lib. XXXVI. tribuit hæc Salvio cui-dam, cui Athenio, velut imperator rigni, audiens ierit." True, Diodorus says Salvius was victorious over a prætor but it was on the extreme east coast, and the prætor was neither Servilius nor Lucullus but the prætor, P. Licinius Verus. Nothing is safer than to follow Siefert, q. v. Seite 59.

"This man putting on raiment of purple, sporting a silver cane, his forehead coronated in the manner of kings, not less fanatical than the fellow Eunus before him, inflamed his army and melted together their sympathies so that they were even far more bitter; and then, as if to vindicate this predecessor's actions, raved over towns, castles, villages, tearing them to pieces, inciting the slaves against their masters and causing them to turn traitors and join his hordes. Thus he met and captured the camps of Servilius and likewise those of Lucullus." These are the plain words of Florus, who though whimsically proud, was honest. Accepting them we proceed; for he framed this statement from historical sources now not extant.

We now return to the movements of Salvius, the slave-king of Sicily, whom we left after the battle before Morgantion, in possession of the whole country, having beaten the proprætor, Licinius Nerva, and consummated a great sacrificial solemnity to the honor of the twins of Jupiter in whose asylum they had from the first been protected. This worthy flute-player, Messiah and prophet, had in the meantime not been idle. The army of picked men was now augmented to a force of 30,000, and by direction of Salvius, concentrated into one solid army-corps. The union of these men was effected at or in the vicinity of Leontini, in the fruitful valley of one of the many beautiful rivers which fall into the Mediterranean from the mountains. Here on the occasion of another ovation in thanks and honor to the *Palikoi* or twins, for propitiating the victories, the slave-king assumed the robes of royalty and the more resounding name of Tryphon;⁴¹ ordering that henceforth he should be known by that name. The next thing was to select a situation whereat to establish himself. With this intention he now resumed his march back to the spot where the first decisive battle had been won.

Salvius, alias Triphon, appeared at the stronghold of Triocala on the upper waters of the Alaba river where were combined sweet waters, fruit, wine, oil and all the profusion of vegetable and animal plentitude. Here was improvised for him a palace. Athenion, the rival slave-

⁴¹ Büch. *Aufst* S. 78 says his real name was Diodotus Tryphon and cites We-seling

king was summoned to appear, and brought with him 3,000 men, leaving 7,000 or more in the field, under proper leaders. Siefert thinks the object of Tryphon in sending for Athenion was to put him in chains through impulses of jealousy.⁴² At any rate, Athenion was arrested and for this treachery Tryphon afterwards paid with bitterness; for retribution was at hand. Nevertheless, the fortifications which had been designed went on to completion. The place was surrounded by a wall and dykes 5,000 feet in length and became a large market place. Tryphon chose for himself a council and lictors in the manner of the Romans. These strode about on guard with their bundles of whips and their hatchets in hand, attired in jewels and purple.⁴³ While this was going on Athenion, the bravest and wisest of the two slave-kings, lay in chains, waiting for his opportunity. It came.

The year B. C. 103 witnessed in Rome the fitting out of the proprætor L. Licinius Lucullus who with an army of Romans and Italians 14,000 strong arrived in Sicily. On landing the force was augmented by 800 Bithynians, Thessalians and Acarnanians, 600 Lucanians led by the bold Cleptius and 600 others of different extraction. This formed a total of 16,000 men. But it must by no means be reasoned from this statement that there was no considerable army of the defeated and scattered ranks of Nerva and the Moors, to be collected by Lucullus wherewith largely to augment his army in Sicily itself. Undoubtedly the combined army of Lucullus when in readiness for the great battle which we are going to recount, numbered 25,000, many of whom were experienced veterans. With this large army, many of whom were Romans, the governor boldly marched across to within a mile and a half from Triocala which he intended to besiege and take by storm. Like Rupillius before, he was provided with thongs and gibbet-makers, to crucify the slaves who should fall into his hands

⁴² Siefert. *Sicilische Sklavenkriege*, S. 29 "Welche Gründe ihn hierzu bewegen hatten. ist nicht klar; sicher jedoch, dass Triphon in ihm einen heimlichen Nebenbuhler sah den er sobald sich eine günstige Gelegenheit bot, verhaftet und in Gewahrsam bringen leiss."

⁴³ Diod. *idem*, vii. 4; "Ἐξελέξατο δὲ καὶ τῶν φρονήσει διαφερόντων ἀνδρῶν τοὺς ἱκανοὺς. οὓς ἀποδείξας συμβούλους ἐχρήτο συνέδροις αὐτοῖς· τήβεννά τε περιπόρφυρον περιβάλλετο καὶ πλατύσημον εὖν χιτῶνα κατὰ τοὺς χρηματισμούς, καὶ ῥαβδούχους εἶχε μετὰ πελέκειων τοὺς προηγουμένους, καὶ τὰλλα πάντα ὅσα ποιούσι τε καὶ ἐπικοσμοῦσιν ἐπετήθευε βασιλείαν."

But Tryphon whom we left in a fit of narrow jealousy putting Athenion, the best of the rebel generals, in chains and behind bars, hearing through scouts of the near approach of a great army of Romans and their allies, made haste to consult this rival king and ascertain his views. Athenion advised him not to risk a siege but to confront the Roman in the open field and offer battle.

Tryphon who well knew the judgment of Athenion as a commander and the great influences he possessed over his troops, of whom he had in his own right fully 10,000, acquiesced; and the combined armies of the two kings, in all 40,000 men, marched northward to a place called Scirthæa⁴⁴ and there pitched in line of battle. Opposite at a distance of a mile and a half lay the Roman legions. The offer of battle seems mutually to have been accepted; but which of the two antagonists gave the onset cannot be clearly ascertained. Here stood on the one hand, a great army of 40,000 desperate slaves, flushed with half a dozen victories, burning with the memory of their previous sufferings and anxious for revenge. Their commanders had a sufficient taste of the luxuries of freedom to make them desperate and they were not wanting in the certain knowledge of the terrible fate which awaited defeat. To them and their braves alike, this murderous conflict meant liberty and continued luxury, or else death in the battle-field or upon the ignominious cross. On the side of the Romans, every man knew that defeat by a base legion of runaway slaves was of itself a scandal which reflected alike upon the general and the soldier. The proud senate made it dangerous for him who could not return to the capital with the blood and, as it were, the scalp of the last slave who had dared to defy its arrogant and overbearing prowess. Besides this, there yet remain untold the incentives for the prætors to enrich themselves by plunder—a boon which defeat would deprive them of.

With these contrasting urgents, involving hopes and plans which were to furnish the foundations of history of progress or retrogression for the human race, the two great armies fell into mortal grapple. After a certain amount of sparring and skirmish between the outskirts,

⁴⁴ *Diod. XXXVI. frag. viii. 2, 3, 4 and 5.* Paragraphs 3 and 4 contain the description of the battle as we give it. q. v.

the main body of each army closed in with an unwavering clash of arms under which the combatants fell in thousands.⁴⁵ Amid the battle, while the terrible plunges of maddened men with thrusts and din were at their height of fury, Athenion, mounted on a prancing steed, rushed at the head of a detachment of his cavalry 200 strong, with a certain frenzy which sometimes characterizes life energies when wrought to a tension of reckless excitement. He lunged into the enemy's center, striking down everything before him. No doubt this was a rash action, however magnificent it may seem to the critic of military exploits; for although he made his hated foe tremble with the shock, he received three blows so stunning, though not fatal, that his fellow-slaves on seeing him fall, feeling that in him as in a god, resides alone the genius of victory, fell into a panic. When the soldiers of Athenion shrank back the cry of victory must have been raised by the Romans; for Diodorus tells us that half the slaves, in number 20,000, were either killed or taken prisoners, but that the remaining 20,000 fled back to their defences at Triokala under command of Tryphon who survived. Siefert's suggestion that the rebels lost courage scarcely appears well founded.⁴⁶ We not only find the slaves again in possessing of their fortress of Triocala with Tryphon, but we are told that the rebels kept it; and we are without assurances that they were either captured or driven away. Nor was the gallant Athenion lost to them; for after the catastrophe which may have closed with the sunset, on this great and bloody battle, this hero, taking shelter from harm under cover of night, arose and so far returned to reason and strength that he crawled safely back to the fortress of Triocala with the rest. Thus, considering the severe punishment suffered by the Romans, the fact that they did not pursue, that it was nine days before they arrived before the fortifications of Tryphon and Athenion, and ventured, battered and shattered up to the

⁴⁵ Nach einigem Geplänkel kam es zum geordneten Angriff, dessen Erfolg lange herüber und hinüber schwankte." Diodorus, XXXVI, frag. 8 3, says, "Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐγένοντο συνεχεῖς ἀκροβαλισμοί, etc." This skirmishing with high armed troops introduced the general battle.

⁴⁶ Siefert, *Italisch. Sklavenkriege*, S. 29: "Da unternahm Athenion mit zweihundert auserwählten Reitern einen Angriff, durch den er Alles vor sich niederwarf. Unglücklicherweise aber wurde er mitten in diesem Erfolge durch drei Wunden kampfunfähig gemacht worauf die Sklaven, muthlos gemacht, flohen," Diod. XXXVI. frag. viii. 4, where it seems me that Athenion when struck down 'signed death until night, when he was captured.

gates of the rebel fortress, in fine, that they failed altogether of taking the place and experienced thereafter nothing but defeat, is strong circumstantial evidence that Scirthæa was a drawn battle on both sides.

Nine days after the Battle of Scirthæa the army of Lucullus appeared in front of the town of Triocala. How many men his army now mustered or how many of the former officers like Cleptius still adorned his ranks, is not definitely given. But they had within the nine days so far recovered from the severe punishment they had received, as to be at least endowed with the boldness to altogether underrate the strength and spirit of their adversary.⁴⁷

Meanwhile Athenion was rapidly recovering from his injuries received at the battle of Scirthæa and was, as we are led to understand by the evidence left us, so far restored that he appeared with all his former valor and vigor. Dr. Siefert who talks about the lost courage of the working men,⁴⁸ naturally enough catching the idea from Florus, says that they now mustered courage to attack the Romans.⁴⁹ Our opinion is, reasoning from appearances which confirm the valiant fighting force, such as must appear to every candid, unbiased reasoner, shows the rebels to have crippled the Romans at the great battle of Scirthæa 9 days before; and that they did not lose courage, but doggedly held their own throughout. Certain it is that another obstinate battle was fought before the fortifications of Triocala. The Romans made the first attack but were received apparently in open field by the rebels. A conflict followed in which the entire strength of both armies was brought to bear. The loss on both sides was very serious. But in this second scene of blood the victory was with the workingmen. Lucullus was completely driven from the field, his camps taken by storm⁵⁰ and his army so scattered from place to place that he seems never to have recovered, but fell to plundering like the slaves and freedmen themselves, appropriating

⁴⁷ Diod. frag. viii. 5.

⁴⁸ We can no longer say slaves. A large proportion of the rebel army was now composed of free men, mechanics, laborers, etc.

⁴⁹ Siefert, *Sicilische Seeräuber-Kriege*, S. 29. "Als Lucullus endlich 9 Tage nach der Schlacht zur Belagerung der Veste schritt, war der erschütterte Muth schon wieder beestigt."

⁵⁰ Florus, lib. III. cap. XIX. "Lucullo capta castra—vicos, oppida, castella diripiens," referring to Athenion. Siefert, S. 29, speaking of Lucullus, says: "ja sein Lager soll sogar von den Sklaven erübrüt worden sein." See note 76 where Siefert refers to Cic. Verr. II. 52: "Athenionem qui nullum opulum capi" remarks: "Palazzo ist der Zweck im Auge zu fassen."

the funds entrusted to him, to his own use and with defeat, avarice and demoralization was rendered *hors de combat* altogether.

What had in the mean time been going on between the two rival slave-kings, Tryphon and Athenion, no one can tell. We only know that the former, after the battle of Tricala had died⁶¹ and that Athenion had been elected king over all the rebels, including slaves and freedmen. Perhaps a dark deed of revenge or of jealousy may have been committed; more humanely let us foster the conjecture that Tryphon had lost his life in some valorous charge which secured the victory to the slaves, in the desperate battle we have just recounted.

The year B. C. 102 had thus rolled by and not only was another large prætorian army of the Romans annihilated but the rebels with Athenion, their veteran general at their head, were complete masters of Sicily.

Rome under this extraordinary condition of things, sent C. Servilius, B. C. 102, with another prætorian army under orders from the senate to leave no means untried whereby to stamp out the rebellion. This Roman commander and prætor must have landed his army at Massana on the so-called *Etruscum fretum*, now the Straits of Messina; and judging from appearances the first battle may not have occurred at a long distance from there. It is not certain but that the Romans marched in a southwesterly direction for many miles into the interior before the two armies met. We only know that the combatants sought and found each other and that there was another encounter; of course, one of those fierce and internecine struggles in which great numbers of brave men are occasionally mowed down, but whose numbers, memory and place are, for shame, pitched into the dark grottoes of oblivion. Florus shuffles the fact over to posterity with language provokingly crisp and indicative of mortification and distaste;⁶² Cicero denies;⁶³ Dion Cassius⁶⁴ is in tatters at the Vatican; Diodorus lies

⁶¹ Diod. XXXVI. 1. "Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Τρύφωνος, διάδοχος τῆς ἀρχῆς δ' Ἀθηνίων καθίσταται, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν πόλεις ἐπολιόρκει," etc.

⁶² Flor. *Epitom. Populi Romani*. III. 19. "Athenio—vicos, oppida, castella diripiens."

⁶³ Cic. *Verres*, II. 54. "Athenion qui nullum oppidum cepit." This however, we think innocently refers to the fact that Athenion's policy was from the first, not to take the fortified towns: since Eunus and Cleon in taking this course had lost their cause.

contorted into the tell-tale mutterings of his fragments;⁶⁴ Livy leaves only the paltry exordium of his epitomies.⁶⁵ But enough of these is still extant, together with the circumstantial evidence such as the disgrace by the Roman Senate, of the defeated prætors and their exile for life, and continued ravages of the war for years; all these verified facts prove the words of Florus, to the effect that Servilius and Athenion met in some undescribed and mortal fray; that the proud slave-king won a complete victory; and that labor from its points of irascibility and vengeance was once more vindicated. Such is not only our own rendering of the real meaning of the vague words left us but they are as conscientiously read by others.⁶⁶

After this important and probably great battle which was the fifth in number since the outbreak of the war and which from our authority we may call the battle of Florus, the Roman general, either disheartened or prone to enrich himself like his predecessors, with plunder and malfeasance, or still more probably, being utterly annihilated, left the strikers with Athenion at their head, complete masters of the field. They ravaged and laid waste the country on every side, destroying castles, towns and cities. Athenion next turned his wrath toward Messana. Reaching it by forced marches, he stealthily at night surprised the inhabitants of that city as they were engaged in its outskirts celebrating the sacrifices to their gods, and cut them to pieces, taking quantities of plunder which he made off with. But he steered shy of the city itself, keeping apparently in mind the danger of being hemmed in, and the dreadful results which, in the previous rebellion under Eunus, had caused the great catastrophe.

Athenion after marching through the northeastern portions of Sicily⁶⁷ gathering wealth by plunder, struck a westerly tack and the next we hear from him, is at the ancient walled

⁶⁴ Dion Cassius, *excerpt*, 101. Peirese; Diod. XXXVI. ix. 1 and 2.

⁶⁵ Livy, *Epitome*, LXIX. *fin.* "M. Aquillius proconsul excitatum confecit."

⁶⁶ Siefert, *Italische Sklavenkriege*, S. 30. "Athenion, der nach dem inzwischen erfolgten Tode des Tryphon, König der Sklaven geworden war, trat ihm (Servilius) mit grosser Kühnheit entgegen und schlug ihn aus dem Felde; nachdem auch das Lager des Servilius einmal genommen war, wagte dieser sich nicht mehr zum Kampfe hervor, und Athenion konnte ungehindert das Land durchstreifen, Kastelle und kleinere Städte einnehmen."

⁶⁷ Much obscurity enshrouds both the history and topography of this place. Livy, lib. XXVI. 21, speaks of the place as being obscure. "Secuta defectionem earum Hybla et Macedonia sunt ignobilioresque quedam alia." This mention refers to B. C.

town of Macella supplied with a castle or citadel. It is situated southeastward of Segesta and not more than 40 miles to the eastward of Lilybæum. Here he established and fortified himself, B. C. 101, the third year of the war; supplying his army with the products of the fruitful country around him.⁵⁸

During this time C. Marius and M. Aquillius had been elected consuls at Rome, and it was resolved to send a full consular army to Sicily and thus put an end to the war at once. Accordingly Aquillius, during the year 101, arrived in the island with a consular army consisting of a large force of veteran Romans and other soldiers. The terrible handling which the people of Sicily who had remained hostile to Athenion, had received, made them eager to grasp this new offer of succor; and it cannot be doubted that large numbers of the defeated fragments of the armies of Lucullus and Servilius were mustered in, swelling the consular army to a host. Aquillius proved, for the first time, a match for the redoubtable strikers.

Whether the Romans landed at Messana or at the port of Ægesta in the vicinity of Macella where the army of Athenion lay, is not easy to determine. The distance from the Ostia or port of Rome by water, direct to Ægesta, or to Messana is by fifty miles in favor of a landing at Ægesta; and to have gone by way of Messana would have cost the consul a march of 150 miles from there to Macella, on the head waters of the Scamander, over a country already laid waste by the army of his foe. We cannot but assume that these two desperate generals met at, or near Macella; for Diodorus tells us that Athenion, true to his old resolution never to let the Romans hem him into a walled town, marched out in full force to meet him.⁵⁹

A great battle was fought. When the two chiefs espied each other, they rushed together in mortal duel.⁶⁰ Athenion,

⁵⁸ Ptolemy the ancient geographer mentions it as being in the interior of the island. See *Universal Geography*, III. 4, 14. Whereas Polybius, I. 24: *κατὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγιόσσης ἀναχώρησιν Μακελλαν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος εἶλον*. This puts the place far to the west near Athenion's possible birthplace; Dion Cassius, *Exc.* 104: *Χωρίον δὲ τι Μάκελλαν εὐεργὲς τευχισάμενος*, etc. Siefert imagines this to refer to the town in the neighborhood of Messana. Polybius is however right; in proof of which we refer the critic to Arrowsmith's *Orbis Terrarum Veterum Descriptio*. Lond. 1822.

⁵⁹ "Athenion stellte sich dem Aquillius in offener Feldschlacht entgegen." Siefert, S. 30. Florus, III. 19, but he may have referred to the successful sieges by Aquillius, of the fugitives after their defeat.

⁶⁰ Dion Cassius, frag. 104.

almost exactly like Spartacus at his last and great battle of Silarus, struck out for his illustrious antagonist, determined with his own hand, to wreak vengeance and thus cross out accounts with Rome's highest and proudest source of power. The men were equally brave and gifted in the sabre's use. How long the duel lasted is not told; but we are distinctly informed that this time it was the slave-king's turn to receive the mortal thrust.⁶¹ Aquillius was a tiger in combat and though he received heavy blows on the head and in his breast he was the fortunate of the two combatants.⁶² Athenion, pierced and dying, fell bleeding at the consul's feet.

Again, as at the battle of Scirthæa, the warriors of Athenion lost courage at the fall of their beloved leader, who this time was finished and never rose to their rescue as before. All but a fragment of 20,000 workingmen were killed or taken prisoners. These fled to the mountains close at hand, but were followed by Aquillius with so much energy that in two years time they were nearly exterminated.

Manius Aquillius afterwards wrote at Capua an inscription which is still extant and quoted in the archæological collection of Orelli, to the effect that when he was prætor in Sicily he had busied himself hunting down runaway slaves and had returned to their masters as many as 917 of them.⁶³ This very interesting inscription sheds a flame of corroboratory light upon that immense uprising and substantiates the history of the affair, as we have extracted it from the fragments. It also adds to history the statement that the Sicilian slaves had reinforcements from Italy.⁶⁴

The awful scenes of crucifixion⁶⁵ as in the case of the re-

⁶¹ Diod., XXXVI. x. 1, which corresponds with Siefert. S. 30, "Athenion stellte sich dem Aquillius in offener Feldschlacht entgegen, fiel aber in derselben durch die Hand des Consuls, der selbst an Kopf und Brust verwundet wurde."

⁶² Diod. XXXVI. x. 1. Καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν βασιλεῖα τῶν ἀποστατῶν Ἀθηωνία συμβαλῶν, ἥρωικὸν ἀγῶνα συντήρησατο. Καὶ ταῦτον μὲν ἀνείλεν, αὐτὸς δ' εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τραυθεῖς ἔθεραπεύθη.

⁶³ Orellius, *Inscriptionum Latinarum Collectio*, No. 3, 308. "Eidem prætor in Sicilia fugivos Italicoꝝum conquisiſſei rediditque dominis DCCCCXVII."

⁶⁴ Shortly after this war another broke out in Italy which lasted some time; but although it was of so much importance that several of the historians wrote valuable descriptions of it in their books, the vandals succeeded in destroying the pages and we have only some fragments left in an almost illegible form. We have however, in chapter viii. succeeded in picking out many of the prominent events of the Italian slave and freedmen or tramp war of this era, q. v.

⁶⁵ The evidences for this are indeed vague except by inference. Florus, III. 19, says *Supplicium*," which with him and Livy always implies the worst. But that almost every one of the captured rebels was crucified, must, by implication be accepted even almost without evidence, other than the well-known, implacable, inexorable Roman Law, which hung such malefactors of the servile race upon the ignominious cross.

bellion 30 years before, were now rehearsed and many a captured slave perished on the cross.

But there still remained at least one strong man named Satyros who, with the other bold lieutenants of Athenion, fell to marauding and in spite of the efforts of the proconsul prolonged the struggle⁶⁶ for two years. Satyros and his men were however, in B. C. 99, all captured and taken to Rome, under the promise solemnly conferred by the Roman general, that as a condition of capitulation they should be exempt from punishment and treated with honor as prisoners of war. The perfidious wretch had no sooner gotten the prisoners in safety to Rome, than he offered them to the aristocracy as the basis of a great triumph or ovation which he claimed, as an honor to the hero who had suppressed the rebellion. The poor creatures were dragged into the arena on a given day, and told that instead of liberty, their horrible doom was to amuse the ladies of Rome and others, who for love of show frequented the amphitheatre to view the bloody contests of gladiators. Not only were they destined to this but they must fight wild beasts like slaves. The great auditorium was crowded with spectators, among whom beat true hearts for humanity and fairness. A characteristic of the great gladiatorial games always had been and still was at that time, that of democracy. All classes, rich, poor, the eminent and the lowly alike had seats; and as there was at that moment a fierce war of tactics raging between the labor organizations and the aristocracy and as a strong partisanship existed against Aquillius and every one of the prætors who had been sent out against the slaves and freedmen fighting for liberty in Sicily, it was very natural that such a party would numerously attend the great ovation, if for nothing more than to pick up points against this aristocrat whom they hated.

When the convicts arrived in chains, trembling with disappointment and broken hearts and like the wild lions, tigers and hyenas they were to fight, found themselves

⁶⁶ Livy, LXIX. *Epil. ad fin.* "M. Aquillius proconsul in Sicilia bellum civile excitatum confecit. Marius was one of the consuls of this year, and Diodorus tells us that Aquillius was the other. This looks doubtful. Rome was at that moment involved in the fierce agrarian agitations; Cf. *id.*, "et cum legem agrariam per vim tullisset," etc. True, Livy may refer to his proconsulship as being the extension of his service in Sicily through the next two years, (B. C. 99), as the war did not close for 2 years after the battle. Again this may rectify the discrepancy in Aquillius' inscription. See note 61.

thrust loose and suddenly given knives and other weapons, they all mutually, in presence of the great throng frenzied with wine, nervously betting, many in anticipation of beholding blood spurting from their naked forms, solemnly agreed to become each others' mutual exterminators.

Satyros led the mutual fratricide. Seizing their weapons they rushed upon each other with all the fury to which they had for 5 years been wont. The audience were thrilled and astonished. The heroic fellows, one after another, fell, gashed and pierced with their own daggers; while the remaining warriors, girding their courage by the excitement and din, drove the knife deep into each others' brave hearts. All had fallen and lay gasping, the hot blood draining their bodies of both spirit and vitality. Satyros, the powerful Greek, was still upon his feet. Without faltering he drove his weapon deep into his own breast and thus triumphantly expired.

This magnificent stroke of courage recoiled badly against the perfidious Aquillius who had treacherously lied them out of their lives. The word rang out that the glory of these brave men's fall was infinitely grander than that of the wretch whose vanity was to be puffed by an ovation.⁶⁷ A reaction then and there set in against the fellow and one L. Fufius, soon afterwards brought suit against him for extortion and malfesance which was so energetically pressed that the great orator Antonius had to be engaged to save his life. He was retained for the trial and succeeded only by seizing Aquillius, and tearing open his clothing during an impassioned gush of eloquence, and exhibiting to the people the wounds which he had actually received in the duel with Athenion at the battle before Macella.⁶⁸ But even this did not save the fellow's life; for where there lurks an enemy in public opinion there also lurks a means. Aquillius who afterwards fell a prisoner to Mithridates was taken to Pergamus and in a horrible manner was tied back down upon a stone and held there while the gold melters poured a ladle full of melted gold down his throat.⁶⁹

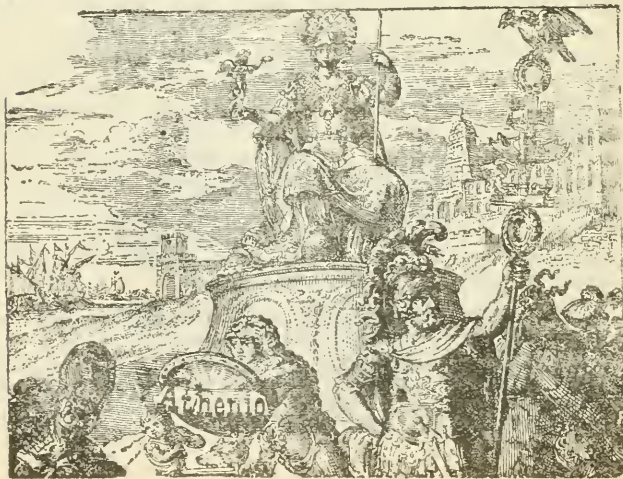
⁶⁷ Viele meinten, grösser sei der Ruhm der Gefallenen als der Ruhm des überlebenden Siegers." *Sicilische Sklavenkriege*, S. 31.

⁶⁸ Livy, *Epitome* to book LXX. "Cum M. Aquillius de pecuniis repetundis causam diceret, ipse iudices rogare noluit. M. Antonius, qui pro eo perorabat, tunicam a pectore ejus discidit, ut honestas cicatrices ostenderet, indubitanter absolutus est."

⁶⁹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XXXIII, 14. "Nec jam Quiritium aliquo, sed univ-
 er-
 samente Romano infami, rex Mithridates Aquilio duci capto aurum in os melle"

Lucullus and Servilius, the prætors whom Athenion had defeated and driven from Sicily, as we have related, were also both accused of robbery and malfeasance in office and banished from Rome into perpetual exile.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ It is hardly to be wondered at that early commentators misunderstand the true principles involved in this great war, or that they misapply the true facts in the case. Both Granier and O'Brien fail to comprehend at all that there existed a socialistic cult of great but secret influence which had a powerful effect upon the minds of the men involved in all those troubles. Granier, *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières*, p. 496, characterizes them as "bandite," as follows: "Un trait fort caractéristique, et qui fut commun à Eunus et à Athénion, c'est qu'en se révoltant ils n'eurent ni l'un ni l'autre l'idée d'abolir l'esclavage et d'établir l'égalité. A peine au milieu de leurs armées, ils se hâtèrent d'oublier qu'ils avaient le coupé par la chaîne, et de goûter avec délices les prérogatives de la seigneurie, D'abord, ce qui est facile à croire, les châteaux, les villages, les villes, furent mis au pillage." So Mr. James Bronterre O'Brien, an honest and kind-hearted writer who devoted his life to his fellow-men, amid persecutions, likewise misunderstands the ancients. He says (*Rise, Progress and Phases of Human Slavery*, p. 31), speaking of upholding the dignity of human nature, that in these conflicts "there was nothing of the sort. The harsh conduct of masters and the violation of workhouse rules were the motive power of each revolt." The fact is that the workhouses he mentions were, as we have shown, dungeons, often underground and intolerable hells; and those poor people were chained down in them, and in the morning marched in chains to the fields. The systematized workhouses with which these writers become confounded, were those of the later Augustan age. To get into the *ergastulum* of Sicily or Italy before the emperors, was a serious thing, and we know of no rules whatever in Sicily restricting the master's will. He could kill his slave or keep him without rule. Mr. O'Brien and M. Granier de Cassagnac are both entirely wrong in saying that there was neither premeditation nor purpose in these great revolts. They charge against Eunus and Athenion that "they began forthwith to ape the pomp and the circumstance of their oppressors." Every action of Eunus and of Athenion on the contrary, was incontestably pre-determined; and the fire-spitting prestigation of Eunus and Satyros, as well as the purple and silver staff of Athenion, were indispensable to inspire their uncouth, superstitious soldiers with feelings of awe and reverence, necessary to order and discipline. In fact this was the key to their success.



CHAPTER XII.

SPARTACUS.

THE IRASCIBLE PLAN TESTED ON AN ENORMOUS SCALE.

Rise, VICISSITUDES and Fall of a Great General—The Strike of the Gladiators—Grievances that led to the Trouble—Growth of Slavery through Usurpation of the Land by the arrogant Optimates—What is known of Spartacus before being Sold into Slavery—Bolt of the 78 Gladiators from the *Ergastulum* of Lentulus at Capua—Escape of the Runaways—How they seized Weapons—Vesuvius—First Battle—Battle of the Cliffs—Rout of Clodius—Second Battle—Destruction of a Prætorian Army—Battle of the Mineral Baths—Great Increase of the Rebel Force—From a petty Strike it assumes the Proportions of Revolution—Fourth Battle; Hilt to Hilt with Varinius—Destruction of the Main Army of the Romans—Winter Quarters of Spartacus at Metapontem—Honor, Discipline and Temperance of the Workingmen—Proofs by Pliny and Plutarch—Coalition with the Organized Laborers of Italy—Uses of Gold and other Ornaments Forbidden—Wine Banned—Great Numbers Employed in the Armories of Spartacus—Fifth Battle—Battle of Mt. Garganus—Ambuscade of Arrius—Overthrow and Death of Crixus—Sixth Battle—Spartacus Destroys the Consular Army of Poplicola—Seventh Battle—Great Conflict of the River Po—Overthrow of Cassius and Defeat of the 10,000 Romans—Spartacus, now Master, assumes the Offensive—Eighth Battle—Lentulus Defeated; Great Army nearly annihilated—Mortification and Terror of the Romans—Ninth Battle—Mutina—Proconsul Cassius again Routed in a Disastrous Conflict with the wary Gladiator—Spartacus now obliged to contend with the Demon of Insubordination—Crassus elected Consul—Reverses Begin—On down to Rhegium—Sedition, Treachery Betrayal—Workingmen's own Jealousies, Insubordination and Lack

of Diplomacy cause their final Ruin—Tenth Battle—Scaling of the Six-Mile Ramparts by Spartacus—Battle of Croton—Destruction of the Seceders, Granicus and Castus—Obstinate Fighting—Spartacus arrives and checks the Carnage—Petelia, the Eleventh Battle—Victory—Twelfth Battle; Silarus—Last and most Bloody Encounter—Spartacus, stabbing his Horse, Rushes sword drawn, in search of Crassus—Heaps of the slain—Dying like a King—End of the War—The great *Supplicium*—Pompey and Crassus, emulous of meagre Honors—Inhuman Cruelties—Awful Wreaking of Vengeance on the Cross—Dangling Bodies of 6,000 Crucified Workingmen along the Appian Way—Thousands of Others crucified—Utter Failure of the Irascible Plan of Deliverance.

As physical science informs us of convulsions in nature called by geologists, the Permian age which brought the palæozoic era to an end and left, after its prodigious upheavals, the calm in which we live, so historical fragments and palæographs inform us of great social cataclysms immediately preceding the immense calm that began to envelop human society during the reign of Augustus, rooted into it by the visit and labors of Jesus. The desperate social upheaval here referred to—the last in the line—was that of the gladiators under Spartacus, B. C. 74–70.

In introducing this mighty conflict of Spartacus—the greatest and last of all the ancient struggles coming into our categories of the “irascible” against the “concupiscent,” and undertaken by labor, in its plan of salvation from the horrors of slavery and suffering—we find it necessary to sketch an outline of the condition which matters were in during the century preceding the advent of Jesus, who was the next reformer in chronological order.

Of all the methods of systematic cruelty practiced upon the ancient lowly, that of the gladiatorial games excelled; and it is our duty, in order that the reader may see the whole truth laid bare, which actuated this rebellion, to quote a few specimen descriptions of that ferocious amusement, from the authors and the slabs. Athenæus, quoting the lost work of Nicolaus Damascenus, describes in unmistakable language, the horrible custom common at that time. He says it was a common thing for rich men to invite guests to dinner and after the wine and other intoxicating stimulants began to madden them, to

introduce gladiators into some ring or private amphitheatre. As these poor creatures, driven by the foreman to fight, cut each others' throats, boisterous applause and laughter at the scene were indulged in. Sometimes beautiful women were thus forced to attack and butcher each other in the same manner as the men. Large sums of money were paid for these innocent victims, for no other purpose than to toy with this inhuman passion in the male and female guests, for beholding atrocities of this ghastly nature while they wallowed in inebriate and lascivious beastliness. Often small children were driven naked into the arena, given knives, and forced, for the amusement of these truculent nobles, to struggle in the awful qualms of danger and death until the little innocents, one or more, fell dying in their bath of blood.¹

Gladiatorial games, as we have shown in our chapter, on amusements, were the real origin of wakes; and of this we possess the evidence of Valerius Maximus. Some 264 years before Christ, two brothers named Marcus and Decimus Brutus, on the death of their father, a lord of a *gens*, possessing slaves, held in his honor and at his funeral, a gladiatorial combat. There being no amphitheatre at that early date, the Forum Boarium was used, and a permit was granted by the city. Appius Claudius and M. Fulvius were the consuls.² One need not wonder that a license was granted to butcher workingmen by a monster like Appius Claudius. He hated them and was strug-

¹ Schambach, *Der Italische Slavenaufstand*, S. 7-8, quotes in proof of this, Nicolaus Damascenus, indirectly as follows: "In dem gewaltigen Geschichtswerke des Nicolaus Damascenus wurde der Sklavenkrieg in 110, Enche gehandelt, aus dem uns bei Athen, IV, pag. 153 F. (fragm. 64 bei Müller fragm. hist. graec. III, pag. 417) ein Fragment erhalten ist, welches in der von M. gegebenen lateinischen Uebersetzung, die ich der Allgemeinverständlichkeit wegen statt des griechischen Textes hier gebe, folgendermassen lautet; Nicolaus Damascenus, *Peripateticae sectae philosophus, libro historiarum decimo supra centesimum Romanos scribit inter coenandum gladiatorum paria committere solitos, his verbis: gladiatorum autem spectacula non solum in publicis conventibus et amphitheatris edunt Romani, invecio ab Etruscis more, sed etiam inter epulas. Itaque amicos ad coenam invitant interdum, tum ut alla, tum ut dno triave gladiatorum paria dimicantia his exhibeant. Igitur postquam vino ac dapibus sese ingurgitarunt, introducunt jubent gladiatores: quorum ubi quis jugulatur, universi convivae plaudunt eo spectaculo exhiberati. Quidem etiam in testamento jussit mulieres formosas, quas emerat, ferro inter se dimicare; alius item pueros impuderos, quos in deliciis habuerat. Sed populus cum atrocitatem detestatus testamentum eorum irritum esse jussit. Das Ganze macht den Eindruck, als habe es zur Motivierung des Aufstandes gedient."*

² Valerius Maximus, *De Spectaculis*, 7; "Gladiatorum munus primum Romae datum est in foro boario, M. Claudio, M. Fulvio Coss. dederunt M. & D. Bruti funebri memoria patris circensium honorando. Athletarum certamen à M. Scant tractum est munificentia."

gling to suppress them and their unions even at that early time. Thyse, who arranged the Lugdunum edition of Valerius Maximus, adds that slaves were sacrificed on funeral occasions of such men.³ The origin then is fetish and belongs to, and must, like many other inhuman rites, and practices, be charged to religion.

As an instance that gladiators were the game of priests and priestcraft not only at Rome, but even in North America among the less ancient Aztecs, we may cite Bancroft, on the Nahuas. He says, speaking of the feast of Xipe: "The next day another batch of prisoners called *oavanti*, whose top hair had been shaved, were brought out for sacrifice. In the meantime a number of young men also named *tototecti*, began a gladiatorial game, a burlesque on the real combat to follow, dressing themselves in the skins of the flayed (human) victims."

The story of these victims is told on the preceding page as follows: "Let us now proceed with the feast of Xipe. We left a part of the doomed victims on their way to death. Arrived at the summit of the temple each one is led in turn to the altar of sacrifice, seized by the grim, merciless priests, and thrown upon the stone; the high-priest draws near, the knife is lifted, there is one great cry of agony, a shuffle of feet as the assistants are swayed to and fro by the death-struggles of their victim, then all is silent save the mutterings of the high-priest as high in air he holds the smoking heart, while from far down beneath comes a low hum of admiration from the thousands of upturned faces."⁴

This picture almost exactly corresponds with the gladiatorial horrors of the time of Spartacus at Rome, Capua

³ Thyseii, *Recessio nova Lugd. Batavorum*, 1651: "Gladiatorum munus. Origo Gladiatorum à re funebri: exemplum ab Hetruscis. At fortasse Hetrusci ipsi à Græcis. Undecunque exemplum, causa tamen et origo junus. Nam quantum olim animas defanctorum humano sanguine proijit, ar creditum erat, captivos vel alto ingenio servos mercari in exsequiis immolabant. Postea placuit impietatem voluptate adumbrare: itaque duos paraverant, armis quibus tunc et qualite, poterant eruditos, mox educto die feriarum, apud temulos rogabant. Hæc muneris origo. Atque Gladiatores illi à busti cineribus *Bustuarii* dicti. *Lipinus* *Gladiatorum munus*. Vulgo, gladiatorum, quod gladiatorum Livio aliisque dicitur, non enim gladiatorum munus illud erat, sed ejus qui gladiatores pugnantibus populo exhibebat." pp. 170-171.

⁴ Lancroft, *Native Races*. Vol. II, pp. 358-359. These horrors were extracted from the histories of Las Casas, Clavigero, Gomera and others. The Christians were ferous against the practice and broke it up, for which they have been maligned. There seems indeed no doubt that in breaking it up they committed faults; but the great anti-slavery movement of Las Casas, which varied against every cruelty, freed Mexico from these two pests long ago.

and hundreds of provincial towns all over Italy. Where history fails the inscriptions come to the front with their irrepressible language, making up the gaps. These are seemingly innumerable. A peculiar character resembling the Greek *theta* expresses the violent death of the gladiator mentioned on the slab. Orelli's catalogue entitled *Res Scenica* teems with them.⁵ As a rule they may be considered epitaphs; for after the dead gladiator had been dragged off the sands his body was generally given up to his friends, some of whom were organized in the numerous unions, and hence the occasional laudatory words on his character, his affection for his family, his skill in the use of weapons.

But nothing is more certain than that these poor people had a mutual or reciprocatory terror of these scenes which were almost sure to terminate only with their lives.

When M. Valerius Lævinus died B. C. 200, his sons forced fifty of the old man's slaves to begore his grave with their blood. Flaminius, 25 years later, on the occasion of his father's death, caused 74 gladiators who had been hired for the service, to balm with their blood his ghost about to be deposited under the sacred hearth. The emperor Trajan once ordered a vast gladiatorial orgie lasting 123 days. Not less than 10,000 gladiators were

⁵ Orellus, *Inscriptionum Latinarum Selectarum Collectio*, Nos. 2,551. "Poetelius, Syrus lanista ad Aram Forinarum ubi negotiatorem familiæ gladiatoriae habes; 2,552 is a slab on which are lettered certain data about one Cornelius Frontin; how he won liberty at the great games and liberty for his children. It was found on the Appian Way and catalogued by Mur. No. 620, 4; 2,554; 2,555 is one of which considerable mention has been made: "Inscriptiones gladiatoriae in Opere musivo Romæ asservato apud Marini, *Atti* 1, p. 165." It is two inscriptions in one, recording the death by the steel of both. "Astianax, vicit. Kalendio death), Astianax, Kalendio (death or killed). Quibus pugnantibus Simmachus ferum Maternus habilis misit." So No. 2,556, remarkable inscriptions discovered at Pompeii, showing that gladiators fought with wild beasts. Romanelli, *Viaggio a Pompeii*, Rome, 1, p. 82. Another (No. 2,545), tells in the words of an epitaph, more than a chapter of history. A gladiator had fought eight times in these games before he fell, and so skillfully had he despatched his fellow adversaries whom the betters had pitted against him that he received floral decorations and much applause. But we have not space to mention more than a few of the extremely numerous specimens. As to the average years which gladiators lived we find these data carefully figured by Schambach from the inscriptions of Orelli as follows: "Ueber sein Alter" (meaning the age of Spartacus) "ist uns zwar von den Alten nichts berichtet; trotzdem macht dieser Punkt noch nicht die größten Schwierigkeiten. Das man zu Fechttern vorwiegend Leute in jungen oder mittleren Lebensjahren wählte, ist natürlich; die erhaltenen Sepulcralinschriften auf gefallenen Fechter bestätigen dies. Wir finden in den Inscr. lat. ed Hagenb. et Orelli folgende Todesjahre verzeichnet; 22 (nr. 2,572), 27 (nr. 2,592), 30 (nr. 2,571), 46 (nr. 2,590) und schwerlich wird das zuletzt angegebene Lebensjahr öfters überschritten sein. Wir werden also nicht weit fehl gehen, wenn wir uns Spartacus als einen Mann zwischen 30 und 40 vorstellen." *Italischer Sklavenzustand*, S. 15-16.

obliged to fight and die in the combat for the worse than beastly gratification of that degenerate humanity.

At Capua, Pompeii, Præneste, Ravenna, Alexandria in upper Etruria, even in Gaul and among the Germans, these games of gladiatorial carnage were fashionable. Commodus upheld them, Domitian extended them, and finally, and to their shame be it said, even the Christians themselves left the noble principles and precepts of their master and for the paltry baubles of adulation and of imperial favor, fell back into the ghastly heathenism of the amphitheatre.⁶ But fortunately for future civilization, this did not occur until the cult of the so-called early Christians had firmly taken root among workingmen, the terrible system's victims; and even to this day it is this element that alone is manfully fighting and resisting cruelty.

De Quincey, in his characteristic language, tells the story of Caligula who took delight in feeding the wild animals of the amphitheatres with the quivering flesh of human beings. He brings his story in, incidentally, as an instance as follows:

“On some occasion it happened that a dearth prevailed, either generally of cattle, or of such cattle as were used for feeding the wild beasts reserved for the bloody exhibitions of the amphitheatre. Food could be had and perhaps at no very exorbitant price, but on terms somewhat higher than the ordinary market price. A slight excuse served with Caligula for acts the most monstrous. Instantly repairing to the public jails and causing all the prisoners to pass in review before him *custodiarum seriem recognoscens*, he pointed to two bald-headed men, and ordered that the whole file of the intermediate persons should be marched off to the dens of the wild beasts. ‘Tell them off’ said he, ‘from the bald man to the bald man.’ Yet these were prisoners committed, not for punishment, but trial.”⁷

From the earliest times of which history gives any record, brigandage or marauding was not only common but in many countries quite popular.⁸ It was the natural outcome

⁶ Guhl and Koner, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, pp. 554-556.

⁷ De Quincey, *Ancient Histories and Antiquities*, pp. 88-9.

⁸ Carey, *Principles of Social Science*, Vol. I p. 139. Rent is original brigandage differentiated by refinement. “Opportunity makes the robber, and the most daring among them becomes the leader of the band. One by one, the people

of the competitive system, forcing the patricians or *gens* families of high-born rank, to co-operate with each other, and in Greece, to form interprotective *fratries*, in Rome, *curies*,⁹ which may be regarded as first evidences of that differentiation that made nations out of isolated families.¹⁰ Much of this marauding spirit was the result of their abuse practiced against slaves whose intelligent sensibilities to maltreatment they little understood. Although those slaves had neither social or political liberty they had minds and strong physical vitality.¹¹ These they often used in self defense. It was not uncommon for them to take control of their own lives, escape into the mountains whose caverns and jungles afforded them protection, and organize nightly expeditions against those whom they considered their common foe. Some of them became bold and chivalrous bandits. Only on extremely rare occasions does their history appear in the writings of the chroniclers of their times probably because of the contempt for them as being mere property, which was entertained by the ruling society, whose interests the historians were often forced to serve.

Historians were mostly of the aristocratic or noble stock; because, as their business was to record the deeds of heroes, the laboring race was considered too insignificant to do that work. So in earlier times soldiers were of nobler stock than workingmen, for the same reason. Thus we find in almost every instance, that historians were of noble blood, while sculptors, architects, poets and teachers were descendants from the slaves.¹²

who desire to live by their own labor are plundered; and thus are they who prefer the work of plunder enabled to pass their time in dissipation. The leader divides the spoil, and with its help is enabled to augment the number of his followers, and thus to enlarge the sphere of his depredations. With the gradual increase of the little community, he is led, however, to commute with them for a certain share of their produce, which he calls rent, or tax or *taille*."

⁹ For an interesting discussion of the *gentes* or gentiles which we designate the *gens* families, see Morgan's *Ancient Society*, Chapter II, pp. 62-70.

¹⁰ Florus, lib. III, cap. 20 §1, (Fisher) denies this, unable to understand the possibility of equality by merit. "Nam etsi ipsi (meaning slaves as compared with gladiators) per fortunam in omnia obnoxii; tamen quasi secundum hominum genus sunt." Note C.

¹¹ Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité Antique*, p. 118, chap. X. "La signification vraie de *familia* est propriété: elle désigne le champ, la maison, l'argent, les esclaves, etc." The word thus developed politically and covered cities and nations

¹² Granier, *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières*, chap. XVI. Also chap. XI, pp. 243-244; Lucian, *Somnium*, §. 6-9; Consult Drumann's remarks *Arbeiter und Communisten in Griechenland und Rom.*, S. 29-30. Miller, *Origin of Ranks*, chap. VI, ¶ 243: "The ancient institution by which every one who is able to bear arms

Among the most remarkable of the workingmen of ancient days whose genius revolted into rebellion against the servile condition, was Spartacus. Judging from piecemeal evidence, scantily, and we might also say, stingily announced by the historians of his time, the deeds of Spartacus, for valor, for success, for magnitude, and for the terror they struck into the hearts of the proud Romans, were equal if not superior to those of Hannibal. The more our investigation of the darkened facts reveals the sagacity and purity of this man, the more profound becomes the respect and the more intense the admiration for him by all true lovers of gallantry and freedom. In fact, there are interests astir in the human breast which must lead to a more searching acquaintance with the fountains at the social *penetralia* of the times, that bubbled forth under his terrible hand and shook the social and political world from center to surface, paling the senators and tribunes at Rome.

Spartacus was, in all respects a workingman. He had no ornamental initials attached to his name, such as be-token any claim to privileged ancestry. It was simply Spartacus.¹³

is required to appear in the field at his own charge." This of itself precludes the lowly who have no such economical means, from being soldiers, and shows the entire absence in the early ages, of the now prevailing socialistic mode of eving and supporting armies by the state. See also Guhl and Koner, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*: "The contempt against trades expressed by Cicero is further illustrated by the fact of tradesmen being with few exceptions debarred from serving in the legions;" Drumann, *Idem Römischer Abschnitt*, S. 106, sq. *Dichter*, confirms the statements that poets, artists and other workers were of the lowly class.

¹³ Flor., III, 20, 1. "Bellum Spartaco duce concitatum quo nomine appellationem necio." Mommsen, *History of Rome*, vol. IV, p. 102, Harpers' ed., tries, because his deeds were of so prodigious a magnitude, to make him a member of a noble family of the Spartocids; but the name he trumps up to serve this silly conceit is not Spartacus all; it was *Spartokos*, and the family was far from the home of our hero while the time of their career was equally distant. Mommsen's exact words translated are: "Spartacus, perhaps a scion of the noble family of the Spartocids which attained even to royal honors in its Thracian home and in Panticapæum, had served among the Thracian auxiliaries in the Roman army, had deserted and gone as a brigand to the mountains, and had been there recaptured and destined for the gladiatorial games." Schambach makes this vaguely conjectural, and succeeds only in repeating the well-known fact that in Thrace the name Sportox, Sportokos and Spartokos was about as common as our name Smith. He says, (*Italische Sklavenaufstand*, S. 15): "Dass Spartacus von Geburt ein Thraker gewesen, darin stimmen alle Nachrichten überein; Plutarch fügt noch hinzu, er habe einem Nomadenstamme angehört. Eine thrakische Stadt gleichen Namens wird von Stephanus von Byzanz, s. v. erwähnt; aus Thuc. II, 101 lernen wir einen Gilled des odrystischen Könighauses kennen, das den Namen Σπάρδοκος führt. Durch Inschriften und Münzen ist uns bezeugt, das in dem bosphoranischen Herrscherhause der name Σπάρτοκος öfters vorkam. Vgl. Böckh corp. inscr. gr. II, 91. Möglich, das auch unser Spartacus in seiner Heimat den Rang eines Häuptlings schon bekleidet hat."

Like all other prominent persons without the prestige of high rank to build from, Spartacus rose by his own genius. He arose amongst his fellow slaves in the year 74 before Christ. This was precisely the time corresponding with the movement of the Roman Senate to suppress the right of organization;¹⁴ and serves as additional evidence that the suppression of organization among working people was followed by a great struggle. The first appearance of Spartacus appears to have been sixteen years before the law was passed suppressing the ancient right of organization.¹⁵ It seems evident, that threats against the *Jus coeundi*, or law permitting free organization, were, at the time Spartacus makes his appearance, being pushed, with great fury by the nobility, on the slim pretext that they were corrupting the politics as well as the general morals of Rome.¹⁶ But we know from the accounts of the Gracchi that a furious dissention was all along, raging against the unions and in favor of the suppression of the law engraved upon the Twelve Tables which permitted free organization; and the fierce hatred of the patrician minority of the Roman people, who were assuming and monopolizing the public lands contrary to the Licinian law—a dead letter—had by no means died out.¹⁷ The fact is, that although this great social feud had not dropped out in the time of the appearance of Spartacus so as to be much mentioned in any record of the time, yet

¹⁴ See account of this suppression together with the efforts of Clodius and Cicero for and against it, in chapter xiii. *Trade Unions*.

¹⁵ Mommsen, *De Collegiis et Sodalitatis Romanorum*, p. 73. *De legibus contra collega latas*. "Usque ad finem sæculi septimi liberum Jus coeundi mansit." The year *Ab Urbe Condita* 700. Sæculum septimum, was B. C. 58.

¹⁶ Mommsen says that Asconius refers to the year 65 before Christ in the following words: "Frequenter tum etiam cæsus factiosorum hominum eius publica auctoritate malo publico fiebant propter quod postea collegia pluribus legibus sublata sunt." Of course these "societies of pretentious men without authority" to which Asconius refers, are the trade and other labor unions. (Ascon., *In Cornel.* p. 76.)

¹⁷ Centralization of wealth upon individuals was at this time about at its highest pitch. Formerly even the lords sometimes worked on these farms. Pliny can hardly believe it, though he enumerates many. *Nat. Hist.* XVIII. 3. Plutarch, *Solon*, also speaks of it. But working with one's own hands in Agriculture had disappeared by the time of Spartacus and everything was now done by slaves and freedmen. See Wallace, *Number of Mankind*, p. 123, referring to Plutarch, *Solon*. Solon finding that the very poorest freedmen who, if they did not get work, were seized and sold, took their part and must therefore be classed among the earliest labor reformers on record. Not only Spartacus but great numbers at his time and before were seized and sold into slavery. See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XX. p. 653, 9th edition. Ptolemy's tyrant of Syracuse after murdering 10,000 of the people of Segesta had sold the rest into slavery. B. O. 307. Schambach, B. A. 2. *Zahl der Sklaven*.

it was there, ready to be kindled into flame at any moment and by any daring adventurer.

The most terrible enemy of the plebeians, or, as we prefer to call them, the working classes, was Cicero,¹⁸ whose sense of justice was confined to his own interpretation of laws favoring the privileged class, or *gens* families. Strange to say, in the year 70 B. C., he was in the act of prosecuting Verres, the prætor of Sicily, for acts of rapacity which it was feared would again cause the servile war to flame forth in that island; a subject concerning which we shall soon have more to say; but a short time afterwards we find him violently lampooning the workmen at Rome in his defense of the laws restricting their organization. We also find him slurring Clodius, whose powerful eloquence succeeded in vindicating them for a time and in bringing odium upon his name. Studying the causes of the servile war of this period from a consultation of the changes which occurred in the Roman law, and bearing, at the same time, a close scrutiny of the chronicled events such as are sparingly afforded by historians, together with such as we find engraved on the tablets of the unions before and after the promulgation of the restrictions to labor organizations, we cannot but see that the wide-spread disaffection called the servile war of Spartacus¹⁹ must have been largely caused by the law prohibiting and threatening to prohibit free right of combination.

Though little is known of the birth of Spartacus, the legend goes that his father whom he much loved was also a captive slave; and that the young son of 15 years, as he held the head of his dying parent, chained and nailed to the trunk of a tree, is conjured by the old man to avenge his death²⁰ and that, like Hannibal, he then and there vowed vengeance upon his powerful enemies,²¹ and in consequence his terrible spring at Rome in riper years was in obedience to promise. All this must, for want of proof, be re-

¹⁸ As evidence that Cicero hated the plebeians we have in many places, quoted his own words in our copious annotations, q. v. in chapters on *Trade Unions*.

¹⁹ Florus, III, 20, *mit*, ennobles it with the appellation, "*Bellum Spartacium*."

²⁰ Vela, the Italian sculptor executed a group of statues portraying this scene which was set up in London in 1862. *Dictionnaire Universel*, Art. *Spartacus*.

²¹ "*Serment de Spartacus; groupe de marbre de M. Barrias, Solon de 1872. Spartacus aîné euehâiné et cloué à un tronc d'arbre vieil; d'expirer etc.*" See *Dictionnaire Universel*, Art. *Spartacus*.

garded as romance. But we come to the recital of more solid facts.

Spartacus, in the year B. C. 74, was a man of giant frame, handsome, of white complexion with an abundance of dark ringlets, and possessed of an affable bearing, winning and yet severe in its magnetic aptitude for command. He was young for one of his experience, knowledge and judgment of the world. He had been a shepherd on his native plains in Thracian Greece.²² While engaged at this bucolic calling he made companionship with other young men unfitted for this dreamy life. They attached themselves to habits of the numerous mountaineers who sallied from their cabins at convenient times and attacked Roman soldiers who often marched through the country during those days of war and invasion. At any rate, we first find him at Capua, a city situated about twenty miles north from Naples. We also have evidence²³ that he had been captured in Thrace, taken forcibly to Capua as a prisoner and on account of his powerful physique and peculiarly fine appearance, was trained in a school of gladiators by the master teacher of athletic games, Lentulus Batiatus. Capua was then a considerable city of Italy. It was celebrated for its extravagance and luxury. In the heart of an exceedingly fertile region, its indolent patrician inhabitants had usurped the *ager publicus* which during the happier days of the golden age of Rome had been farmed by labor unions or colleges under the celebrated provisions of Numa Pompilius and Solon.²⁴ The *ager publicus* was the public land. It was property in common which belonged to the State.²⁵ The Licinian Law, or the memory of the defunct statute having this title, was at that moment a bone of contention. Spurius Cassius long before the Twelve Tables were engraved or the decemvirate created, had made a strong effort in behalf of the unions, or order of the united la-

²² See *International Encyclopædia*; La Rousse, *Dictionnaire Universel*, Articles, "Spartacus;" Schambach, *Italische Sklavenaufstand*, V. 15. "Dass Spartacus von Geburt ein Thraker gewesen, darin stimmen alle Nachrichten überein." Consult also Florus, III, 20; Appian, I. 116-121. Orosius, *Historiarum Adversus Paganos*, VII.

²³ Plutarch, *Crassus*, 8.

²⁴ Digest, lib. xlvii, tit. 22, leg. 4, and the law of the Twelve Tables there spoken of by Plut., *Numa*, xviii.

²⁵ See Licinian law and the Agrarian conflicts, Plut., *Titus Gracchus*. Also the *Encyclopædias*, Art. *Agrarian Law*

borers, one of the great branches of that labor organization indirectly provided for by Numa. The co-operators or amalgamated societies for victualing the inhabitants of Rome were necessary to the life of the state.²⁶ Their business had been to attend to the farming of the *ager publicus* or lands belonging to the state. It is an unhappy characteristic of individual wealth, however, to love the boasted social gulf separating them from labor; and as certain individuals grew enormously rich and politically powerful they committed encroachments upon the ancient system of supplying the people with provisions as it were, by communistic means. The trade unionists or socialists were gradually encroached upon by these wealthy *gentes*, or patricians who pushed slaves out upon the *ager publicus*, driving off the unionists and their system by slow degrees, substituting for them abject and degraded toil, and maddening the *collegia* or unions who took advantage of their organizations to discuss this grievance, a political as well as a social one.²⁷ There were at Rome good men as well as bad among the rulers in power. At all times these are to be seen in Roman history. Spurius Cassius, a consul, got a law passed restoring these lands, which had been arbitrarily taken possession of, because he found that the wrong had already begun, in his early time to produce poverty. But the patricians arrogantly ignored the measure, or rather fought it down. Great estates manned by slaves appeared on the public domain to which the optimates had no right whatever, except that of superior force, prestige and tact. Thus, on the one hand, in many places, especially in the particular territory south

²⁶ See "*Victualers*," in chap. xvi, pp. 339-400. Also consult Granier, *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières*, chap. xii, explaining how the trade unions were employed by the Roman government.

²⁷ In addition to our own copious figures on the importation of slave—in other words cheap labor, we quote Schambach as follows: "Von diesen ruckweisen Ueberschwemmung mit frischen Menschenkräften abgesehen, wurde der regelmässige Bedarf auf dem Wege des Handels gedeckt. Fort und fort wurden aus dem Norden, aus den Gegenden am schwarzen Meere, aus Syrien und Libyen eine Menge von Sklaven durch Händler nach Italien importirt. Lange Zeit war Delos der Hauptsitz dieses Handels; zur Zeit der höchsten Blüte (um 100 v. Chr.) sollen an einem Tage oft 10,000 Sklaven hier abgesetzt sein. Selbstverständlich war auch Rom ein wichtiger Platz für den Sklavenhandel. Auf welche Weise der Händler in dem besitz seiner Waare gekommen, darnach fragte man nicht; Menschenraub zu Wasser und zu Lande, selbst Menschenjagden, wie sie hentzutage noch in Afrika an der Tagesordnung sind, waren nichts Ungewöhnliches, wenn auch die grosse Masse gebrachten, als ein Opfer heimlicher Fehden, durch Tausch oder Kau. in dem Besitz ihrer derzeitigen Herren gekommen sein mochten." *Der Itali'sche Sklavenmarkt*, S. 2.

and east of Rome, of which Capua was a fruitful center, the ancient *collegia* or labor organizations were gradually driven together into cities, and the slaves of conquest and slaves of birth from the *gens* who were everywhere numerous, were forced²⁸ to delve for rapacious masters, without remuneration, under the tyrannical lash of foreign mercenary drivers.²⁹

The same state of things continued until the time of Appius Claudius, one of the Roman decemvirs, whose business as a decemvir was, *per se* to carry out the law of Cassius, restoring the public domain to the people. What was this decemvirate created for? History is exceedingly explicit and unanimous in stating the functions of the decemvirate—*decemviri legibus scribendis*.³⁰ They were created for the express purpose of carrying out the law of the Twelve Tables, one special provision in which was to encourage the organization of the free labor element; which organization, as a business compact, was to till the *ager publicus* on shares and furnish the people food and other necessities therefrom.

Appius Claudius must, especially from a standpoint of sociology, ever be regarded as one of those black and morally nauseating buzzards at which an occasional glimpse is had by the disgusted sensibilities of the virtuous as they climb down the ladder of time. He was, in a most strangely surreptitious manner, the arch enemy of the very measure he was elected to defend! In war, his best soldiers the *mercenarii*, forsook him. In morals, he was a cruel and villainous libertine and his rape of Virginia,³¹ under pretense that she was one of the "miserable proletaries" who bore the taint of labor and that therefore, the laws of chivalry and of common decency did not reach her case, together with the terrible death of the poor girl at her father's hand, ended in bringing the tyrant to prison and a violent end.³²

²⁸ Consult Strabo, VI. p. 250, see also Lüders' *Dionysische Künstler*: "Der von den Tarentinern gegen die Römer zu Hülfe gerufene Pyrrhus hatte, um den verwehlichten Bürgern anzuhelfen, nichts Eiligeres zu thun als die Syssiten in zukunfft zu verbieten, (page 12). Also Schambach's *Italischer Sklavenaufstand*, VI, S. 17.

²⁹ For accounts of the enormous slave populations of different eras, see Schambach, *Italischer Sklavenaufstand*, I, 1-4. Bücher, *Aufstände der Unfreien Arbeiter*, S. 26, 36, 65, 84. Drumann, *Arbeiter und Communisten*, S. 24, 156, 64 and our own chapters.

³⁰ Livy, III. 33.

³¹ Livy, III, 55, 56, 57. Dionys. of Halicarn.

³² Livy, *Libri Historiarum*, III. 57. "Et illi carcerem œdificatum esse, quod

The inimical inroads upon the *ager publicus*, and the consequent ruin of the common people instigated by Appius Claudius and his band of patrician adherents created so great a defection among the plebeians that in B. C. 366, the famous Licinian law, *de modo agri* was called into being by Stolo a low-born himself. It was, in reality, a regulation instituting a system of small holdings; for under it one of the consuls was to be a man of the people and no one rich or poor could be allowed more than 500 acres of the public land. This celebrated law, of Licinius Stolo, a plebeian, which may be regarded as one of the primitive causes of those great social wars and agrarian contentions such as brought Rome to her phenomenal decline, was also doomed to defeat. By the time of the revolt of Spartacus we find, on every side of the metropolis, the grandees occupying the land, living in luxury, while the land which for many centuries had been cultivated by the comparatively free laborers or freedmen, was now laboriously worked by degraded slaves, ready to revolt and watching their opportunities for revenge.

We are now prepared to resume the thread of our narrative. Young Spartacus, a workingman, in every sense,²³ by birth from an earth-born family, by accident of capture and by sale as a slave, was assigned to the exciting and dangerous labors of a gladiator. His task was the revolting one of amusing the non-laboring grandees, their ladies and fashionable pets, the indolent and proud, who languidly sought in the game, the wager, the bagnio, the amphitheatre and its bloody combats, a gratification of their passion for these scenes of ancient life. The ruins of the great marble-faced amphitheatre of Capua where Spartacus is supposed to have killed many of his own comrades in misfortune, are still an object of attraction to travelers.²⁴ Capua was at that time a large city. It lay on the Volturnus, a beautiful river of Campania flowing from the Samnian Appenines westward into the Mediterranean

lomicilliam plebis Romanae vocare sit solitus. Proinde, ut ille iterum ac saepius provocet, sic se iterum ac saepius iudicem illi ferre, ni vindicias ab libertate in servitutem dederit: si ad iudicem non eat, pro damnato in vincula duci iubere. Ut haud quoniam improbaute sic magno motu animorum, quum tanti viri supplicio suamet plebi iam nimia libertas videretur, in carcerem est coniectus."

²³ Dr. Schambach's effort to prove him to have had a recognized family, is without foundation in fact.

²⁴ See Rinaldo, *Memoria Istoriche Della Città di Capua*.

through mountain gorges, valleys and plains, watering some of the most fruitful lands of that magnificent peninsula. These delightful and fruitful fields had been the *ager publicus* since 363 years before Christ; but like many of the vast estates of the republic, had by the time of our hero, become private manorial grounds tilled by slaves.

Spartacus had previously had some military experience of a low order;³⁵ for it is certain that he was a prisoner, having deserted the alliance in which he was treated as a servant—a humiliation his spirit was too proud to bear—and being recaptured, was sold into slavery.

There was at Capua, in addition to the amphitheatre, a school, probably of importance enough to secure for its enterprising proprietor, Lentulus Batiatus, a considerable income. Plutarch expressly states that most of the gladiators were Thracian Gauls, and further exonerates Spartacus from having come to this fate, by any crimes he had committed.³⁶ He was forced there by the injustice of his master. It seems to have been the opinion of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, that Roman gladiators were superior to the Gaul or other imported contestants at the Pompeian, and of course, the Capuan amphitheatres; and we are to infer from him that Roman vigor and strength were superior to all other even at the metropolis of Rome. But we must ever bear in mind that this Roman blood was native; that although it was servile by heredity through long generations from plebeian parentage as the element of outcasts, yet it was actually Roman blood; while the Thracian element was actually of Greek blood, and that in consequence a gladiatorial fight between a Thracian Greek and a Roman stirred up the Roman spirit of emulation on grounds of national pride; since they fancied

³⁵ "Il avait servi dans les légions comme auxiliaire, mais trop fier pour accepter une servitude déguisée sous le nom d'alliance, il avait déserté à la tête d'une troupe de ses compatriotes, mais repris et vendu son courage et sa force étaient employés en qualité de gladiateur." La Rousse, *Dictionnaire Universel*.

³⁶ Plutarch, *Marcus Crassus*, 8: "Δέντλου τινὸς Βατιάτου μονομάχου ἐν Καπύῃ τρέφοντος, ὃν οἱ πολλοὶ Γαλάται καὶ Θράκες ἦσαν." Florus *Annales*, III. 20: " quippe cum servi militaverint, gladiatores Imperaverint, illi infimæ sortis homines, hi pessimæ, auxere ludibrio calamitatem." So also Schambach, *Italische Sklavenaufstand*, VI, S. 18-19, who puts the proportion one third Thracians and two-thirds Gauls in the armies of Spartacus; "Zum Oberanführer wählten sie jetzt den Thraker Spartacus, zu Unteranführern die beiden Gallier Crixus und Œnomaus. Mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit dürfen wir aus diesen Wahlen in Bezug auf die Zusammensetzung des Heüens den Schluss ziehen, das etwa ein-drittel Thraker zwei-drittel Galliern gegenüberstanden, ein Verhältnis, welches sich auch in weiteren Verlauf der Ereignisse nicht wesentlich ändert."

they beheld in the bloody duel a recapitulation of the more serious conflicts with Pyrrhus or Mithridates. We know that on occasions of the games at the amphitheatres, when Romans were to meet Gauls or Greeks, the advertisements were more pronounced and the betting ran ruinously high among the rich frequenters of the ring. Undoubtedly Spartacus, who spoke Greek and Latin with facility, was aware of this. He had, as a scholar under Lentulus Batiatus, either in the open functions or at rehearsals, severely punished, by his giant muscular force and mastership of the art of swordsmanship and pugilism, many wretches whose lot like his own was to measure strength and science alike with friend and foe.

But although of prodigious courage, aptness and physical energy, Spartacus was humane and generous; and his nature revolted against the hideous character of his employment. He loved the memory of his native hills and valleys. His central desire was to reach home and spend in quiet the remainder of his eventful life. Besides, his wife, also a Thracian Greek, was ever at his side with her loving tones of encouragement. Plutarch says that she was possessed of the gift of divination. He relates that Spartacus when taken prisoner was first brought to Rome to be sold. While there, a serpent was once, as he slumbered, discovered twinning caressingly about his head and locks; whereupon on inquiry by superstitious people, as to the import of this strange action of the gods, she answered in her public capacity as retainer to the orgies of Bacchus, that this conduct of the friendly reptile betokened that her husband would rise to be great and formidable, and die happy!³⁷ Unfortunately for the Romans he rose to be formidable to say the least.

³⁷ Plutarch, *Marcus Crassus*, 8; "It is said when he was first brought to Rome to be sold, a serpent was seen twisted about his face as he slept. His wife, who was of the same tribe, having the gift of divination, and being a retainer besides to the orgies of Bacchus, said, it was a sign that he would rise to something very great and formidable, the result of which would be happy. This woman still lived with him, and was the companion of his flight." According to Tacitus, however, she was a German; for in his *Germania*, a curious chapter occurs in her praise setting her forth as an example of the heroism of the ancient German women.

We quote the excellent statement of Schambach on this point: *Italische Sklavenaufstand*, V, S. 16: "Was des Spartacus frühere Lebensschicksale anlangt, so steht fest, dass er eine Zeit lang unter den Hülfsstruppen im römischen Solde gestanden hat, vielleicht in dem Heere des Proconsul P. Claudius, der die noch freien Stämme der makedonischen Thraker unterwerfen sollte. Hier hat er sich wahrscheinlich jene genaue Kenntniss des römischen Herrwesens erworben, welche die unerlässliche Vorbedingung zu

But whatever the vicissitudes of Spartacus at Rome, it is certainly at Capua, many miles from the eternal city, that we must introduce him. He must have been sent to the Capuan school of gladiators to be trained in the science of those ferocious combats with an object of being sent back to Rome prepared *ad gladium* or *ad ludum*,³⁸ for the amphitheatre which afterwards, at the Coliseum became the scenes of brutalities and abominations, such as the world has seldom witnessed. Neither are we prepared to state whether Batiatus the *lanista* or "butcher-master" of Capua, was to prepare him for the full-armor games of the *hoplomachi* or for the deadly Thracian dagger duels "to promote the pleasure of gentlemen."³⁹ But for whatever exact purpose he was designed at the arena they were doomed to disappointment.

At Capua there was at that moment an organization of the *unguentarii*⁴⁰ who furnished, it is said, all Italy with perfumes of the richest quality and who in carrying on this trade under the rules of their *collegium* or labor union realized, so long as the ancient law applied in their case, a good living as wage earners. Considering the amount

seiner zukünftigen Siegen war. Nach Florus ist er sodann desertirt u. Strassenräuber geworden, als solcher gefangen und unter die Gladiatoren verurtheilt. Mit dieser Uebersetzung stimmte indessen Appian I, 116, *ἐκ δὲ αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς μορομάχοις ὄν* nicht überein, und auch ein Fragment Varro's bei Charis. 1, p. 103, Innocente Varro de rebus urbanis tertio, Spartaco innocente coniecto ad gladium spricht gegen Florus. Dass er mehrmals seinen Herrn gewechselt, ehe er in des Cn. Lentulus Batiatus Fechterschule nach Capua kam, scheint aus Plut. *Crass.* 8; *ὅτε πρῶτον εἰς Ῥώμην ὄντος ἤχθη* hervorzugehen. Plutarch erzählt auch noch die Sage, dass nach seiner Ankunft in Rom sich eine Schlange im Schlaf um sein Haupt gewunden und dass eine thrakische Wahrsagerin dies dahin gedeutet habe, 'er werde gross und furchtbar und bis an sein anglickliches Ende glücklich sein,' eine Prophezeiung, die in ihrem letzten Theile an Allgemeinheit nichts zu wünschen übrig lässt.

³⁸ To be killed by decree of law, or to be saved after three years of service, in successful competitive fights. Very few *ad ludum* gladiators, ever came out alive.

³⁹ Florus, *Annales*, III, 20, §8; "Nec abnuit, ille de stipendario Thracæ miles, de milite desertor; inde latro, dein in honore virorum gladiator."

⁴⁰ *Unguentarii*; see chapter xix, on *Trade Unions*, Capua is also the seat of the curious historical inscription of Aquillius, (Orelli, *Inscriptionum Latinarum Collectio*, No. 3, 303), which speaks of the 917 runaway slaves restored by him to their masters, during the great Sicilian Slave war (chap. xi., Athenion), which could not have been inscribed more than about 17 years before. We therefore quote the inscription entire as it furnishes evidence of what must have been the state of feeling with working people at the time the war with Spartacus broke out at Capua: "M. Aquillius, M. F. Gaius, procos viam feci ab regio ad Capnam et in ea via Ponteis omnes milliarios tabellariosque poseui hinc sunt Nouceriam meilia Captuam XXCH, Muranum IXXIII cosentiam CXXIII Valentiam CLXXX. ad Fretum ad statuum CCXXXI regium CCXXXVII, suma Af Capua regium metha CCCXXI. Et eidem praetor in Sicilia fugiteivos. Ulicorum conquaesiuet redeique homines DCCCXVII eidemque primus feci. Ut de agro publico astartibus cederent paastores forum aedisque publicas heic feci."

of demand for such an article in the most extravagant and luxurious era of Roman wealth, we must infer that the business employed a large number of people. But just at this moment the senate at Rome was seriously contemplating the suppression of the trade unions. We know that this contemplated suppression was desperately resisted both by the unions and some of the tribunes of the people and other men of power; and if we are to suppose that the men were as keenly on the alert in those days as they now are, we cannot but imagine that their influence if not their numbers, were lent toward kindling this servile war. For this reason if for no other, it is highly important that we should know this story.

The auspices were all favorable to Spartacus while at Capua, who, together with 200 of the Thracian, Gallic and Roman gladiators, plotted a measure for escape. The plan was to stealthily secure the knives and other articles to be found in the kitchens and eating rooms of the institution, and with these, make a rush in a body for the principal doorway which was guarded by Roman soldiers.⁴² Just before the appointed moment arrived, however, a certain person enrolled in the conspiracy let his courage forsake him; or it may be, was bribed by secret detectives to reveal the truth. However this may have been, a dash by the officers of the law was suddenly made for the arrest of the insurrectionists, which would have succeeded had not Spartacus put his utmost efforts forth to prevent it—being actually ahead of time. As it was, 78 of the most trustworthy and daring burst through the door into the street and thence out of town. The 78 men⁴³ had succeeded in providing themselves with long

⁴² Appian *Historia Romana* I. 116; "Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν λονομάχων ἐς θείας ἐν Καπύῃ τρεφομένων, Σπάρτακος Θραξ ἀνὴρ, ἑστρατευμένος ποτὲ Ῥωμαίοις, ἐκ δὲ αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ πράξεως ἐν τοῖς μονομάχοις ὧν, ἐπεισεν αὐτῶν ἐς ἐβδομήκοντα ἀνδράς μάλιστα κινδυνεύσαι περὶ ἑλευθερίας μᾶλλον ἢ θείας ἐπιδείξεως, καὶ βιασάμενος, σὺν αὐτοῖς τοὺς φυλάσσοντας ἐξέδραμε, καὶ τινῶν ὀδοιπόρων ξυλοῖσι καὶ ζυφιδίοις ὀπλισάμενος ἐς τὸ Βέσβιον ὄρος ἀνεψυγεν." Plutarch, *Crassus*, 8, (Langhorne,) says.. "One Lentulus Batiatus kept at Capua a number of gladiators, the greatest part of which were Gauls and Thracians; men not reduced to that employment for any crimes they had committed, but forced upon it by their master. Two hundred of them, therefore, agreed to make their escape. Though the plot was discovered, threescore and eighteen of them, by their extreme vigilance, were beforehand with their master, and sallied out of town, having first seized all the long knives and spits in a cook's shop."

⁴³ Florus, *Annales*, III. 20, puts it at 30: "Cum triginta hand amplius ejusdem fortunæ viris, erumperunt Capua." Plutarch says 78; and this best agrees with others.

knives and any other things they could lay hands on which could be used as weapons.⁴³

The first battle was fought with the troops of the garrison at Capua, and if we are to credit the hints of Plutarch the conflict must be considered both the opening battle and victory of Spartacus. The Capuan troops, after the escape of the seventy-four, attacked them, as they gained the gates and passages into the open road; but by some dexterous charge were defeated by the gladiators and compelled to return empty-handed to the garrison. They took the main road, presumably the Appian Way, which, leading from Rome through the city of Capua, joins the Via Aquilia about five miles to the south of this place. The Via Aquilia, parting from the Appian Way to the right, leads almost directly to the foot of Mount Vesuvius, a distance from Capua of nineteen or twenty miles. It was on this march that the fugitives met some wagons loaded with a quantity of daggers, swords and knives which they were taking to the city. These weapons were to be used by gladiators in the arena; and it is not unlikely that they were intended for these fugitives' own use at the Capuan amphitheatre. Implements so much needed were, of course, instantly seized, though not without a fight. Thus equipped they reached a mountain ledge in safety. On personal inspection of the place we are inclined to conjecture that Spartacus and his friends first reached the northeasterly base of Vesuvius, or that part which is now the fragment of the volcano⁴⁴ and known as the "Somma," whose separate peak five miles eastward from the crater is called the "Punta del Nasone" and is nearly 4,000 feet above the sea which is visible to the westward. At that time, before the eruption, it must have been 5,000 or 6,000 feet high.

⁴³ Plutarch, *Marcus Crassus*, 9, in relating these things speaks very bitterly against them, as being mere barbarians: "Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ἐκ Καπύης ἐλθόντας ὡσαύμενοι, καὶ πολλῶν ὄπλων ἐπιλαβόμενοι πολεμιστηρίων, ἄσμενοι ταῦτα μεταλαμβάνοντες, ἀπόρρηφαντες, ὡς ἄτιμα καὶ βαρβάρη, τὰ τῶν μονομάχων." Florus and Cicero put the number of the first gladiators down as low as possible: "Cum Spartaco minus multi prima fuerunt. Quid tandem isti mali in tam tenera insula non recissent?" Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, Liber VI. *Epistola*, 2. Florus, *Annales*, III. 20, §. 1, declares there were scarcely more than 30 who escaped with Spartacus: "Spartacus, Crixus, Enomans, efracto Lentuli Iudo, cum triginta haud amplius ejusdem fortunæ viris eruperunt Capua." Consult also Frontin, LXXIV. 1, 5, 21; Vellejus Paterculus, II, 51, 6.

⁴⁴ Vesuvius was not known to have ever had an eruption at that time. Appian, *Historia Romana*, I. 116, only says: "ἐν τῷ Βέσβιον ὄρος ἀνέφυγεν." Plutarch

Here the fugitives took refuge among the crags and wild vines that overhung the mountain side. It was at a point where there was but one approach, that they fixed their first resting place. This was a projecting table-rock which shelved forward over a craggy precipice embowered in the foliage of wild grape vines.⁴⁵ Here, on a crag rising perpendicularly over an immense chasm, the little band pitched their tents. They held a council of war and elected Spartacus commander-in-chief and Crixus and Cnomaus,⁴⁶ his lieutenants. Spartacus, now in full command, immediately began to exercise those gifts of genius, foresight and power which have covered one of the most brilliant military pages in the history of either ancient or modern times.⁴⁷

As might be expected, the people of Capua were filled with terror at the escape of the gladiators.⁴⁸ There was a feeling of shame and humiliation based upon the fact that the rebels were slaves. To combat with equals had ever been the pride of Rome; but to bring her noble arms to bear against a thing so low and hateful in the scale of being as a servile revolt was, from a social point of view, a national degradation and a disgrace.

Nevertheless, the report reached Rome that the gladiators under Spartacus, the prophetic giant, had revolted and escaped to the mountains, and a large detachment of troops, who were probably stationed at Capua, was sent

who must have borrowed from Sallust (See Schambach, S. 9), is our principal source for these details

⁴⁵ La Rousse, *Dictionnaire Universel*, Art. *Spartacus*, see also Plutarch, *Marcus Crassus*, VIII., IX.

⁴⁶ Flor., III, 20, §. 1. "Spartacus, Crixus, Cnomaus, effrauto Lentuli ludo, cum triginta haud amplius ejusdem fortunæ viris."

⁴⁷ Schambach, *Der Italische Sklavenaufstand*, V. S. 15: "Plutarch sagt im Leben des Crassus cap. 8: *οι πολλοι Σπαρτάκειον πόλεμον ὀνομάζουσι* und Florus, der die stichischen Sklavenkriege 'bellum servile' nennt, setzt über das zwanzigste Capital des dritten Buches die Ueberschrift 'bellum Spartacum.' bringt den italischen Sklavenkrieg also in eine Kategorie mit den andern grossen Kriegen (wie dem bellum Hannibalicum, Sertorianum Mithridaticum), in denen ein Mann so vorwiegend als die Seele des Kampfes erscheint, dass dieser nach ihm benannt zu werden verdient. Zwar finden wir bei den römischen Autoren vorwiegend andere Bezeichnungen, z. B. bellum servile (Augustin de c. d. III, 26, Ampel c. 41, 45), servilis tumultus (Caes. b. G. 1, 40), bellum fugitivorum (Front), 'hoc fugitivorum et ut verius dicam gladiatorum bellum' (Oros.); aber allen diesen Benennungen liegt die Absicht zu Grunde, den verhassten Führer der Aufständischen nicht wider Willen zu Nachruhm zu verhelfen."

⁴⁸ In further proof that originally the *paterfamilias* had the right to enslave or even kill his children, see Canon Lightfoot, on *The Colossians*, p. 312, quoting the *Digest*, i. 6. "In potestate sunt servi domini: quæ quidem potestas juris gentium est: nam apud omnes peracque gentes animadvertere possumus dominis in servos vitæ necisque potestatem fuisse."

out under the command of the Roman prætor, Clodius Glaber, to subdue them.⁴⁹ One account gives the number of this force at just 3,000 men. Clodius appeared at the base of the precipice during the day, knowing that the rebels were on the height above him. The army, however, took up its quarters at one side of the acclivity to the ascent of which there was but one approach. This they guarded to prevent the gladiators from escape in the night.

Now was the time for the wily Spartacus, whose band was without suitable arms for a contest. The duel was to consist in the measure of comparative wit. When evening came Spartacus and his men who during the day had taken vines and of them woven ladders sufficiently strong to hold the heaviest man and long enough to reach the foot of the overhanging precipice back of whose capstone the band lay intrenched, let themselves down in such silence as not to awaken the suspicion of the slumbering army. All descended the ladder empty-handed in this manner, except one man who remained to lower the arms; after which he also climbed down and thus all succeeded uninjured, in reaching the plain below, at a point least suspected by the Romans.⁵⁰ Profound silence reigned. The proud prætor and his 3,000 men were now but a few steps from where stood those desperate slaves who well knew that one slip or false action might end their lives.

Spartacus, ranged his men in a manner to surround the Roman encampment. When all was ready the startling whoop of onset was given and the gladiators centering in, apparently in large numbers, with their terrifying war-cry and death-dealing weapons, completely routed those whom they did not kill upon the spot. The rout of the Romans was complete and the rebels remained masters of their baggage and arms, 74 Roman cohorts being killed on the spot.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Compare Florus, III. 20, 4. "Clodio Glabro, per fauces montis vitigineas." See Schambach, *Italischer Sklavenaufstand*, VI. S. 19. Also *International Encyc.* Art. *Spartacus*, Livy, *Epitome*, XCIV., gives the name of the Roman legate as Claudius Pulcher." Appian says Varinius Glabrus, I. 116. . . "καὶ πρῶτος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκπεψθεὶς Ὀυαρῖνος Γλάβρος." But he gives us very little of this first strategic manoeuvre and battle, and passes on to the greater conflicts which followed.

⁵⁰ Plutarch, *Marcus Crassus*, 8; Frontinus, I. 5, 22.

⁵¹ Frontinus, I. 5, 21. "Cohortes gladiatoribus quatuor et Septuaginta ces-

SPARTACUS.

The result of this second success was electrifying. On the part of the Romans, public sentiment was filled with humiliation and disgust. Arrangements were immediately made at Rome to send a powerful force, under a leader in whom they had confidence; and Publius Varinius, a prætor, was sent south at the command of a large body of troops ably supported by two lieutenants, Furius and Cossinius. The prætor had so much faith in Cossinius that he made him his assistant and chief counselor.

Spartacus, who had gained this decisive victory at the precipice of Vesuvius, was cool and calm, full of the sense of his responsibility and still unwavering in the child-like desire to reach safely his native home, far to the northward, across the Adriatic. He had the ripe judgment to foreknow that the Romans when aroused were invincible.

But resolutely suiting the opportunity to the circumstances, he issued a proclamation of emancipation and protection to all the slaves who should join his force. Multitudes of cattle-drivers, shepherds, herdsmen and others whose condition had been degraded by the land-holders to slavery, appeared before him offering their allegiance. They were accepted and armed with implements wrested from Clodius, at the ambushade of Vesuvius. The entire force under Clodius Glaber, being only given at 3,000 there could not have been arms enough for more than that number, unless some of the volunteers furnished their own weapons. This might have been the case; but to offset the argument that the servile auxiliaries used other than the dignified military armor, we have a passage in Plutarch, declaring that at the first skirmish against a detachment from Capua where the gladiators were victorious they threw away their knives as things "disgraceful, dishonorable and barbarous."

His wish was constantly to secure arms, and naturally; for immediately on the defeat of Clodius Glaber, the renegade force of 78 gladiators from Capua swelled into an

corint;" See also Flor., III. 20: "Nihil tale opinantis ductis, subito impetu castra rapere." Schambach, *Italischer Sklavenkrieg*, S. 20, says: "Alle Nachrichten stimmen nemlich darin überein, dass die Fechter an Zahl unendlich viel geringer waren, Frontin 1, 5, 21 gibt sogar an, es seien noch die 74 allein gewesen; verum etiam ex alio latere Clodium ita terruit, ut aliquot cohortes gladiatoribus quatuor et septuaginta cesserint. Der Angriff gelang vollständig, die römischen 'militis tumultuarii' räumten fliehend das Feld und liessen ihr Lager mit allem Gepäck im Stich, das eine Beute der Empörer wurde."

army of 10,000 "men of great vigor and very swift runners." and Spartacus "covered them with armor, some heavy, some light for picket duty."⁵² As the cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii were but a few miles distant to the south and west, it is quite possible that he realized not only arms but many volunteers from that quarter. The indomitable rebel now set himself about drilling his men into military service. The wretched *ergastuli* were changed into free men who assumed military dignity,⁵³ from the moment of their desertion from their masters thus realizing immediate participation, without having to linger upon the anticipations of promise. With 10,000 desperate soldiers under rigid drill he soon felt himself capable to cope with a prætorian army. Nor had he long to wait.

The Roman prætor, Publius Varinius, as already stated, was in the same year, B. C. 74, sent with a large army to put an end to the trouble.⁵⁴ He had two lieutenants, Furius and Cossinius. Varinius placed much confidence in Cossinius as a man of uncommon judgment. But the combined wisdom of both was not enough to induce the Roman army to keep together; for Furius was sent with a strong detachment of 2,000 men against the "common robber."⁵⁵ Spartacus, perceiving the Roman army divided into two columns, fell upon the weakest line, that of Fu-

⁵² Plutarch, *Marcus Crassus*; Florus, III. 20, 3, also speaks of the 10,000 as follows: "Servisque ad vexillum vocatis, cum statim decem amplius millia cogerent hominum." Plutarch, *Marcus Crassus*, correctly applies this estimate aiter rather than before the battle of the ambushade.

⁵³ Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Art. *Spartacus*, The runaways resorted to all sorts of expedients to obtain arms and munitions. See Florus, III. 20, 6. "Affluentibus in diem copiis, quum jam esset iustus exercitus e viminibus pectendumque tegumentis, inconditis sibi clipeos; e ferro ergastulorum recocto gladios ac tela fecerunt." So also Appian, *De Bellis Civilibus*, I. 116-117: "Μετα δὲ τοῦτο Σπαρτάκω μὲν ἐτι μάλλον πολλοὶ συνῆθον, καὶ ἐπὶ μνηστῆς ἦσαν ἤδη στρατοῦ, καὶ ὅπλα ἐχάλκευε, καὶ παρασκευῆν συνέλεγε, οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστυ τοῦς ὑπάτους ἐξέπεμπον μετὰ δύο τελών."

⁵⁴ Appian, *De Bellis Civilibus*, I. 116. "Μερισζομένη δ' αὐτῷ τὰ κέρδη κατ' ἰσομοιρίαν ταχῶς πλῆθος ἦν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ πρῶτος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκπεμφθεὶς Ἰουαρίνιος Γλάβρος, ἐπὶ δ' ἕκινον Πύπλιος Ἰουαλέριος, οὐ πολιτικὴν στρατιάν ἀγοντες ἀλλ' ὅσους ἐν σπουδῇ καὶ παρόδῳ συνέλεξαν (οὐ γὰρ πῶς Ῥωμαῖοι πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἐπίδρομην τινα καὶ ἄσπρητον τὸ ἔργον ὁμοίον ἡγοῦντο εἶναι), συμβαλόντες ἤττηντο. Ἰουαρίνιου δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄστυ αὐτὸς Σπαρτάκος παρέσπασε· παρὰ τὸσοῦτον ἤλθε κινδύνου Ῥωμαίων ὃ στρατηγὸς αὐτὸς εἰχμάλωτος ὑπὸ μονομάχου γενέσθαι."

⁵⁵ Horace, *Carmena*, liber III. *Carmen*. 14, lines 18-20;

"Et cadem Marsi memorem Cassili,
Spartacum ei que potuit vagantem
Fallere testa."

Cornelius Tacitus, *Annales*, lib. III. cap. 73, speaks of the successes of Spartacus as shameful applying the epithets "robber and deserter." "Non alius magis sua populique Romani contumelia indoluisse: caesarem ferunt, quam quod deceptor et praedo hostium more ageret, ne Spartaco quidem post tot consularium exercituum clades innotam Italiani mentii."

rius, and with an impetuous dash, broke through his main body, routing and destroying nearly the entire detachment. The larger force however remained, commanded by Cossinius, the legate and confidential adviser of the commander-in-chief. That worthy, doubtless, incredulous regarding the abilities of the man he was to cope with, so far forgot the rigorous vigilance of war as to indulge in the tempting baths of Salenæ. The eagle-eye of Spartacus bent upon the prey. While the Roman was thus luxuriating, the gladiators rushed with fierce rapidity and like a thunderbolt struck the spot, and very nearly succeeded in seizing Cossinius in the bath. He escaped, however, with precipitation, but his army was attacked by surprise, routed, large numbers killed and Cossinius himself in attempting to restore order was slain in battle which covered the field with the dead. The conquering legions followed up the victory and made themselves masters of the camps of the Roman army.

The report of this victory at the Baths of Salenæ spread like wildfire through the land. Slaves rushed into the camp of the rebels, offering their services in exchange for freedom. The newly gotten arms were transferred from the Romans to the sun-baked and brawny hands of the rebels. The drill and military manœuvre went rigorously and with great system forward in their camp; and while the hopes of the unsophisticated bondmen beat high the pride of the Roman nobility and citizens was mortified and crushed.

Varinius⁶⁶ with the remnant of his army, consisting of the greater fraction of the original force, was in the vicinity, or at least, not very far from the scene of the last disaster in which Cossinius met his fate. There are no data extant which give the full accounts of this encounter. To the student of sociology it must be announced with keen regrets that the entire three books of Livy covering the space of time between 74 and 71 B. C., are, with the exception of the epitome of books, XCV., XCVI. and XCVII., completely lost. A discovery of the lost authorities would indeed be a rich legacy to the science of sociology. Exactly similar is the fate of the great *Libri His-*

⁶⁶ Publius Varinius according to Plutarch, although Appian says Varinius Glabros.

toriarum, of Sallust.⁵⁷ Of all writers on ancient history, Sallust and Livy rank among the most plain-spoken and manly. By the epitomies and fragments still extant we know that these missing histories of the servile war were elaborately written; and judging from the careful study and insertion of figures, speeches and other literary condiments which spice their narrations we should, had they not perished, be supplied with a flood of new details regarding this servile war. Those inestimable jewels are, however, lost, unless some Niebuhr arises to rescue them from their dusty shadows. The triumphs of Spartacus were an unendurable stigma upon the Roman name, and the shame which the successes of gladiators and slaves inflicted, though it could not be effaced from memory, could be expunged or obliterated by destroying the books and by acts as barbarous as that which afterwards lined the drives for miles both sides of the Appian Way with the crucified followers of this general.

Spartacus soon after made a formidable onset upon Varinius, who was overthrown, showing this to have been a great battle. Much obscurity hangs over this engagement.⁵⁸ Could the whole truth be revealed we should perhaps be presented with one of the world's bloodiest struggles; for we are informed by Plutarch that about this time the army of Spartacus had greatly swollen, and Appian declares it to have reached 70,000 men. The Roman general was overthrown. He lost all his troops, his horses, baggage, and his prætorian fasces. In fact he was annihilated; for we hear no more of him.

⁵⁷ See Schambach's *Italischer Sklavenaufstand*, II. S. 6. This keen observer and critic considers Sallust's history to have been far the most authentic and complete of all. He says: "Am meisten zu bedauern haben wir den Verlust des grössten Werkes des Salustius, welches den Titel führte libri h'istoriarum populi Romani. Salustius war von den römischen Autoren, die eine Geschichte jenes Krieges gegeben haben, derjenige, welcher den Ereignissen selbst nicht nur zeitlich am nächsten stand, sondern auch die meiste historische Glaubwürdigkeit hat. Vermöge seiner Stellung im Staate und seiner weitreichenden Verbindungen war er im Staude die besten Nachrichten zu geben, und mit einer anziehenden charakteristischen Darstellung verband er Methode und Kritik. Seine Historien waren sehr ausführlich."

⁵⁸ " Dans un combat desastreux il (Varinius) perdit ses troupes, ses baggages, son cheval, et jusqu'aux faisceaux prétoriens " (La Rousse, *Art, Spartacus*). See also Michaud, *Bibliographie Universelle*, Vol. 40, pp. 18-21, wherein we are reminded of the extraordinary allusion by Tacitus (*Germanie*, cap. 8), of the wife of Spartacus having been a fortune-teller. She accompanied her husband through his remarkable career. Her name was *Aurinia* and Tacitus supposes her to have been a German. See *Infra*, § 313 note 73. Appian, 116, *fin.*, confirms the statement that Varinius lost many of his troops and his colors.

Spartacus from this time was adorned with the regular accompaniments of a Roman pro-consul. With a great army he overran the territory of Campania, ravaging and sacking Nola, Nuceria and Cora; then crossing the Samnian line into the province of Hirpinus he seized what he wanted from Compsa on the Via Numicia. Crossing the Appenines he marched his army southward into the rich peninsular division of Lucania. Here in the great fertile plains, between the mountains and the Tarantine Gulf, he was absolute master. His arms extended still farther southward over the domain of Bruttium in Magna Græcia.⁵⁹ In fact the destruction of the Varinian army had placed the rebels in complete possession of this whole portion of Italy. Here were pitched the winter quarters, B. C. 74-73.⁶⁰

But Spartacus well knew that he must not follow the voluptuous plan⁶¹ of Hannibal who, one hundred and forty years before at Capua, among the same valleys of which he was now master, and after the strikingly similar battle of Cannæ, had allowed his Carthaginian braves to be spoiled by luxury and wealth. Fixing his quarters at or not far from the city of Metapontum,⁶² which lay on the Tarantine gulf between the rivers Acalandrus and Casuentus, where the alluvial bottoms filled those parts of Italy with harvests of the cereals and the vine, Spartacus estab-

⁵⁹ Appian, *Historia Romana*, I. 117, μσ. "Τὰ δ' ὄρη τὰ περι Θουρίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν κατέλαβε, καὶ χρυσὸν μὲν ἢ ἀργυρὸν τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἐσφέρειν ἐκέλευε, καὶ κεκτῆσθαι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, μόνον δὲ σίδηρον καὶ χαλκὸν ἐνωοῦντο πολλοῦ, καὶ τοὺς ἐσφέροντας οὐκ ἠδίκουν. ὕδεν ἀδρόα ὕλην εὐπορήσαντες εὐ παρεσκευασαντο, καὶ θαμινὰ ἐπὶ ληλασίας ἐξήρσαν. Ῥωμαῖοις τε πάλιν συνερχθέντες ἐς χεῖρας ἐκράτουν καὶ τότε, καὶ λείας πολλῆς γέμοντες ἐπανήσαν."

⁶⁰ Schambach, *Italischer Sklavenaufstand*, III, S. 13, makes the war to have commenced in the summer of B. C. 74, which we follow, *Idem*, S. 20, Schambach draws from the Vatican fragments of Sallust as follows: "Nachdem Spartacus alle Elemente der empörung, welche Campanien darbot, ansich gezogen wandte er sich in andere gegenden. Leider sind wir uber die Route, die er einschlug, nicht genau unterrichtet; doch dürfen wir an der Hand der vatikanischen Fragmente des Sallust mit denen Orosius übereinstimmt, annehmen, dass er sich zunächst quer durch die Halbinsel an die Küsten des adriatischen Meeres wandte, von wo er dann die Richtung nach Süden einschlug und nach Lukanien gelangte. Wenigstens berechtigen uns die Fragmente des Sallust zu der Annahme, dass Varinius, von dem weiterhin die Rede sein wird, in Picenum den Aufständischen gegenüber gestanden habe. In diesen Marsche eroberten sie Anii Forum und vielleicht auch Avellae, dessen Einwohnerschaft sich ihnen wenigstens zum Schutze ihrer Mark entgegenstellte. Dass auch hier die Sklaven ihren Weg mit Mord und Brand bezeichnet haben, ist wohl gewiss."

⁶¹ Plutarch, *Marcus Crassus*, 9-10, Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*. Art. *Spartacus*, Sallust, *Fragm. Historiarum*, III, *Idem*, Gerlach ed., p. 254 Pliny *Nat. Hist.*, XXXIII, 14.

⁶² In Rousse, *Dictionnaire Universel*, according to which the camp of Spartacus was near Thurium, q. v.

lished himself for the winter, astonishing his historians by an ordeal of tactics and a discretion which the wisest and most virtuous might follow at the present day.

As explained in our account of the Roman *collegia* or social organizations, all Italy was at this period covered with social societies of protection, of resistance and for convivial and burial purposes.⁶³ To make coincidence more striking to the student of sociology, it may be explained that it was at just this critical moment that the Roman politicians who for centuries had been invidiously watching the rise and progress of the social movement under the law of Numa Pompilius, were busily discussing a measure for the wholesale suppression of the great social movement, root and branch. This law for their suppression did not succeed, on account of the powerful interference of the tribune Clodius, until the year 58 B. C. But we are not without evidence that everywhere the unions of labor were all this time on the alert, expecting the calamity and preparing for revolt. These unions were innumerable.⁶⁴ Italy and Greece were honeycombed with them.⁶⁵ Another proof⁶⁶ that this remarkable conquest of Spartacus in the industrial centers of Italy actually revived the organizations or turned their membership to his use, is seen from a slur in Cicero, the bitter hater of everybody who was too poor to live without manual toil. Speaking of them he says: . . . "not only those ancient labor unions have had their right of organization restored to them, but, by one gladiator, innumerable others, and new ones, have been instituted." These words from such high authority, shed a blaze of light upon our conjecture that Spartacus was working in collusion with the disaffected labor unions which had either been suppressed or their existence threatened, as is plainly proved, at that time.⁶⁷ Thus Cicero becomes our most valuable and re-

⁶³ Cf. chaps xiii, to xix., *infra*, on Trade and other labor organizations among the ancients.

⁶⁴ Cicero who was incensed at the success of Clodius whose eloquence restored the right of organization to the workingmen, says: "Collegia non ea solum quæ senatus sustulerat restituta, sed innumerabilia quædam nova ex omni fœce Urbis ac servitio concitata." Cic. *In Pisonem*, 4, 9.

⁶⁵ "L. Julio C. Mario Coss, quos et ipsi Cicero memoravit Scto consilia sublata sunt," Cf. Mommsen, *De Collegiis et Sodalitiis Romanorum*, p. 73.

⁶⁶ Cic., *Pro Sesto*, 25, 55. "Ut collegia non modo illa vetera restituerentur sed ab uno gladiatore innumerabilia alia nova constituerentur." This inimitable satire, was, in all probability flung at Spartacus who had then been dead only a few years.

liable historian by his utterances at the bar, in the senate and his epistles. We must make the importance of this matter excuse prolixity and repetition. Speaking of these very times but apparently not suspecting the extraordinary concatenation of circumstances which we use in evidence of our conjecture, the great archæologist Mommsen, explicitly states, concerning the ancient conspiracy laws of this period which we conjecture contributed much to the so-called servile wars, that they were of two sorts. "Thus I have two points to note here: In the first, I do not think that the Clodian trade unions contained slaves as members; for I think the pure trade organization of skilled workmen did not admit slaves. They were societies for religious purposes."⁶⁸ Then the law of Clodius must be looked upon as touching only the city of Rome; as Cicero says: '*ex urbis fœce*'—out of the slums of the city of Rome. It was of such that Clodius would conscribe and classify. The fact is, innumerable unions of the servile race, as their relics show, were scattered over all Italy, derived from ancient times, under the protection of the provincial cities."⁶⁹

We are told that the young general after fixing his quarters snugly for the winter, instituted a rigorous drill of his troops. According to Pliny he denied them the use of gold and silver lest they should become demoralized by handling these vitiating treasures.⁷⁰

One thing is certain during his sojourn in Lucania: he set all the slaves free and declared such work to be his mission.⁷¹ He also garrisoned the cities, although it is claimed that some of them he plundered. He committed no acts of brutality. He forced his soldiers to abstain from intemperance.⁷² He was humane to his prisoners.

⁶⁸ See Ascon, *L. C.*, speaking of Clodius: "*De collegiis restituendis novisque institutendis quæ ait ex servitiorum fœce constituta.*"

⁶⁹ Here Mommsen is mistaken, and he later on admits that they used religion as a cloak to screen them from the rigid laws.

⁷⁰ Mommsen, *De Collegiis et Sodalitiis Romanorum*, pp. 77-78. The text is as follows: "*Qua ratione conscriptio instituta sit et ad quænam collegia hæc lex maxime pertinuerit, iam exposui. Itaque duo tantum habeo adhuc adnotanda; primum cum servi in collegiis Clodianis essent, non esse cogitandum de collegiis opificum, quæ servos admisisse non arbitror, sed de sacris tantum; deinde Clodii legem ad Urbem tantum spectavisse, cum Cicero collegia et *ex urbis fœce* constituta dicat et Clodium in foro conscripsisse et decuriavisse."*

⁷¹ "*Quibus deliciis venient tam aurea quam aurata, cum sciamus interdixisse castris suis Spartacum, ne quis aurum haberet aut argentum. Tanto fuit plus animi fugitivis nostris.*" Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XXXIII. 14.

⁷² Cf. *International Encyclopedia*, Art. *Spartacus*.

For once we have a record of a skillful soldier, a loving husband, a humble workingman and a gentleman.

We are in possession of several very reliable evidences that Spartacus was married and that his wife shared his prison and military life. Plutarch is our authority for the first and Cornelius Tacitus for the latter. Not only was she faithful to him but she certainly became a celebrated pattern of fidelity, making herself by deeds of a true heroine, an object of praise to so great an extent that Tacitus holds her up as an example of the heroic character of German women. Her name was Varinia.⁷² "The most terrible guerilla chieftain recorded in history was unstained by the vices of his conquerors."⁷⁴

Spartacus had among his men, a large number of skilled workmen who belonged to unions. Among them were members of the *Fabricenses*,⁷⁵ armor makers; of the *Castrensiarii*, sutlers who took contracts under the old rule of Numa to supply the soldiers with provisions; *fabri*, workers in hard metals; *caligularii*, soldiers' boot makers or army cobblers and many other mechanics whom he engaged and employed in the manufacture of arms and other details of supplying his army. There was the great order of the *Vectigularii*⁷⁶ which had been created by Numa, upheld by the Twelve Tables, and for 500 years employed by the Roman government and all the *Municipia* of Italy as collectors of the revenues from the incomes of the public domain, but which had lost their employment through the usurpation of the *ager publicus* by land monopolists and their system of slave labor.

⁷² Plutarch, *Marcus Crassus*, (Langhorne,) says: "But they (meaning the obstinate slaves against the orders of Spartacus) relying upon their numbers, and elated with success, would not listen to his proposal. Instead of that, they laid Italy waste as they traversed it."

⁷³ Tacitus, *Germanicae*, 8. "Memoriae proditur quasdam acies inclinatas iam et labantes a feminis restitutas constantia precum et objectu pectorum et monstrata comminus captivitate, quam longe impatientius feminarum suarum nomine timent, adeo ut efficacius obligentur animi civitatum, quibus inter obsides puellae quoque nobiles imperantur inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant, nec aut consilia eorum aspernantur aut responsa neglegunt. vidimus sub divo Vespasiano Veledam diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam, sed et olim Auriniam et compluris alias venerati sunt, non adulatione, neque tamquam facerent deas." It is said that this "Aurlnia" was the wife of Spartacus.

⁷⁴ Smith's *Dictionary of Roman Biography*, Art. *Spartacus*.

⁷⁵ Orell., *Inscriptionem Latinarum Collectio*, Nos. 4,079, 4,083, and *infra Armorer's*, chapter XV, pp. 372-88, *Trade unions*. There are many inscriptions showing that the blacksmiths, armorers and other iron and metal workers existed at that time in lower Italy, under the *collegia* or trade organizations.

⁷⁶ Orell., *Inscr. Lat. Collectio*, Vol. II. of *Collegia, Corpora, Societas et cetera*, pp. 227-246. Also index, Vol. III.

These he furnished with work and wages, by sending them *en revanche*, to collect from the rich who had usurped the lands, the provisions and money for his army and its expenses. Thus Spartacus, in the granary of Italy became the master workman of all the secret unions of trades and laborers; and we have no evidence disproving the immense popularity to which he unquestionably arose among the wage earners.

The army by this time, which must have been the early spring of B. C. 73, was swollen to 120,000¹¹ men, armed and well equipped, in readiness to battle with the mightiest force Rome could muster. With this splendid force he now meditated a daring attempt on Rome.

But one great misfortune now began insidiously to exhibit itself. His army, especially that division of the Gauls under Crixus, his hitherto faithful lieutenant, began to show signs of jealousy. Of all the fratricidal passions that curse and wither the hopes and career of the organizations of labor, jealousy is the most venomous and deadly. Born of the human spirit, it runs in lurid juices as of the cobra's fangs, and strikes death under cover of fascination. With the adder's blindness it envenoms the atmosphere by puffs, mistaken for zephyrs and balm, and to the innocent like Spartacus it throttles the spirit with the dark moral shadows of doom.

Had this insidious spectre not appeared, the army of the gladiators and workingmen might perhaps have succeeded, to some extent, in a desperate march on Rome and thereby—although its conquest was out of the question—some wise negotiation might have succeeded in much permanent good to the proletaries. But the exact opposite was in the end the result. The plan of this campaign was not carried out.

The camp at Metapontum was constantly visited by

¹¹ Cf. Smith's *Dictionary of Roman Biography*, Art. *Spartacus*; Schambach, *Der Itahsche Sklavenaufstand*. Appian makes it to have been 120,000; and Spartacus seriously contemplated an invasion of Rome, he says, cap. 117, lib. I: "Ο δὲ Σπάρτακος τριακοσίους Ῥωμαίων αἰχμαλώτους ἐναγίσας Κρίξῳ, δώδεκα μυριάσι περὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπειγέτο, τὰ ἀχρηστα τῶν σκευῶν κατακαύσας καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους πάντος ἀνελὼν καὶ ἐπισφάζας τὰ ὑποζύγια, ἵνα κούφος εἴη· αὐτομάλων τε πολλῶν αὐτῷ προσιάντων οὐδένα προσέτο. καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτῶν αὐτὸς περὶ τὴν Πικηρίτιδα γῆν ὑποστάντων, μέγας ἀγὼν ἕτερος ὅδε γίγνεται, καὶ μεγάλη καὶ τότε ἦσσα Ῥωμαίων." This was after the battle of Garganus and the death of Crixus. See *infra*. So Julius Sequester, *vide* Lycosthenes, *De Prodigis*, 118: "Armorum horrendo clamore" (from Capua) "centum millia hominum consumpta Italico civilique bello reato est."

merchants who purchased brass and iron and other goods on a large scale. We are told that it presented the spectacle of a great fair.

Spring came and it was learned that three consular armies, fully equipped, were on their way to meet the forces of the rebels; and Spartacus took up his line of march northward, keeping the shores of the Adriatic. The object of this movement was to reach the Alps, cross them and disperse the army at the point where the Gauls might return in safety to their homes to the northward and the Thracians might take to the right and thus reach their homes in Thrace.⁷⁸ It appears that Crixus and CENOMANS had remained with Spartacus at the winter quarters but that there was a quarrel. The evidences

⁷⁸ No writer disagrees from the main statement that the central and longing idea of Spartacus was to reach his native home and again enjoy the occupations of peace. Plutarch, *Marcus Crassus*, 9. says: "By this time he (Spartacus) was become great and formidable. Nevertheless his views were moderate. He had too much understanding to hope the conquest of the Romans and therefore led his army to the Alps, with an intention to cross them, and then dismiss his troops, that they might retire to their respective countries, some to Thrace and some to Gaul." Granier, next to Florus and the English Encyclopædists, the most merciful of the commentators, says: *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières et des Classes Bourgeoises*: "Spartacus, qui était un homme dont le cœur valait mieux que la condition, n'avait qu'une idée; il voulait qu'on franchît les Alpes, qu'on gagnât les Gaules, et qu'une fois là, chacun reprit le chemin de son pays. La stratégie des consuls et la mutinerie de ses compagnons l'empêchèrent de réaliser son projet. Schambach defends Spartacus against the generally accepted libels and slanders afloat in Rome and which acted as a palliative subduing the galling fact that the haughty nation was humbled by a low-lived gladiator: "Hält es doch Florus für nöthig sich mit den Worten 'magnitudo cladium facit, ut meminerimus' zu entschuldigen, als er den Namen des Anführers in einem der sicilischen Aufstände anführt! Aber mit der ansicht, den Mann einfach todt zu schweigen, begnügte man sich nicht; man bedeckte sein Andenken durch erfundene Verbrechen und machte seinen Namen zu einem Schimpfworte, und selbst Männer wie Cicero und der ältere Plinius haben sich von den stimmen des grossen Haufens hierin nicht zu emancipiren vermocht. Uns, die wir keinen Grund haben, Spartacus als grimmigen Feind zu verabscheuen, liegt die Verpflichtung ob, seine Person in das richtige Licht zu stellen und gegen unverdienten Tadel zu vertheidigen." (Schambach, *Der Italische Sklavenaufstand*, S. 15. Dr. Drumann in Vol. IV. S. 74, sq. of his great History of Rome (*Römische Geschichte*) gives Spartacus this just tribute: "Die Natur hatte ihn zum Helden und Herrscher geschaffen, durch klugheit, Muth, Freiheitsliebe und Mässigung ragte er über seine Gefährten hervor; er brachte das allmächtige Rom zum Zittern, als er die Ketten zerbrach, und begehrte auch jetzt nichts, als frei zu sein; die Grausamkeiten seiner zügellosen Schaaren kommen nicht auf seine Rechnung, sofern sie nicht gegen die Unterdrücker gerichtet waren; nur gegen die Römer, in deren Spielen er sich und die Menschheit entehrt fühlte, die ihm nicht einmal die Flucht gestatteteten, ihn und die Uebrigen einzufangen suchten, um sie an das Kreuz zu nageln, kannte er kein Erbarmen. Auch auf einer Höhe, wo Alles um ihn her den Schwindel befiehl, blieb er besonnen; er wollte Rom nicht zerstören, weil er nichts Unmögliches wollte; die Vorhersagungen seiner thrakischen Gattin über die ihm beschiedene Grösse verblendeten ihn nicht; aber die Sklaven verwirrten und vereitelten seinen Plan." The inquisitive student of Spartacus may also consult a fragment of Varro, *Charis*, I. p. 103: "Spartaco innocente connecto ad gladium." American Encyclopædia, Vol. XIV. p. 8-9, acknowledges that: "His own desire was to secure the freedom of the slaves by taking them beyond the Alps; but they, eager for plunder, refused to leave Italy."

also tend to prove that Crixus and a large detachment of the Gauls separated from the main army on the march northward. Cénomans also had a falling out; for it seems he undertook an expedition to the westward of the main army under Spartacus on the march through Picenum near the Adriatic Sea. This expedition of Cénomans was undertaken contrary to the wishes of Spartacus and to gratify a desire for plunder. This lieutenant was met by Gellius⁷⁹ commanding one of the three consular armies sent out by the Romans, and in the battle which followed, he was killed, his army routed and those soldiers who escaped were glad to get safely back to their general-in-chief who never ventured a battle without knowing beforehand that he had some chances in his favor.

But Crixus who was weak enough to be jealous in such a dangerous emergency was too weak to be victorious over the Romans. He rashly ventured a battle at the foot of Mount Garganus in Picenum, with his large detachment of the army, amounting to 35,000 men.⁸⁰ It is likely that he was drawn into an ambuscade by Arrius who commanded the third consular army of the Romans. Crixus in his speech to the soldiers before the battle braced his men with assurance that it was "better to die manfully in the attempt of freedom than to be butchered

⁷⁹ Orosius, *Historiarum Adversus Paganos Libri*, V. "Cénomans enim jam superiore bello fuerat occisus." Schambach, *Italischer Sklavenaufstand*, S. 19, acknowledges the obscurity in which the facts regarding this lieutenant of Spartacus are enveloped: "Jener Cénomans muss bald gefallen sein: Crixus, der als der erste nach Spartacus erscheint, spielte seine Rolle länger."

⁸⁰ Livy, *Liber*, XCVI. *Epitome*, gives the number destroyed at 20,000 including Crixus "Q. Arrius, prætor Crixum fugitivorum ducem cum viginti milibus hominum cecidit." Appian, *Historia Romana*, 117, *init.* "Και τούτων ὑπὸ μὲν θατέρου Κρίξος, ἡγούμενος τρισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν, περὶ τὸ Γάργανον ὄρος ἡττάτο, καὶ δύο μέρη τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς συναπώλετο αὐτοῖς." Σπάρτακον δὲ διὰ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὄρων ἐπὶ τὰ Ἀλπεῖα καὶ ἐς Κελτοῦς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπεῖων ἐπειγόμενον ὁ ἕτερος ὕπατος προλαβὼν ἐκώλυε τῆς φυγῆς, καὶ ὁ ἕτερος εἰδὼκεν. ὁ δὲ ἐφ' ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν ἐπιστρεφόμενος παρὰ μέρος ἐνίκα. καὶ οἱ μὲν σὺν θορύβῳ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὑπεχώρουν." Sallust, *Frag. Historiarum*. We quote the following fragment to show the desperate fighting of the slaves presumably at this battle with Crixus—"ingre, tante setui debacchatur, nefandum in modum perverso vulnere et interdum lacerum corpus semianimum omittentem, alii in tecta jaciebant ignes, multique ex loco servi, quos ingenium socios debat, abdita à dominis aut ipsos trahebant ex occulto, neque sanctum aut nefandum quicquam fuit iræ barbarorum ac servili ingenio: quæ Spartacus nequiens prohibere, multis precibus cum oraret, celeritate nuntios." In the next fragment we see the plans of Spartacus thwarted and Crixus on the eve of his overthrow and death: "Aliquot dies contra morem fiducia augeri nostris cœpit, et i romi lingua. Qua Varius contra spectatam rem incaute motus novos incognitosque et aliorum casibus percussos milites jam, neque tam magnifice fumentem prælium, quam postulaverant. Atque illi certamini conscii inter se juxta seditionem erant. Crixo et gentis ejusdem Gallis at que Germanis obviam ire et ultro offerre pugnam cupientibus contra Sparta-

for a Roman holiday." The unfortunate Crixus, less discreet than intrepid rushed into the din of strife and in a furious battle which occupied the day was slain and his army defeated with great loss.

The routed soldiers, however, had one comfort. They could go back to their general better qualified through the lesson, with confidence in their sagacious chieftain whom they had deserted. Even this rebuke did not entirely quell the terribly revolutionary character of his insubordinate troops.

Spartacus now started over the Appennines in forced marches northward toward the river Po, dogged every inch of the route by the large consular armies of Rome under C. Cornelius Lentulus and Gellius Poplicola, the two consuls and Q. Arrius the prætor, who commanded the third consular army. But he sustained no losses. Every time the enemy ventured a battle he was sure to be hacked and punished by the terrible columns of the now veteran proletaries.⁸¹

Spartacus appears to have bent every energy toward making a permanent escape from Italy. In the struggle to make headway, the sallies of the enemy in flank and rear were always met by the wary gladiator with a shock which stupefied and annihilated them; and in this manner he contested every attack, watching with a judicious eye every movement of the several Roman armies, for opportunities to inflict the heaviest blows.

At last, in one of his wily manœuvres he succeeded in alluring Poplicola and his large army into a place suitable, as he believed, to make a general attack. We are a little undecided as to where this bloody battle took place. There are data to the effect that Spartacus now had 70,000 men in solid column.⁸² But most of the great histories being lost, the lesser writers of those times perhaps

⁸¹ Flor., III. 20, 10. "Inde jam consulares quoque aggressus, in Appennino Lentuli exercitum percucidit: apud Mutinam Cati Cassi castra delevit."

⁸² It is probable that the rebel force was still stronger than this; for Appian puts it at 120,000 while yet in Thuria. Valerius Paterculus, however, seems to carry the idea that it was less; "quorum numerus in tantum adolevit utque ultimo dimicavere acie XL millia hominum se Romano exercitui opposuerunt." But his school edition finds fault with these figures, as absurd and refers to Eutropius who says 60,000. Orosius and Livy, who make the rebel force about this time to have been a medium between 120,000 (Appian's statement) and 40,000 (that of Valerius), concluding that the "C." of the latter author must have been changed in vicissitudes of so many ages into an "L," and that it originally read XC. millia or 90,000.

ashamed of what they considered a humiliation and disgrace, rush over the less prominent events, mentioning only in an obscure manner, certain points.

The tactics of Poplicola were to harass the flank while Lentulus kept his army in the front of Spartacus who took no further notice of the latter than to keep him from doing mischief. When at last, Spartacus saw his opportunity, burning with a desire to avenge Crixus, who had fallen at Mt. Garganus, he gave his men the long coveted order of attack.

A great and bloody battle was fought. All day the glitter of helmets and the clash of swords told the horrid tale of death. It was a rencounter of Greek and Gaul and Roman—representatives of the bravest lands of ancient days.

Phalanx by phalanx, the proud army of Poplicola gave way before the intrepid assaults of the laborers. No sooner did the Romans begin to weaken and bend than the carnage redoubled. Spartacus made good every opportunity and crashed upon the now broken columns of his adversary. Thousands of the Romans fell dead and dying. A few escaped. Night brought the slaughter to a sullen close.⁶⁴ The victorious legions of Spartacus returned to their tents to rest. Large numbers of prisoners had fallen into their hands, among whom were many haughty Roman knights. Spartacus with bitter irony soon afterwards forced them to fight as gladiators in the funeral games which he celebrated with pomp to the *manes* of Crixus.⁶⁵

Thus we have an account of the fifth battle won by this

⁶³ Florus, III, 20, 12, is greatly grieved at this humiliation; "a quo pulsus, fugatique (pudet dicere) hostes in extrema Italia refugerunt."

⁶⁴ "Sur la route il rencontra et écrasa deux armées consulaires, deux autres prétoriennes et arriva enfin tout combatant et toujours victorieux sur les rives du Po, dont les eaux débordées lui barrèrent le chemin." La Rousse, Art. *Spartacus*. Lutarch, *Crassus*, tr. Langhorne, IX, says: "Lentulus, the other consul, endeavoured to surround Spartacus, with his forces, which were very considerable. Spartacus met him fairly in the field, beat his lieutenants, and stripped them of their baggage." Scraps from the earliest and best authors serve where the thread of the story is lost; and indicate the truthfulness of the history. Sallust has one as follows, which though badly mangled, seems to relate to this severe contest: * * * "M or Trequii præter s r cieni necessarium haud multo secus quam ferro noceri poterat. At Varinius, dum hæc aguntur à fugitivis, ægra parte militum autumnii gravitate, neque ex postrema fuga, cum severo edicto juberentur, ullis ad signa redeuntibus, et qui relinqui erant per summa fugitia detrectantibus militiam. Quæstorem suum C. Thoranium ex quo præsentè vera facillime noscerunt, * * * commiserant, et tamen interim quum volentibus numero quatuor."

⁶⁵ Florus, III, 20. "Qui defunctorum quoque prælio ducum funera impera

extraordinary genius. The episode of his avenging the death of Crixus by forcing the proud Roman leaders to descend to the debasing *ergastulum* and meet in gladiatorial combat and with the weapons of dishonor they had previously forced Crixus and Spartacus to wear, bears at once a tinge of melancholy and perhaps of gratification even to the most enlarged minds.

Not only the consuls but also two prætorian armies were completely routed by the tiger-like springs of Spartacus⁸⁶ during this phenomenal march northward in quest of his boyhood's home. It is indeed interesting to know that his wife accompanied him in his wanderings.⁸⁷ There seems to be a simplicity and tenderness which contrasts with the magnitude and the ferocity of his adventurers; something unique and almost enchanting is felt as one follows him step by step along his thorny path.

After routing and annihilating these prætorian armies,⁸⁸ we next find him face to face with the large army of Lentulus near the river Po.

Spartacus seems now to have assumed the character of a fugitive, so desirous was he to make his escape. Time had been given for the remnants of the Romans, shattered but not destroyed at the battle with Poplicola, to join the army of Lentulus, now augmented to larger numbers than any body of troops Spartacus had yet encountered.

There was a prætorian, or "third consular army" mentioned by Plutarch. Livy mentions Cassius as a pro-consul and C. Manlius as the prætor.⁸⁹ This would imply that two battles were fought between the two great pitched battles of Poplicola and of Lentulus, the regular

toris celebravit exequiis, captivosque circa rogum jussit armis depugnare: quasi plane expiaturus omne præteritum dedecus, et de gladiatore muneratur fuisset." So also modern commentaries; See Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, Art. *Spartacus*. The *American Encyclopedia*, Vol. XIV, 1867, page 328, makes no hesitation in placing this humiliating episode as an event of the war, "At the head of 70 000 men he triumphed over two consular armies in 72, and forced his Roman captives to fight as gladiators at the funeral games which he celebrated."

⁸⁶ See Pomponius Mela, 21; Livy, *Epitomes*, XCV, XCVI, XCVII; Diod. XXXVIII, 21. Orosius, V, 24, 25. Cf. also considerable in the writings of Cicero, and in the various English and German *Encyclopædias*; these however, with few exceptions are childishly erroneous, contradictory and lamentably incomplete.

⁸⁷ Plutarch, *Crassus*, where we find this assurance.

⁸⁸ Cf. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*; La Rousse, *Dictionnaire Universel*, Art. *Spartacus*, and Tacitus, *Germania* 3, where we find that her name was Aurinia.

⁸⁹ Livy, *Epitom.* XCVI. "C. Cassius pro-consul et Cn. Manlius prætor male adversus Spartacum pugnaverunt."

consuls. Cassius who was prætor in the northern portions along the Po, with a large army of at least 10,000 men, gave battle to Spartacus just before the latter reached this river. It was a deadly encounter, and though the conflict raged with fierce determination on the part of the Romans, they were no match for the now invincible gladiator and his veterans who gained one of the most telling triumphs of the war.⁹⁰ It was between these two bloody engagements and in this region that Spartacus spent the winter of B. C. 72-71.

The army of the gladiator now increased.⁹¹ We should be almost totally confounded without Livy's Epitomes of wrecked history at this juncture of the war, and could scarcely proceed. It is through these made clear, that after the defeat of Cassius and his 10,000 near the Po, as related by Plutarch, the really great battle spoken of, where Spartacus met Lentulus "fairly," was Livy's great carnage,⁹² told in words too plain to admit of misunderstanding.⁹³ Plutarch says: "the two consuls having consolidated their troops in the country of Picenum, fell upon Spartacus in full force. He, however, gave them battle and with great slaughter nearly annihilated them." This fills two missing data. We are all along told that Spartacus, while near the river Po, before these "great defeats" of the "two consuls and their two prætorian armies," was a fugitive, anxiously striving with all his military tact, to escape from Roman territory. Now, however, we have authors augmenting the army of Spartacus.⁹⁴ We find him with a vast and well drilled, well disciplined, well fed and highly elated army of 120,000 men.

A march upon Rome was frustrated by the desire of plunder; although it is stated that Spartacus did not dare to make the attempt.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Plutarch, *Crassus*, 10. "He (Spartacus) then continued his route towards the Alps, but was opposed by Cassius, who commanded in that part of Gaul which lay about the Po, and came against him at the head of 10,000 men. A battle ensued, in which Cassius was defeated, with great loss, and saved himself not without difficulty." So Livy, *Epitome of liber*, XCVI. *et supra*, note 90.

⁹¹ Plutarch, *Crassus*, 10.

⁹² Livy, *Epitome*, XCVI. "Idcirco duo consules, junctis copiis in agro Piceno ei concurrent. Sed illa (Spartacus) Ecce eas magna clade profligasset."

⁹³ Schaumbach, *Itelischer Sklavenaufstand*, S. 8, concedes the scholiast view. Livy did not write the epitomes to his books, but thinks that they are faithful to the original contents.

⁹⁴ Livy, XCVI. *et Epitomes*, of the lost books. Appian, I. 117.

⁹⁵ Livy, *Epitome*, XCVI. "Ad Urbem duere non est ausus."

This great battle between Spartacus and the combined armies of the two consuls, Lentulus and Poplicola, took place a long distance south of the Po, near where Spartacus had defeated the first consular army under Poplicola; for it was in the territory of Picenum, nearly 200 miles from the river. The army of the proletaries was now about 100 miles northeastward from Rome and was marching southward. This arrangement of data brings the statement of Plutarch in line and clears up the whole jumble. The story of Cassius and his defeated army of 10,000 was Plutarch's battle of the Po. Spartacus then taking the offensive, marched southward into Picenum, where he fought the great battle of Picenum—the *magna cladis* of Livy.

Great consternation now prevailed at Rome. The news of the disaster to Lentulus and Poplicola and their splendid armies was regarded as a calamity. Indignation raised to its highest pitch and was only equalled by mortification and shame. A gladiator,⁹⁶ and slave, who, all his lifetime had been a poor man, earning a scanty living by manual toil, had combined audacity with genius, gathered the menial hordes⁹⁷ that worked the estates of haughty landlords and in eight battles, at hand-to-hand combat and at the test of strategem, endurance, valor and prowess had worsted, overthrown and annihilated the patrician gentry of Rome.⁹⁸

Lentulus was recalled and disgraced. His humiliation has always been a mystery to readers of history. The true light of the affair has been shut out—so dark was the history of this matter kept for ages from the reader's mind.

Spartacus was maligned by everybody; and public sentiment turned a smile in his favor into a heresy and intimidated the favorable opinions and conversation of the people as well as blockaded the will and the pen of historians.

Spartacus, everywhere victorious was, after the great

⁹⁶ Florus, III, 20. "Tandem etiam totis imperii viribus contra mirmillionem consurgitur."

⁹⁷ Livy, *Epitome*, XCV. "Res proseræ, et asolet. statim invenerunt socios. multosque pastores, durum et pernix genus."

⁹⁸ Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, VI, 22. "Cum Spartaco—dæce fugitivorum, qui bellum servile commovit, et vel cum quingentis prædonibus jam satis mali facere potuit."

battle in Picenum, forced to proceed southward by his foolish soldiers who, puffed⁹⁹ with success, were wanting in obedience and could not participate in the dream of Spartacus to retire to the pastoral charms of his native land. We next find him marching to Thuria, with a vast army and great quantities of plunder, with the intention of passing the winter of 72-71, B. C. But another victory was yet to be won before the army could reach its winter quarters—the battle with Mummius in Picenum.¹⁰⁰

It was now nearing the time of the Roman Comitæ, or the assembly of Roman citizens for voting for new officers. Among these officers consuls were to be elected. But so great was the terror which Spartacus had inspired that no candidates were to be found. This phenomenon is explained by the fact that whoever should be elected consul would have to go in person to meet the dreaded gladiator. Finally, after much hesitation, Marcus Licinius Crassus, consented to be nominated and of course, received the full vote and confidence of the people.

Accordingly, Crassus, prepared for the campaign against the great guerrilla chieftain with eight full legions of Roman soldiers mustered for the occasion. But the fragments of the defeated armies of Poplicola and Lentulus, together with the prætorian forces, also shattered by Spartacus, were now returning to the metropolis in a straggling, demoralized condition. All these were soon joined to the new army of Crassus.¹⁰¹

The new confidence which this election of Crassus inspired caused a great number of young Roman gentry to volunteer, and we may be certain that the eight legions were full. A full Roman legion of that era consisted of 6,000 men which makes 48,000 for the new army of eight legions.

⁹⁹ Cf. Smith's, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*.

¹⁰⁰ This account is given in Plutarch's *Life of Crassus*. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, here breaks the story of Spartacus and his victories into a tangle of unintelligible data, although its thread is seen to be quite clear, with a little pains.

¹⁰¹ Appian, *Historia Romana*, 1, 118: "Τριέτης τε ἦν ἡδὴ καὶ φειβερὸς αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος, γελώμενος ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ καταφρονούμενος ὡς μονομάχων. Προτεθείσης τε στρατηγῶν ἄλλων χειροτονίας ὄκνος ἐπέειχεν ἀπαντας, καὶ παρήγγελλεν οὐδεῖς, μέχρι Λικίνιος Κράσσος, γένει καὶ πλούτῳ Ῥωμαίων διαφανής, ἀνεδέξατο στρατηγήσειν, καὶ τέλεισιν ἐξ ἄλλοις ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὸν Σπάρτακον." Plutarch says: "No sooner were the senate informed of these miserable proceedings, than they expressed the greatest indignation against the consuls, and gave orders that they should be superseded in the command, Crassus was the person they pitched upon as a successor, and many of the nobility served under him, as volunteers, as well on account of his political influence and from personal regard."

From the start, there must have been at least 100,000 men sent out under Crassus against the rebels, which force kept constantly increasing to the end.

Returning to Spartacus, we find evidence¹⁰² that while at the zenith of his popularity between the Po—which he did not cross—and Picenum, he offered inducements to all who would cast off the yoke of despotism, to join. That the slaves took the offer of freedom is evident from the number, which commentators venture to put at 120,000, and which we positively know soon greatly augmented. Many of the higher classes spurned offers to co-operate because they “disdained to join slaves;” although they hated the Romans.¹⁰³

When Crassus arrived in Cis-Alpine Gaul, near the city of Mutina, where the army of Spartacus lay, he studied closely the traits of his antagonist and concluded to adopt the tactics of Fabius who had previously been successful over Hannibal, by worrying him and not giving battle. After harassing Spartacus in rear and flank for some time he sent the pro-consul, C. Cassius Longinus, around on the other side with orders to be watchful and goad the enemy, without hazarding an engagement; but the fox-witted gladiator, with apparent indifference, allured this Roman into an idea that he could safely go beyond his orders, and attack a wing of the workingmen who were in reality, impatient for the fray.

At a weak moment, least suspected and least watched, Spartacus gave the welcome order of battle. The shout went up and with it came the force of the onset. Cassius was crushed by the unexpected blow and completely routed. The field of Mutina covered with the slain, remained with the workingmen.

Spartacus, slowly continuing his march southward, harassed and tormented by Crassus who was too good a commander to venture a general engagement, studied every opportunity to catch the Roman at a weak point.¹⁰⁴ Op-

¹⁰² Cf. Larousse, *Dictionnaire Universel*, Art. *Spartacus*, based on the remarks of Plutarch.

¹⁰³ These gems giving the finishing touches of the story, are taken from isolated fragments of the broken histories so badly mutilated indeed, that we should be loth to pass upon them, did not our inferences coincide with those of others who have taken great pains to get the kernel of the theme.

¹⁰⁴ “Le général Romain se borna de convrir le Latium, n’osant hasarder bataille contre le terrible gladiateur et se contenta à le harceler et le faire misérable, par ces lieutenants, invariablement battus quand ils avaient la témérité

portunity soon came. The proprætor, Cn. Manlius, was caught at an unguarded moment and in a terribly bloody conflict of which we have only a sullen and lugubrious mention by historians, was torn to atoms by the charge of a heavy detachment of Spartacus.

The condition of the Roman army was now that of terror. After the defeat of Cassius at the city of Mutina and of Manlius at a point southward, we find Spartacus, still harassed by Crassus, in the rich valleys of Picenum, the scenes of the next and ninth battle in which the gladiator chieftain was conqueror. Crassus posted himself here, in advance of the workingmen, for the purpose of intercepting their march southward.

Mummius, one of the most trustworthy lieutenants of Crasus, was sent round to the flank of the enemy, with orders to continue strategical manœuvres; and was strictly charged to follow him, but not to hazard a battle. Mummius had more courage and conceit than discretion or obedience. He proved to be precisely the man whom Spartacus wanted. The foxy gladiator now dallied with ruse and incantation and finally decoyed the whole force, consisting of 12,000 men into an assailable point. This whole manœuvre seems to have been deeply laid inasmuch as it contained an admixture of flattery. At any rate, however ambidextrous the incentive, the decoy on the one hand and the ambition on the other, prevailed.

Just when Mummius believed he was in the act of riding his country of a loathsome foe, a wild war-whoop of the mirmillions burst out along the lines. Spartacus at the enemy's vulnerable points gave the order of attack. This time it was many against few. Mummius was over-slaughed. "His whole army completely routed. Many were killed upon the battle field. Others terrified, cast away their arms and saved their lives by flight."¹⁰⁶

Again the arms of Spartacus were victorious. Mummius was annihilated.¹⁰⁷ Disaster again convulsed the ægis of slaveholding, degenerate Rome, whose haughty men, many of whom owned at that moment from 1,000 to

de livrer combat." La Rousse, *Dictionnaire Universel*, Art. *Spartacus*.

¹⁰⁶ Plutarch, *idem*; Appian; Mommsen and some of the *Encyclopædias*.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. *International Encyclopædia*, Art. *Spartacus*. Although we give reference to original authority there is a variety of readings and of opinions; and we therefore cite contemporaneous writers and recommend them to the reader.

10,000 slaves each, were freshly reminded by every victory of Spartacus, of the doom of their crumbling institution, sacred, as one of the pillars of the paganism they worshipped for a religion.

Crassus had cause to be severe. Plutarch adds that: "He severely reprimanded Mummius who had escaped unhurt. He armed the few survivors anew, insisting upon their giving bond of fidelity to the new arms given them. He took 500 of the most cowardly, divided them into 50 platoons and these into decades, one of whom was by lot, put to death; in this way recalling an ancient military usage of punishment. This kind of punishment in fact, is the mark of the greatest infamy; for as the execution is public, in sight of the whole army, circumstances that are awful and affecting follow."¹⁰⁸ But this horrible chastisement came late. Spartacus had again been victorious.

But two causes now set in to cast shadows over the glory of the conquering gladiator. His own ignorant and foolish soldiers began again to show signs of insubordination, elated by their never failing successes. They wanted to plunder and feast upon the fat of the land; and while they were actually becoming demoralized and dissolute in their extraordinary experience of victory, their new enemy Crassus was growing wiser and surer in his harrowing experience of defeat. These two causes combined to bring the terrible lion to his end.

Crassus, after this ferocious specimen of the cruelty of war, attacked Spartacus, and drove him to the sea.¹⁰⁹ But

¹⁰⁸ Plutarch, *idem*; Appian, *Historia Romana*, I. 118. "Καὶ τῶνδὲ μὲν αἰτήκα διακληρώσας, ὡς ἠολλάκις ἠττημένων, ἐπὶ θανάτῳ μέρος δέκατον διέφθειρεν. Οἱ δ' οὐχ οὕτω νομίζουσι, ἀλλὰ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ συμβαλόντα καὶ τόνδε, καὶ ἠττημένον, πάντων διακληρώσας τὸ δέκατον, καὶ ἀνελεῖν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους, οὐδὲν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐνδοίασαντο. ὁπότῳ δ' ἐπραξε, φοβερώτερος αὐτοῖς τῆς τῶν πολεμιῶν ἠτῆς φανεῖς αὐτίκα κρυῖον Σπαρτακίων ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν που στρατοπεδευόντων ἐκράτει, καὶ δύο αὐτῶν μέρη κατακτανῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤλαυε τὸν Σπάρτακον σὺν καταφρονήσει." Sallust, *Historiarum Populi Romani, Libri*. Recensio of Anton. Thysius, old Lugdunum edition, p. 502, has a sadly mutilated scrap; "Sorte ductos fusti necat:" and the learned editor in a note explains as follows: "*Sorte ductos fusti necat*, Puto legendum, eductos, accipendumq; de severa ac militari Crassi disciplina, qua idem in fugitivis coercendis usus, ex duabus Mummiensis Legionibus contra edictum Imperatoris in hostem (Spartacum) pugnare ansis, profligatisq; quingenpit primos, unde initium fugæ factum fuerat, sorte eductos decimari præcetero. Quod vetus supplicii genus intermortuum, ac desitum jam pridem, postliminio in castra Romana reductum a Crasso." According to Sallust they were killed with clubs.

¹⁰⁹ Appian I. 118, fin: "Νικήσας δὲ καὶ τόνδε λαμπρῶς ἐδίωκε φεύγοντα ἐπὶ τῆν θάλασσαν ὡς διαπλευρούμενον ἐς Σικελίαν, καὶ καταλαβὼν ἀπετάφθῃ καὶ ἀπετειρίζε καὶ ἰπσταύρου." Mommsen, *History of Rome*, Vol. IV, p. 106.

SPARTACUS.

this signal victory mentioned by Appian, is denied by Plutarch in the following terms: "After thus chastising his men, he (Crassus) led them against the enemy. But Spartacus turned back and retired through Lucania to the sea."¹¹⁰

Spartacus marched his army southward along the Adriatic to embark for Sicily across the straits of Messina. There is strong circumstantial evidence that privateers of the Mediterranean assisted Spartacus; and if we judge from this point of view, a new light is thrown upon the history of his career. No written records, however, exist proving this, and for want of it we follow the story as it is told.

If the pirates, so-called, refused to help him, thus clearly working in the interest of Rome, as Mommsen suggests, why should Rome have immediately instituted a man-hunt against them? Tacitus has some remarks favoring our theory that the pirates were faithful to Spartacus. Another potent question is, how did the gladiator get the great army of 300,000 men? Did not the privateers ship them over from Sicily? We shall refer to these things later.

This new move of Spartacus to reach Sicily is called by some, his last stroke of genius. It was an original one. There had been, some 27 years before, a great rebellion of the slaves in Sicily¹¹¹ and at this moment, when Spartacus approached that fair isle—the granary of Rome—it was suffering from the most inhuman exactions, by order of Verres, the insatiate and avaricious despoiler, whose greedy havoc was soon afterwards opposed by Cicero. The slaves and property owners alike, were goaded by this man's rapacity to the verge of rebellion against Rome. Had Spartacus succeeded in crossing safely with his army the chances are that the goaded people would have gladly

¹¹⁰ Plutarch, *Life of Crassus*.

¹¹¹ See chapter xi *supra*. The strange words of Cornelius Tacitus, *Annalium*, liber, XV. csp. 46; referring to Spartacus and the Roman flotilla against the pirates, show how fearful was the danger, and they seem to advert to the link of friendship existing between them and Spartacus: "Per idem tempus gladiatores apud oppidum Præneste temptata eruptione praesidio militie, qui custos adesset, coerciti sunt, iam Spartacum et vetera mala rumoribus ferente populo, ut est novorum rerum cupiens pavidusque. Nec multo post clades rei navalis accipitur, non bello (quippe haud alias tam immota pax), sed certum ad diem in Campaniam redire classem Nero jusserat, non exceptis maris casibus. Ergo gubernatores, quamvis saeviente pelago, a Formis movere; et gravi Africo, dum promunturium Miseni superare contendunt, Cumanis litoribus impacti trimum plerasque et minora navigia passim amiserunt."

joined him in overwhelming numbers, if for nothing else than to rid themselves of this insatiable Roman governor whose exactions, to satisfy personal greed, well-nigh brought Sicily to bankruptcy and ruin.¹¹²

On his arrival at the sea opposite the Sicilian shore, Spartacus who had formed this plan of crossing over with his entire army for the purpose of recruiting from the ranks of the slaves, negotiated with the freebooters or brigand mariners, as they are mercilessly called in the histories, who from ancient times ransacked the coasts for plunder.¹¹³

They exhibited a quality of perfidy, perhaps against Rome—although the historians show that it was against Spartacus—which actually resulted in their being swept from their trade; for soon after the suppression of the servile war which they are represented to have been too treacherous and disingenuous to sustain, the Romans sent an expedition against them which certainly was a continuation of the great man-hunt ending in their own extermination.¹¹⁴ If Spartacus could have accomplished this magnificent strategical feat and realized his scheme of passing the winter in Sicily where the terribly-oppressed and down-trodden slaves would have deserted in vast numbers and extricated themselves from their otherwise hopeless servitude, he might, allowing him his wonted success, not only have beaten Crassus, but also the armies of Pompey and Lucullus when they afterwards arrived.

In fact, we know not what would have been the final result upon the human race—indeed, we are loth to speculate; for under the humane management of Spartacus it might have resulted in a permanent recognition of the honor and merit of human labor which was in those times denied.

It is enough to repeat what history relates, that the selfish, dishonest and treacherous pirates took the proffered gold of Spartacus but failed to land him in Sicily; for though his army enormously increased, yet his failing to

¹¹² Cicero, *Verres, passim*. Here Cicero gives an eloquent account of this man's extortion. Cicero assumed the cause of the people vs. Verres and succeeded in obtaining a verdict.

¹¹³ Heeren, *Peuple de l'Antiquité*, Vol. II, pp. 170-173, of the French translation.

¹¹⁴ Liv., XCVIII. "L. Metellus prætor in Sicilia adversus piratas prospere rem gessit." (*Epitome*); Vellejus Paternus, *Abrégement of Latin History*, Book II. c. 31.

get there probably disconcerted and squeezed him betwixt the mill-stones of peril and hope, leaving him heart-broken and defeated. It was the knell of Spartacus. What further the historian can trace of this great general and most marvelous genius is but the description of prodigious spasms and writhings of a dying giant.

Crassus, watching from a distance these defeated manœuvres of the gladiator, conceived the idea of imprisoning him in the narrow neck or point of the promontory of Bruttium or Rhegium, by throwing up a line of circumvallation across this miniature isthmus with an object of hemming the proletarian army in and besieging it during the winter. The writer of the article in the Great French Universal Dictionary declares that Crassus was positively afraid to give the enemy an honorable battle.¹¹⁵ Spartacus, regarded this enormous line of retrenchments with contempt. It was an earthwork reaching from sea to sea, being, as Plutarch tells us, "36 miles long, fifteen feet high and a wall above this of considerable height—a work great and difficult."

It was now the winter of B. C. 71-70. The supplies for the army of the proletaries were disappearing. Something must be done. Spartacus watched his opportunity, bent on retreat which involved an escape from this trap. One dark wintry night amid the roar of a storm, while the forces of Crassus lay chilled, and torpid, least alert and fitted for surprise, the army of the slaves, at the command of their leader, burst from the bivouacs and sword in hand scaled the intrenchment, filling it with earth and wood, and in spite of all resistance passed over and gained the free plains beyond.¹¹⁶ Thus commenced the admirable re-

¹¹⁵ Speaking of Spartacus he says: "Telle était, cependant la terreur qu'il inspirait encore, que Crassus entreprit de l'enfermer dans la presq' île de Rhegium, par une fosse d'un retranchement de 15 lieues de longueur! Le chef des esclaves témoigna son profond mépris pour cet immense travail et pour des ennemis qui n'osaient plus l'attaquer en face; puis quand les vivres commençaient de lui manquer, il combla une partie de la tranchée pendant une nuit orageuse, força les lignes des Romains et manœuvra librement dans la Lucanie, on l'extermina encore les troupes des deux lieutenants de Crassus qui oseraient l'inquiéter dans sa retraite." La Rousse, *Dictionnaire Universel*, Art. Spartacus.

¹¹⁶ Appian, *Historia Romana*, I. 119: Σπάρτακος δὲ ἰππέας ποδὲν αὐτῷ προσέοντας περιμένων, οὐκέτι μὲν ἐς μάχην ἤει τῷ στρατῷ παντί, πολλὰ δ' ἠνώχλει τοῖς περικαθήμενοις ἀνα μέρος, ἄφνω τε καὶ συνεχῶς αὐτοῖς ἐπιπίπτων, φακέλους τε ξυλῶν ἐς τὴν τάρβον ἐμβάλλων κατέκλειε, καὶ τὸν πόνον αὐτοῖς δύσεργον ἐποίηε. Αἰχμαλιωτῶν τε Ῥωμαίων ἐκρέμασεν ἐν τῷ μεταίχιμῳ, δεικνύς τοῖς ἰδιοῖς τὴν ὕβριν ὣν πείσονται: μὴ κρατοῦντες." Mommsen, *History of Rome*, IV. p. 107: "and in a dark winter night Spartacus broke through the lines of the enemy, and in the spring of 71

treat of Spartacus—a retreat which for fine generalship combining fertility of expedient, quelling insubordination within, and overcoming obstacles without, may yet, when more carefully studied and better known, come to be regarded as one of the true models in warfare. The Roman general now thoroughly frightened, wrote to Rome for more help.¹¹⁷

It appears that after the failure of Spartacus to reach Sicily, a revolt of prodigious extent took place in his army. A body of probably over 50,000 men separated from the main army. They vaunted that Spartacus was a coward; dared not meet the Roman general; that they would no longer be restrained from giving the hated enemy battle. They accordingly appointed as their commanders two of the most boasting of the malcontents, Gannicus and Castus, and demanded of these inexperienced captains to be led to battle.¹¹⁸ They then provoked the army of Crassus to an engagement. When Spartacus, whose wearying sym-

was once more in Lucania." Plutarch, *Crassus*, tells the same story, while Schambach, clearly shows it to have been the spring of 70.

¹¹⁷ Appian, I. 119-120: "Οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς πολιτορκίας πυνθανόμενοι, καὶ ἀδοξοῦντες εἰ χρόσιος αὐτοῖς ἔσται πόλεμος μονομάχων, προσκατέλεγον ἐπὶ τῆν στρατείαν Πομπήιον ἀρτί ἀφικόμενον ἐξ Ἰβηρίας, πιστεύοντες ἤδη δυσχερές εἶναι καὶ μέγα τὸ Σπάρτακειον ἔργον. Διὰ δὲ τὴν χειροτοσίαν τῆνδε καὶ Κράσσος, ἵνα μὴ τὸ κλέος γένοιτο Πομπήιον, πάντα τρόπον ἐπειγόμενος ἐπεχείρει τῷ Σπάρτακῳ, καὶ ὁ Σπάρτακος, τὸν Πομπήιον προλαβεῖν ἀξίῳ, ἐς συνθήκας τὸν Κράσσον προκκαλεῖτο." Crassus much frightened, certainly sent for and obtained both the army under Pompey, victorious in Spain and that of Lucullus from Asia Minor, victorious in the Mithridatic war. See also La Rousse, *Dictionnaire Universel*, Art. *Spartacus*: "Crassus écrivait au sénat afin qu'on envoyât pour le secourir, Pompée alors de retour d'Espagne, et Lucullus qui revenait d'Asie. Mais il repentait bientôt de cette démarche et rechercha les occasions de terminer la guerre afin d'avoir seule l'honneur."

¹¹⁸ Plutarch, *idem*, is one of our best witnesses on this great battle: "He resolved, therefore, in the first place, to attack the troops which had revolted, and formed a separate body, under the command of two officers named Gannicus and Castus. With this view, he sent a corps of six thousand men before to seize an eminence which he thought would be of service to him: but ordered them to conduct their enterprise with all imaginable secrecy. They observed his directions; and, to conceal their march the better, covered their helmets and the rest of their arms. Two women, however, who were sacrificing before the enemy's camp, discovered them, and they would probably have met their fate, had not Crassus advanced immediately, and given the enemy battle. This was the most obstinate action in the whole war. Twelve thousand three hundred of the enemy were killed, of which number there were only two found wounded in the back; the rest died in their ranks, after the bravest exertions of valour." Livy, whose valuable history of this great war is lost is fortunately quoted by Frontinus, *Strategematon*, II. 5, 34, out of the 97th, the book of the *Annales Ab Urbe Condita*, as follows: "Triginta quinque millia armatorum (fugitivorum a Crasso devictorum) eo proelio interfecta cum ipsis ducibus (Casto et Gannico) Livius tradit, receptas quinque Romanorum aquilas, signa sex et viginti multa spolia, inter quae fasces cum securibus." This makes the numbers actually killed to have been 35,000. Undoubtedly this is the more accurate estimate: it also shows the enormous magnitude of the army of Spartacus.

pathies echoed his foreknowledge of the certain result, perceived this movement, he evidently gave up all for lost and resolved to die, bravely combating for his cause. Crassus met the seceders and a terribly bloody battle took place near Croton, on the banks of a lake in lower Lucania, whose waters, Plutarch says, are "sometimes pure and sometimes salt." The contest was extremely severe. Plutarch wrongly describes it as the greatest of the war. It was long before the army of the seceders gave way. Not a man flinched. Of the heaps of slain none were wounded in the back; all falling in the ranks performing the bravest acts of valor. At last, overcome by numbers they were forced to yield a little, giving the Romans an advantage which they took and killed 12,300, or as Livy, quoted by Frontin, probably more correctly puts it, 35,000,¹¹⁹ of the seceders, on the spot; nor would any of the proletaries have survived the slaughter had not Spartacus, by a forced march, arrived in season to interfere and put an end to the bloody work. But Ganicus and Castus were among the slain.

Crassus on the whole, had made little to be proud of by this last encounter; for his forces were much more numerous than the seceders. Besides he certainly lost a large number of men in the contest, and perceiving that its effect was only to heal the mutiny and knit the rebels together into an indissoluble brotherhood by teaching the dangers of their temerity, he began to fear that Spartacus, now rapidly marching northward, was earnestly meditating an attack on Rome.

The army of the proletaries, still hugging the shores of the sea, was now nearing the Tarentine gulf on its march northward toward the port of Brundisium in its second attempt to reach Sicily by sea. Just after cross-

¹¹⁹ Frontin, in his *Strategematon*, or *Military Science*, liber II. cap. v. 34. *De Insidiis*, instances this battle as one of the prominent examples of military tactics, and gives the great conflict in a new and interesting dress: "Crassus, Bello Fugitivorum apud Cantennam (Catanam) bina castra comminus cum boatum castris vallavit. Nocte deinde commotis copis, manente praetorio in maioribus castris, ut fallerentur hostes, ipse omnes copias eduxit et in radicibus praedicti montis constituit; divisoque equitatu praecepit L. Quintio, partem Spartaco obiceret pugnaque eum frustraetur, parte alia Gallos Germanosque ex fractione Casti et Cannici eliceret ad pugnam et fuga simulata deduceret, ubi ipse aciem instruxerat: quos cum barbari insecuti essent, equite recedente in cornua, subito acies Romana adaperita cum clamore procurrit. XXXV milia armatorum et proelio interfecta cum ipsis ducibus Livius tradit, receptas quinque Romanas aquilas, signa sex et XX, multa spolia, inter quae quinque fascas cum securibus."

ing the river Strongoli, or Neæthus of the ancients, and in the very ancient town of Petelia, the Roman forces under the command of L Quintius, one of the officers of Crassus and the quæstor, Tremellius Scrofa, came up with the intention only of harrassing him in rear and flank, according to the express orders of Crassus who adhered to the Fabian tactics. Spartacus on being attacked by a few skirmishers in the rear, suddenly wheeled a large detachment upon the Romans who were not prepared, and succeeding in routing them so completely that the quæstor who was wounded, barely escaped with his life. It was another great victory.

But Crassus, who was a good judge of effects, soon perceived that it was the cause of reviving among the slaves the malignant spirit of insubordination. They were again so inflated with success that they threatened to rebel; and their miserable conduct forced Spartacus to take an opposite direction from that which he chose to march, causing a disaster by hurrying them onward to final downfall. Plutarch declares that the insurgents after this victory became so arrogant and mutinous that they drew swords and insisted upon being led against Crassus' army in open field. They demanded to be marched through Campania to Rome; and Spartacus was not long afterwards forced to give orders to march toward the now trembling capital. Yet notwithstanding this insubordination he could but admire their bravery and knew their impetuosity when led to battle. Plutarch in speaking of their valor at the battle of the seceders where, according to Livy, no less than 35,000 of the rebels were slain, says that they died manfully, only two of the killed being found wounded in the back. "The rest had died in the ranks, after the grandest exhibit of bravery." Spartacus, aware of the approach of Pompey from the direction of Rome, on the one hand, and of the expected landing of Lucullus at Brundisium, on the other, and knowing the folly of hope against these three great veteran armies combined, struck a forced march for Brundisium, thinking still to secure the cooperation of the privateers in transporting him to Sicily, before Lucullus hove in view. Though he could rely upon his soldiers' bravery he foresaw that a general engagement must be fatal.

Thus we begin to comprehend the strange reticence of the historians regarding the fresh allies of Crassus, now actually centering together. The old stigma upon the touch of a creature of lowly condition by an optimate of Rome is apparently the cause of the suppression of all histories which gave the details. There is one authority, however, which brings some of these marvels to light. This is Vellejus Paterculus whose History of Rome was early mutilated in all the manuscripts except one, which survived until it was printed late in the Middle Ages. Armed with this, we see better to follow the thread of this great rebellion to its close, and can thus correct some very misleading errors of modern writers.

The whole army of the proletaries moved to the seaport of Brundisium, where it was hoped to obtain ships and sail to Sicily. But here Spartacus was met and assailed by Lucullus at that moment in the act of landing his whole army, recalled by the senate of Rome to help Crassus. Whether much fighting took place we are not informed; but foiled again in his designs by sea, he turned northward, harassed and goaded by the veteran army from Asia in full force.

In these returning legions of Lucullus, was a man who was soon afterwards destined to play an extraordinary rôle, in favor of the proletaries, and to lose his life in their defense. It was Clodius, a brother-in-law of Lucullus, general-in-chief. Wealthy, of noble blood, educated, and one of the most eloquent lawyers of those days—a man who restored to the poor workingmen their right of organization, and who in doing this, crippled the mighty Cicero and brought him to disgrace, exile and final death. But we leave his extraordinary story for other pages of our history to recount. Suffice it here to say that the indescribable scenes of suffering and of horror which he was eye witness to in this campaign shaped his life-course ever afterwards, in favor of the lowly.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ Publius Clodius was of patrician blood. See Lippincott's *Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. I, art. *Clodius*. "Demagogue of a very profligate character of the patrician house of Appius Claudius Pulcher; served in Asia under Lucullus his brother-in-law; became a violent enemy of Cicero who had appeared in evidence against him; raised several bloody riots against the friends of Cicero when they proposed and passed a decree for his restoration B. C. 57" (see Cicero, *Pro Milone*; Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*. The *Encyclopædia Britannica*, refusing to mention him under a special article-heading, calls Clodius "a worthless demagogue."

Lucullus, according to good authority, drove the gladiator from the shipping and dogged him in the rear at every step.¹²¹ Pompey was present with the whole of the large army which he had successfully commanded in Spain. These facts we know; for if we do not find mention of actual participation of these two freshly-arrived Roman generals and their veteran legions, as being engaged in the great and final battle of Silarus, we certainly find them engaged in the man-hunt which was instituted on the same day. Plutarch also hints at the fact.

In apparent deference to Crassus, who was the real commander of the three combined armies, the history-managers have evidently seen fit to trifle with the truth in leaving no mention of Pompey or of Lucullus in the last great conflict. And especially pointed does this suggestion become when we take into consideration that neither of these two generals was desirous of having his name mixed up with so disgraceful a thing as a victory over what went current under the name of a mob of gladiators.

It is thus made certain that the workingmen were hemmed in between these three experienced consular and veteran armies of Rome, in a mountain pass at the head

while acknowledging that he "assailed Cicero with a formal charge of putting citizens to death summarily without appeal to the people," obtaining a decree from the people for his banishment 400 miles from the city. Under the title "*Milo, the Pugilist* and murderer of Clodius, the *Encyclopædia Britannica* says: "P. Clodius, the leader of the ruffians who professed the democratic cause was his personal enemy, and their brawls in the streets and their mutual accusations in the law courts lasted for several years." Thus Clodius, the champion of trade unions and organized labor is called "leader of the ruffians" who were the working people of Rome. The Lippencott *Biographical Dictionary*, Art. *Cicero*, says of Cicero: "His enemy, Clodius, who became tribune of the people in B. C. 58, and who was supported by Caesar and Pompey, now manifested his vindictive malice against Cicero by a law which he proposed: that whoever has put to death a Roman citizen without form of trial shall be interdicted from fire and water." The fact that Cicero had committed such murders is proved by the actual passage of this law and his being sent into exile and his house on the Palatine Hill publicly burned, thus consummating his terrible disgrace. We fail to see in these stern measures of Clodius in punishing murder, and in upholding the aged and respectable law permitting the organization of the working people, anything that would not be considered humane and respectable in the highest degree, if repeated right in our own blazing civilization.

¹²¹ Appian, 120, of book I. says: . . . "Πομπηίου, πάντα τρόπον ἐπειγόμενος ἐπεχείρει τῷ Σπάρτακῳ, καὶ ὁ Σπάρτακος, τὸν Πομπηίου προλαβεῖν ἀξίων, ἐς συνθήκας τὸν Κράσσον προκαλεῖτο. ὑπερορώμενος δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διακινδυνεύειν τε ἔγνω, καὶ παρόντων οἱ τῶν ἰππέων ἤδη ὤσατο παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ διὰ τοῦ περιτειχίσματος, καὶ ἐφυγεν ἐπὶ Βρεντέσιον Κράσσου δώκουτος. ὡς δὲ καὶ Λεύκολλον ἔμαθεν ὁ Σπάρτακος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτῃ νίκης ἐπανιόντα, εἶναι, παντῶν ἀπογνοῦς ἐς χεῖρας γεῖ τῷ Κράσσῳ μετὰ πολλοῦ καὶ τότε πλήθους· γενομένης δὲ τῆς μάχης μακρὰς τε καὶ καρτερὰς ὡς ἐν ἀπογνώσει τοσάνδε μυριάδων, τιτρώσκειται ἐς τὸν μῆρὸν ὁ Σπάρτακος δορατίῳ, καὶ συγκαμίψας τὸ γόνυ καὶ προβαλὼν τὴν ἀσπίδα πρὸς τοὺς ἐπίοντας ἀπεμάχητο, μέχοι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κυκλωθέντες ἔπεσον."

waters of the river Silarus. It is also certain that Spartacus, if not his whole army, now knew perfectly well that the doom was near; they had by this time all become frenzied for the approaching butchery.

As one of the most bloody and terrible battles the world has ever known was fought here, it is fitting to pause in order to minutely describe the scenes and to array our evidence, obtained with great difficulty, regarding the numbers of the contestants, the date of the battle and the carnage during its rage, and afterwards during the man-hunt instituted by the Romans—the whole constituting a cruel and awfully bloody page not to be found in the annals of history, and which to the people at large, and even to the students of our universities, must be regarded as a chapter of news.

There were in the combined armies of Crassus, Pompey and Lucullus, undoubtedly more than 400,000 men, most of whom were experienced veterans, thoroughly hardened to the combat and to all the rigors of the military camp.¹²²

In addition to the significant words of Florus regarding Rome and her massing the entire force against the insurgents, we have the auxiliary argument of reason which shows that it could not possibly have been otherwise; for evidence is not wanting that the force of Spartacus at the battle of Silarus, was no less than 300,000 strong. His army which at the battle of Picenum is acknowledged by Appian to have been 120,000 in number, by some unrecorded means which we conjecture to have been the collusion and co-operation of the privateers bringing men from Sicily, had grown to the imposing total of 300,000. Vellejus tells us this, in¹²³ honest fig-

¹²² The conjecture that there were 400,000 soldiers in the combined Roman army at the battle of Silarus is not based upon circumstantial evidence. Florus, whose words are never regarded with distrust, tells us distinctly that after the destruction of Lentulus and Poplicola, and the humiliating retaliation by Spartacus of the gladiatorial combat in honor of Crixus, the fallen comrade, these words: "Then, indeed they (the Romans), with their entire powers massed, bore down upon the gladiator. Tandem etiam totis imperii viribus contra millionem construetur." Accordingly we find the Romans soon sending post-baste for all the old veteran armies; one of which was in Spain victorious over the powerful Sertorius, and the other in Asia, equally triumphant over Mithradates. All surged together against Spartacus. See Florus, *Annales*, III, 20.

¹²³ Our accidental discovery of this invaluable information may be worth relating: The unreasonable figure of 40,000 given in our own version of Vellejus, in view of the great combined forces admitted by Plutarch, Appian and Florus

ures; although they have been garbled by a merciless translator and made to read 40,000. This cheat would have actually prevailed but for the accident already mentioned, of the preservation of a MSS. copy from which the *editio princeps* was printed soon after the invention of that art, and a copy of which is still to be seen at the Vatican.¹²⁴

Supplied with these important figures, so long held back, but so perfectly reasonable—since they straighten out the incongruities which meet the reader who sees the vast multitudes of the Roman legions positively known to be now centering in—we find ourselves in a condition, otherwise crippled in absurdities and discrepancies, to make a better description of the contest.

Time was given for the army of Spartacus to make long

against Spartacus led us to suspect that an immense error lurked in the history of the battle of Silarus. Ransacking for more light we ran against the reference to Dr. Schambach's *Italischer Sklavenkrieg*, which we procured from Europe after much delay. Page 11, *Quellen zur Geschichte* has the following: "Vellejus ist für uns wenig wichtig. Wir erfahren durch ihn nichts, das uns nicht auch sonst bekannt wäre, mit Ausnahme der Zahlenangabe, dass von 300,000 Sklaven in dem letzten Kampfe noch 40,000 übrig gewesen seien. In dem Wenigen, was er gibt, lässt sich ihm eine Unrichtigkeit nicht nachweisen." This not only explained the reasonable facts, but also vouched for the truthfulness of Vellejus. Setting out afresh on the hunt for the exact words of the *editio princeps*, we at last found a copy of the Lugdunum edition containing the MSS. text in a note.

¹²⁴ During and before the *renaissance* there appears to have been a not inconsiderable dispute among scholars over the figure CCC, *millia*, to be seen in the *editio princeps* of Vellejus, on account of this figure having been altered to XL *millia*. We therefore give the rendering with its falsified figure, and follow it with the remarks of the Lugdunum editor written some 200 years ago, together with the perfectly trustworthy quotation from the *editio princeps*. Vellejus, interpolated by a fraud, is currently made to say these words about Spartacus.

"Fugitivi e ludo gladiatorio Capua profugientes, duce Spartaco, raptis ex ea urbe gladiis; mox, crescentes in dies multitudine, gravibus variisque casibus adfecere Italiam quorum numerus in tantum adolevit, ut qua ultimo dimicavere scie, XL *millia* (in the original manuscript written by Vellejus himself CCC *millia*) hominum se Romano exercitu opposuerunt."

The remarks of John Campbell upon this interpolation are given in a note, very guardedly, as follows:

"Ut nihil hic mutandum putem, facit maxima scriptorum dissentio. Quorum in hoc numero diversitatem scire qui desideret adeat eruditissimum Treinshemium ad Flori liberum III. cap. 20, Vossius." Farther on, same note: "XL. Alii hunc numerum plurimum augent. Inter quos is qui minimum est Entropius. Hic sexaginta *millia* virorum ab his collecta fuisse scribit. Apianus vero ad C.⁸⁰ XX. *millia* extendit. Orosius, Livii epitomator, medium tenuisse videntur. Ita que vix ambigo, quin in Vellejo fit XC. *Millia* hominum Vossius. Nimis exiguus numerus, in quo variant scriptores, *Princeps Editio*, CCC. *millia* hominum "Signed Heinsius.

In the Hudson edition (Oxaniæ), the text is the same as above; but the note regarding Heins is quoted as follows: Note 5; "XC. legendum esse non ambiguit Voss. An XC. aut C. *millia* hominum scribendum dubitat Heins, QUIA EDITIO PRINCEPS CCC. MILLIA HABET HOMINUM."

This is sufficiently positive to settle the number of the army of Spartacus the battle of Silarus, at 300 000 men, because it is the same wording of Vellejus himself who lived near the very spot and whose father probably commanded a division of cavalry at the battle.

marches westward toward Rome, in obedience to the demands of his mutinous soldiers. A straight cut from Brundisium to the battle-field could not have been less than 100 miles; as it was on the head waters of the Silarus in a nearly direct line from that seaport and Rome. As we have evidence of his having been repulsed by Lucullus at Brundisium, we can understand how he was followed by him all along this march. Crassus likewise, if not in the act of constantly provoking him, as we are inclined to suspect, was in the mountain pass of the Silarus when he arrived and pitched camp by its side.

The combined hostile armies now lay over against each other for a considerable time. Fortifications were drawn by both and the activities on the Roman side, of centering in, were given both time and force. We now find the two contestants face to face, each tempting the other to make the first dash. It was, according to Dr. Schambach's estimate—which we adopt as the most accurate—as late as February of the year 70 before Christ. The war had been raging about four years. But although winter, it is not in our power to know whether it was cold weather. Probably not; for the winters are generally mild in these portions of Italy.¹²⁶

One day Crassus ordered his soldiers to dig a trench and while thus engaged the gladiators made an advance, upon them. It proved the commencement of the great battle.¹²⁶ From a simple skirmish both armies gradually closed into the deadly fray and the combat became more and more furious. They eagerly welcomed the battle with reckless feelings of despair, knowing that their hour had come, yet staking their hopes upon another great and decisive victory.¹²⁷

Heroism, love of conflict, intrepidity and fearlessness

¹²⁶ Plutarch, *Crassus*, mentions severe coldness a month or two before when Spartacus ran the blockade in Rhegium. But that was a night squall. Besides the battle of Silarus occurred near the opening spring. This agrees with Schambach, S, 13.

¹²⁶ Plutarch, *idem*, 12. "Crassus therefore hastened to give that stroke himself, and with the same view, encamped very near the enemy. One day, when he had ordered his soldiers to dig a trench, the gladiators attacked them as they were at work. Numbers came up continually on both sides to support the combatants; and at last Spartacus seeing what the case necessarily required, drew out his whole army." *Trans. of Laughorne.*

¹²⁷ La Rousse, *Dictionnaire Universel*, speaking of the gladiator says: *troupe était affolée de succès.*¹²⁷

of death were frenziedly seated on their hearts; but until now, recklessness had been a stranger in the camps of Spartacus; and when this came, foreknelling the desperate ultimatum, all mutually realized the approach of dissolution and were ready to drink the intoxicating potion which brave men taste midst the furious lunge of steel.

Thus a skirmish between the advance guards of both armies brought on the general engagement. Spartacus who was goaded by a hatred of the Roman leader, for some time stood off at a distance, eyeing the contest. Brigade after brigade fell into the murderous vortex. At length Spartacus issued his general order of battle and at the ring of his war clarions the two angry armies closed up bringing on the ferocious conflict.¹²⁸ They brought their chieftain his horse; but the gladiator, like Warwick, drew from its sheath his sword and with one blow of his strong arm, killed the excited steed; then shouting onward to his men, uttered the farewell speech of Spartacus to his soldiers: "Victorious I shall find horses in plenty among the enemy; defeated I shall no longer want one." Then poising himself he rushed for Crassus with his steel high in air and fell upon the ranks of his adversary in personal combat. "It was a fierce struggle. Long after the victory was hopeless Spartacus was traced by heaps of the slain who had fallen by his hand, and his body was lost completely in the awful carnage which closed that day of blood."¹²⁹ Plutarch says that he aimed to kill¹³⁰ Crassus; and toward this mark through darts and javelins he pressed, and over windrows of the dead, rushing in quest of his foe, whom, indeed he did not reach, but he killed two of his centurians. When all who made with him this mad and desperate plunge had fled or fallen, the terrible gladiator remained fighting with unflinching gallantry until he fell, covered with many wounds and so completely cut to pieces that his body was never found. Even Florus who had no language sufficiently bitter with which to malign him, says "he died like a Roman em-

¹²⁸ Appian, I. 120: "Γενομένης δὲ τῆς μάχης μακρᾶς τε καὶ καρτερᾶς ὡς ἐν ἀπογνώσει τοσούτων μυριάδων, τιτρώσκειται ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ὁ Σπάρτακος δορατίῳ, καὶ συγκάμψας τὸ γόνυ καὶ προβαλὼν τὴν ἀσπίδα πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀπεμάχετο, μέχρι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κυκλωθέντες ἐπέσον."

¹²⁹ Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, Art. *Spartacus*.

¹³⁰ Plutarch, *Crassus*, 12.

peror."¹²¹ His forces appear to have fought manfully until the death of their leader, when the lines gave way and a hideous carnage followed. The Romans gave no quarter. Sixty thousand workmen fell in this glorious defeat—glorious in the appreciation of all who admire feats of sublimest valor; but alas, a defeat which for centuries riveted the chains of the servile race.

We paraphrase Appian for the following, on the close and consequence of this terrible scene: The butchery by the Romans surpassed the power of counting, for it covered many thousands. The body of Spartacus lay dead on the field. Great numbers fled to the mountains after the battle, and Crassus pursued them. They, however, reorganizing themselves into four divisions fought back, until all were destroyed except 6,000 who were crucified upon the high-road from Capua to Rome.

These "many thousands" slaves who escaped to the mountains as here reported by Appian were the 40,000 of Vellejus, in his *editio princeps* which we have used on the assurance of Dr. Schambach.¹²² This would make the number of men who fell in the battle after and before the death of their leader and including the carnage of the route, when no man was spared and no quarter given, to foot up 260,000—an immense number—but when we reflect that there raged an internecine spirit breathing only vengeance and void of feeling throughout the great Roman army, and contemplate the possible strokes of such swordsmen, under orders to exterminate their now defenseless victims, these numbers are not surprising.

A few more words and the tragedy is told. Such were the numbers of the brave veterans of this great revolt who fell in the gigantic contest on the banks of the river Silarus.¹²³ In the mountains, during the pursuit great num-

¹²¹ "Spartacus ipse in primo agmine fortissime dimicans, quasi Imperator occisus est." (Florus, liber III. cap. 20).

¹²² Heinsius distinctly says that Vellejus put the number of the army of Spartacus at 300,000, from which total 40,000 escaped: "qua editio princeps habet XL. e CCC. millia hominum." So Schambach in *Der Italische Sklovenaufstand*, S. 11, *Quellen zur Geschichte*, says: "Wir erfahren von Vellejus—dass von 300,000 Sklaven in dem letzten Kampfe noch 40,000 übrig gewesen seien." The two accounts of Appian and Vellejus Paterculus do not at all disagree. Appian, I. *idem*: "Ο τε λοιπός αυτού στρατός άκόσμως ήδη κατεκόπτοντο κατά πλήθος, ως φόνον γενέσθαι των μὲν οὐδ' εὐαρίθμητον Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἐς χιλίους άνδρας, και τὸν Σπαρτάκου νέκυν οὐχ εὐρέθησαι. πολὺ δ' ἔτι πλήθος ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ἐκ τῆς μάχης διαφυγόντες" οὐς ὁ Κράσσος ἀνέβαινεν."

¹²³ For a description of the Silarus and the surrounding region see Strabo, *Geographica*, V. cap. 4.

bers more fell, and 6,000 were taken prisoners of war. The remainder of the great army who after the defeat, and the death of their beloved and faithful leader, endeavored to escape, was indeed small.

According to Appian, the pursuit was made by Pompey who must have participated in the battle. This grasping egotist easily finished the massacre and then vaunted that he had been the principle in putting down the rebellion; thus adding to the proof that all the three Roman armies were massed. Great numbers of the fugitives were overtaken and crucified. Every one of the 6,000 who fell prisoners at the battle of Silarus and in the mountains was hung on the cross along the Appian way; and for months their bodies dangled there to delight the vengeance-loving gentry who, on their drives to and from the cities of Rome and Capua, rejoiced to behold such sights as in our time would provoke the shame and contempt of the world.

Slavery from the downfall of Spartacus, the last emancipator, had an unhindered sweep in Rome and her provinces until Jesus, 100 years later, founded or brought into the open world the culture of the communes hitherto compulsorily secret, that mankind at birth are naturally free and equal—a culture which is based upon peace and submission; the antithesis of the plans of Eunus, Athenion, Spartacus and all revolters. This plan was original in Jesus, and it has prevailed; for chattel ownership of man by man has, under his open culture, disappeared from the earth. Rome became “a model of rapacity, dishonesty and fraud; having in her period—almost a thousand years, produced scarcely a dozen men whose names have descended to posterity with an untarnished fame.”¹³⁴

But if Spartacus, whose acts were in Italy, might be called a Roman, he certainly may be included in the list of names of the untarnished famous; for his nature was gentle though his character was marked and equal to the dignity of grander victories than came into the list of the Scipios or the Cæsars—since he fought entirely for a principle, dying as his wife had predicted of him, happy in the enthusiasm of an exuberant, manly swoop of nerve and muscle, grand, if not gigantic, amid the dismaying fury of enemies of liberty and of law.

¹³⁴ Carey, *Principles of Political Economy*, Vol. I. p. 247.

Immediately after the destruction of Spartacus and his army, another great man-hunt was instituted, similar to those we have described in the chapters on Viriathus, Eunus and Athenion. It lasted six months, raged with merciless atrocities and was followed by another exterminatory man-hunt against the pirates who, if we are to believe the histories which have been permitted to survive, were the true friends of the Romans, because they treacherously refused to assist the insurgent army to cross into Sicily. But as we have already stated, this story looks extremely flimsy and must be considered with caution; as the fact remains well vouched for that Rome fell upon the pirates and privateers with a powerful fleet commanded by Pompey himself and succeeded in less than a year, in annihilating them so completely that ever afterwards the Mediterranean was cleared of these maritime desperadoes.¹⁸⁵

No fewer than 1,000,000 slaves are reported by Cæcilius Calactenus to have been crucified and otherwise slain in the combined wars of the slaves who rebelled against the huge and inhuman slave system of the Romans. This estimate, repeated with reserve by Dr. Schambach,¹⁸⁶ comes to us not from Calactenus direct, for his valuable histories are, like the others, lost; but it is transmitted indirectly by Athenæus, whose quotations from the lost books are more and more highly prized.

But alas! Of what utility were all these outbreaks of human irascibility with their awful details of blood and extermination? True, one comfort clings: To die in the desperate attempt for freedom was better than to live in the gripping coils of slavery. But "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" brought no relief for downtrodden humanity. It never has, it never can, it never will. The still lingering idea of a semi-belligerent force organized on the strike plan, so long as it does not choose the weapons

¹⁸⁵ For the law commissioning Pompey to the work of exterminating the pirates, see Vellejus, *Historia Romana*, liber II. cap. xxxi.; and for a description of the work itself, Appian, l. 121; Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, VII. 25; Tacitus, *Annales*, XII. 62; XV. 25, *Bellum Piraticum*.

¹⁸⁶ Schambach, *Italischer Sklavenaufstand*, S. 5. "Die Zahl aller in diesen und anderen minder bedeutenden oder uns zufällig nicht überlieferten Aufständen getödteten Sklaven giebt Athen., wahrscheinlich nach der übertriebenen Berechnung des Cæcilus von Kalakte auf etwa eine Million an." These doubts regarding the number would have been dispelled had the learned doctor reflected that the number of lives lost in the war of Spartacus alone exceeded half that sum. A quarter of a million of slaves were killed in the last battle and in the man-hunt which followed. No doubt several millions were killed in all.

of overt war, and sedulously abstains from military or other violent means of resistance and self-defense, may be in conformity with the reasonable methods of relief; it is unquestionably consistent with the modern age and yields the rough polemic and the intellectual jar which surges and jostles men into a conception of arbitration and political unanimity. But humanity in the awful and relentless conflicts we have described, of which this revolt of Spartacus was the last and the typical example, has had enough of the destructive, enough of the irascible, enough of extermination. Let us profit by these examples, and no longer remain regardless of the better and more promising plan of another master, and the next to succeed. This great preceptor constantly taught the working people "that they resist not evil;" and his are the precepts prevailing all through the civilizing inculcation of "good for evil," until, after a bi-millennial trial of the brutal instincts, the oppressor now perceives and is being constrained to acknowledge that "an injury to one is the concern of all."

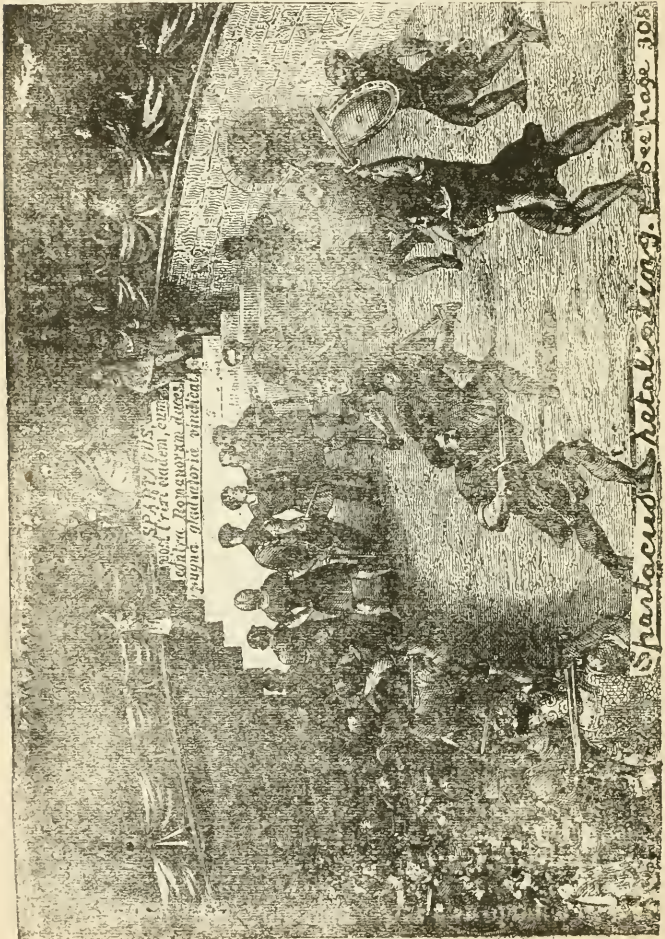
Whoever has the curiosity to observe the results of these defeats upon the Roman people will find that all the blood that was shed had no influence whatever toward refining human feelings. About this time the amphitheatre began in earnest to supersede the older games of the Roman circus. The revolts had kindled up a fresh spirit of vengeance, and popular conversation inflamed the hideous passion for sights in the gladiatorial ring.

These revolts had moreover taught the Roman politicians and all those who catered to power, that the slave system which made bondsmen of prisoners of war taken by tens of thousands in the great conquests of the past hundred years, were a desperate and dangerous element in the land. But a people filled with grudges as were the Romans, after this terrible succession of revolts which have been described, could think of no mild, humane methods of getting rid of the dangerous slaves.

To see them thrown to the wild beasts and eaten alive or to train them for the ghastly habit of cutting each others' throats on the sands of an amphitheatre, was to their truly ferocious character the natural way of getting rid of them. This in part answers the inquirer's

question as to the cause of the rapid and phenomenal decline of morals at Rome.

The comparatively innocent circus waned in favor of the arena. Vast amphitheatres were constructed in towns and cities everywhere. **Blood-money** reigned triumphant.



CHAPTER XIII.

ORGANIZATION.

ROME'S ORGANIZED WORKINGMEN AND WOMEN.

ORGANIZATION OF THE FREEDMEN—The *Jus Coeundi*—Roman Unions—The *Collegium*—Its Power and Influence—What the Poor did with their Dead—Cremation—Burial a Divine Right which they were too Lowly to Practice—Worship of borrowed Gods—Incineration or Burial and Trade Unions combined—Proofs—Glance at the Inner social Life of the ancient Brotherhoods—State Ownership and Management—Nationalized Lands—Number and Variety of Trade Unions—Struggles—Numa Pompilius First to Recognize and Uphold Trade Unions—Law of the 12 Tables taken from Solon—Harmony, Peace, Ease, steady Work, Prosperity and Plenty Lasting with little Interruption for 500 Years—Bondmen fared worse.

WE have spoken of certain organizations among the working people of ancient times. That these existed is no longer denied. In Rome they were mostly freedmen. But what inspired their combination into secret orders does not appear plain to those who study the past for the sake of gratifying a taste for great events. Neither do those who study it for purposes of gleaning points in philosophy and religion as commonly understood, obtain any correct idea of them. The ancient contempt rooted in the taint of labor which slavery inspired is yet too strong; and there still lingers too much of the old spirit of paganism to allow of interest, or hardly of curiosity. This must answer the astonished student of sociology who asks why so much ignorance on the subject of those ancient societies.

Again, we have alluded, in a previous chapter, to the fact that writers and speakers of those days were extremely

chary of information regarding them. The cause of this was identical with that which inspires the same thing here amongst us now—disdain. From 1870 until 1886, a period of sixteen years, little was known to the masses of society of the vast organization amidst us, down in society's core, except that now and then a strike, like a volcanic eruption, shook the moral and financial surface. Yet in that period the most splendid vehicles of knowledge ever before known, existed. There was an organized policy, mixed with contempt, silently preventing even a wayside mention of these phenomena. When in 1886, a decided stand taken by Mr. Powderly, pleasing the press which may have expected to see defeat and disaster of the great collectivity, flung the door of the mighty dungeon ajar, and a knowledge of their numbers and power burst out, the people were overwhelmed with surprise. How much easier then, was it, in that barbaric age, without mechanical means of transmitting truth, even had historians, poets and philosophers been inclined to do so, to close the doors against curiosity and the love of learning.¹

We begin by the broad statement that from the earliest times at which anything is known of them, although they were sunk in ineffable contumely, they yet enjoyed one boon—the right of combination. Strange to say, no conspiracy laws are to be found; at any rate among the Romans,² until about the time of the emperors.³ These rights of organization in very ancient times, extended all over Europe so far as is known.⁴ Some of the first gleamings of this may be gotten from the authors. As early as Numa Pompilius'

¹ Mommsen, *De Collegiis et Sodalitiis Romanorum*, p. 31. "Si quærimus de loco collegiis officium in rebus publicis apud Romanos concessio. Sed id ipsum quaritur, an querere liceat: est enim altissimum de hac re apud auctores silentium." Here Mommsen admits that the profoundest silence reigns among authors, in regard to these unions, and refers for his proof to a stone (vide Orell. *Inscr.* 4,105) bearing an inscription of a union. This was a union of musicians that existed at Rome. The inscription runs thus: "M. Julius Victor, ex collegio Liticinum Cornicinum." Mommsen alludes to this find in proof of the fact that working people had organized Unions of musicians.

² In page 52 of the Consular report of Mr. James T. Dubois, U. S. Consul at Leipzig, published by the State Department in 1885, at Washington, there is a reference to the attempted suppression by Tullius Hostilius of the *Collegia Opticum*; but that they continued to thrive he acknowledges in the next paragraph. A close inspection shows that they were by no means suppressed.

³ Mommsen, *De Col. et Sodal. Romanorum*, cap. iv. §10, p. 73.

⁴ Gruter, *Inscriptiones Antiquæ Totius Orbis Romanorum*, 399, 4, 431, 1. "Omnia corpora Lugduni licite coeuntia." Cicero, *Pro Sexto*, 14, 32, says: "There was no town in Italy, no colony, no prefecture, no board of tax collectors at Rome, no trade union, not holding common cause with one another." This was during his struggle to suppress them.

time, perhaps 700 years before Christ, they are known to have existed in great numbers. This king tolerated them; and there exist some curious data respecting the system which he invented for their regulation.⁵ He ordered that the entire people including the working classes, be distributed into eleven guilds. This statement of Plutarch is however regarded by Mommsen as incorrect. The latter, after investigating the data given anterior to Plutarch, concludes that it must have been eight classes instead of eleven. At that time there were distinct trades, embracing all the arts of remote antiquity. While this may be true that eight was the number of categories there certainly is agreement among authors as to about that number.⁶ It would appear by their complete privilege of combination and their apparently perfect recognition by this wise king who reigned probably 700 years before Christ, that at times there must have been a great deal of skill among the artisans. Skilled mechanics were needed to make all the armor of those war-like times. During the reign of Numa Pompilius which lasted thirty-nine years the trade unions must have made great advancement.⁷ Indeed, considering the harsh treatment they afterwards received at the hands of the Roman emperors in later years, beginning B. C. 58, we are left to infer that for nearly 700 years of the best life of Rome these labor organizations flourished uninterruptedly.⁸ According to Plutarch, this ancient king so favored the idea of labor organizations that he made their particular case the very basis of a great reform. Plutarch tells us that he closed the temple of Janus for forty-three years,⁹ and all this time there was perpetual peace. The working people are known

⁵ Mommsen, *De Coll. et Sodal. Rom.*, p. 78, says: The relics of innumerable communal associations of ancient times, are seen scattered all through Italy, as found among the inscriptions of the Italian towns. See also Plutarch's *Life of Numa*, much quoted by writers.

⁶ Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, XXXIV. 1. "Equalem Urbis auctoritatem ejus declarat, a rege Numa Collegio tertio arariorum fabrum instituto." Again XXXV. 12. "Numa rex septimum collegium figularum instituit."

⁷ Dirksen, *Zwölf Tafeln*, says: "Der römische Staat vergönnte ursprünglich lediglich den Gewerben, die den Bedürfnissen des Krieges und des gottesdienstes zunächst fröhnten, seinen unmittelbaren Schutz und eine selbständige Communalverfassung."

⁸ Mommsen, *De Coll. et Sodal. Rom.* p. 33. "Jus coeundi fuit antiquis temporibus omnibus concessum."

⁹ Plut., *Numa and Lycurgus compared*. "The primary view of Numa's government which was to settle the Romans in lasting peace and tranquility, immediately vanished with him; for after his death, the temple of Janus, which he had kept shut as if it had really held war in prison and subjection, was set wide open, and Italy was filled with blood."

to have had their golden era during the reign of this great lawgiver.¹⁰ If for no other reason than this, the reign of Numa Pompilius must ever be regarded as one of the most valuable, and fraught with richest lessons to the human race. It is true that this is not so considered by students of history from a standpoint of great historic events, or of religion and philosophy as ordinarily understood, but the student of history from the purely sociological basis may justly regard this reign as one of the marvels of the world. We are at a loss to understand how Plutarch, with his clear mind and honest motives, could have compared Numa with Lycurgus. But Plutarch was not a socialist. He did not understand the immense world of meaning rolled up in the mystic deeds of Numa, whose reign, had it proved a failure, he himself would not have praised.

But Numa's reign was by no means a failure. It was a decided departure from the customs of those ancient days, because it completely discountenanced the warlike ambitions of other rulers and cultivated the arts of peace. To carry out such a policy it was necessary to have industry made respectable and stand boldly to the front, and be in every way protected.

But the trades were already organized. He did not organize them that we know of, but simply accorded them free privileges to organize themselves. He classed his people of all grades by a method of his own and in that classification made a place for the workers whom he was wise and manly enough to recognize. Before the time of Numa the working people had never been recognized that we are aware of. His distribution of the entire industrial class into eight or nine grand divisions or trades,¹¹ does not probably imply that there was no greater variety than this, but it was probably merely for the sake of convenience.

We are not to suppose, because the free right of combination was given the working people by king Numa, that

¹⁰ — "Ἐν δὲ ἡ διανομῆ κατὰ τὰς τέχνας, αὐλητῶν (flute players), χρυσοχῶν (gold workers), τεκτόνων (carpenters), βαφέων (dyers), σκυτοτόμων (shoemakers), σκυτοδεσφῶν (tanners and curriers), χαλκίων (braziers), κεραμίων (potters), τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς τέχνας εἰς ταῦτ' συναγαγῶν ἐν αὐτῶν ἐκ πασῶν ἀπεδέειξε σύστημα." (Plut. Num. 17).

¹¹ Mommsen, *idem*, p. 29. Hæc si expendimus, videmus Plutarchum fortasse etiam Florum totum populum non opifices tantum in IX classes distribuere, quod etsi absurdum est, notandum tamen, cum inde nonnum collegium ortum esse videatur."

this carried with it all the immunities belonging to other people. Caste remained. They were still looked upon as degraded creatures. It was for the Christian era to declare the absolute equality of men. But this right of free combination, *jus coeundi*, was certainly used to an enormous extent as a means of working up a state of things and a spirit of freedom or self-constituted public opinion among working people, fitting them by slow degrees, to consider themselves equal to others. The right of combination during this remarkable reign, having been prominently and thoroughly established, it remained so for over 600 years; and we are told explicitly that no interruption occurred until 58 years before Christ, for both the efforts of Claudius and Tarquin to suppress them entirely failed.

At that date much of the outcast and industrial population of Rome had become well organized and workingmen were, as we shall see, beginning to exercise a powerful political influence. They had been violently attacked by Cicero and other proud aristocrats and nobly and successfully defended by Clodius and a number of other Roman officers of high rank; and a fierce and terrible hatred attended with clearly discernible political manœuvres, was growing into an issue on the advent of the Cæsars.

Lord Mackenzie¹² says that "the earliest legislation deserving of notice was the celebrated code of laws called the Twelve Tables." Yet so far as the treatment of our special subject—that of the strictly laboring people—is concerned, these were but the simple recording of the old rules of Numa Pompilius and of Solon. In our opinion Numa had borrowed his notions regarding the organization of the working population mostly from the then existing state of labor organization in Egypt, Asia Minor and Attica.¹³ We have repeatedly shown every development among them to have been a traceable growth. Monarchs and lawgivers when clothed with power could arrange these habits of their subjects into words and forms but the people themselves had already been using them from immemorial times.

Solon, as early as B. C. 580 established laws permitting

¹² Roman Law, pp. 5-6.

¹³ Gaius, XII. Tables explained by Dirksen, *Mom. de coll.* etc., p. 39. "Abol-
abilis est hoc loco lex Solonis, ex qua sacra civiliaque comamnia etc

laboring people to organize; and made it compulsory upon boys to learn a trade.¹⁴ If the father of a family of working people neglected to do this he could not compel his sons to support him in his old age. Both Solon and Numa legalized the organizations of working people and gave them the full right of combination. Lycurgus, on the contrary,¹⁵ as we have seen, wanted no emancipated slaves. He was an upholder of military despotism. All labor being a degraded and disgraceful entailment, must, under the laws of Lycurgus be performed by the abject, groveling slaves. Thus in the Peloponnesus, trade unions got no encouragement whatever, which accounts for the paucity of stone tablets found in lower Greece, bearing inscriptions commemorative of the labor unions. Northern Greece, the islands, Asia Minor and Italy, on the contrary, abound in these suggestive mementos of ancient labor organization, an account of which the historians of those periods have sedulously left barren.

All this proves that while labor was grudgingly tolerated as a necessary means of life to the gentile classes of both Greece and Rome, it was never recognized by either as respectable or hardly decent; if we except that of agriculture and the nearest it ever came to any recognition was during the wise and happy reign of king Numa Pompilius who extended every encouragement to its organization and died leaving it a veritably abiding institution as his laws intended.

He actually took salient and very suggestive steps toward filling up the social gap separating the high-borns from the low-borns of Rome. He instituted that at the Saturnalian feasts which occurred every December as a harvest thanksgiving or carnival, all ranks of a social character should be forgotten; that figuratively no slave, no social distinction, no arrogance should exist. Thus labor, for a moment each year, was raised up and the social arrogance of wealth and birth leveled down, to a par with each other. But it must not for a moment be imagined that the working people of either Greece or Rome ever

¹⁴ Plin. *Solon*; Herodotus, *Euterpe*, cap. 177, gives us a hint making it probable that trade unionism existed in Egypt in the time of Amasis who upheld it:

¹⁵ Νόμον δὲ Αἰγυπτίους τόνδε Ἀμασίς ἐστὶ ὁ καταστήσας· ἀποδεικνύει ἕως ἐκάστου γὰρ νομάρχῃ πάντα τὰ Αἰγυπτίων, ὅθεν βιοῦται· μὴ δὲ ποιεῦντα ταῦτα, μηδὲ ἀποφαιέοντα δίκαιον ζῆν, ἰθυεσθαι θανάτῳ.

¹⁶ Plin. Lycurgus and Numa compared.

arose to be considered by the *gens*, or patrician stock as anything more than plebians who were outcasts by birth, and though often the children of patrician fathers, yet through the ancient religio-political law of primogeniture, or the sacred law of inheritance, were relegated into bondage whence they never escaped except through gradual development by manumissions, and finally through the mighty all-levelling proclamations of Jesus which theoretically and at last practically overthrew every distinction.

But we shall more elaborately treat this grand and extraordinary episode in human development in our sketch of Jesus, from a business-like or secular point of consideration, as a subject of inquiry into sociological phenomena.

We now return to Lord Mackenzie's statement that "by the decemviral code"—meaning the Twelve Tables—"the plebeians gained a considerable step toward the adjustment of their differences with the patricians, but it was nearly 80 years before these differences were settled by the admission of the plebeians to the supreme offices of the state."¹⁶

In the first place, this "considerable step toward the adjustment of differences" was taken under king Numa, 118 years before the Twelve Tables were engraved upon the slabs. In the second, the very first decemvirs were composed of such tyrannical usurpers and aristocrats as Appius Claudius, who, although they had the laws adjusting the differences between patricians and plebians engraved upon eleven Tables, yet they prevented the latter from realizing their benefits. Another thing must be continually borne in mind, that under the sway of the Pagan or competitive religion, which was the foundation of law and social order, any absolute equality between patricians and plebians was impossible from beginning to end; and no assertion that the adjustment of differences was ever gained by any means can be considered correct. The difference between them always remained; but under the gracious adjustment of Numa and of Solon, afterwards inscribed in Latin from a Greek translation, in a formal law upon the Twelve Tables at Rome, the right of organization first came to the freedmen, in letters. Nor does this right of organization apply to the slaves, who still

¹⁶ Mackenzie, *Roman Law*, p. 7.

existed in great numbers. On the contrary we show, in our sketch of Spartacus and repeatedly elsewhere, that the rapacity of the Roman lords and middlemen finally became so great that they bought up slaves, redoubled their numbers, encroached upon the common farm lands and upon manufactures with cheap slave labor, each owning great numbers of slaves,¹⁷ and finally under Cæsar, succeeded in procuring conspiracy laws which suppressed the trade and many other species of organization, opening the way by sheer aggravations, for the advent of a completely new order of things in the repudiation of paganism entirely, and the embrace, mostly by these wretched slaves and persecuted freedmen, of a totally new religion which built upon the workingmen's fundamental principle that all are born free and equal.

Thus it becomes evident that writers who speak of the three forms of Roman law afterwards known as the *leges populi*, the *plebiscita* and the *senatus consulti*, must, if from a standpoint of social science, be very careful not to count the two-thirds of the entire Roman population, who were abject slaves,¹⁸ enjoying neither freedom, respect, right of resistance or organization whatsoever.

The great trade organization received their first serious blow through the law which suppressed open work and drove them into secret conclave, counter manœuvres and diplomacy. We have said that historians carefully avoided any mention of these troubles. This is true; but the labor turmoils open to the students of sociology the true meaning of certain slurs occurring in the speeches and epistles of Cicero and others, the import of which can be explained in no other way.¹⁹ We must constantly hold uppermost the

¹⁷ Crassus owned 500 slaves, see Plut. Crassus, 2. C. Cællus Claudius owned according to Pliny, no fewer than 4,116 at a time, ". . . quamvis multa civili bello perdisset, tamen relinquere servorum quatuor millia centum sedecim." *Nat. Hist.* XXXIII. 47. Great numbers of slaves existed in antiquity. See Wallace *Numbers of Mankind* p. 54, sq. Immense population during the slave era, pp. 294-303. Also pp. 91 and 97; Athenæus V. 20. Ancient Census and remarks of Hume, *Ancient Populousness* declaring that Athenæus does not reckon the children. Æmilinus Paulus after the battle of Pydna, B. C. 167, destroyed 70 cities of Epirus taking the value of 10,000,000 dollars in gold and 160,000 people as war-slaves to Rome and the provinces, Wallace p. 300 and Livy, XLV. c. 14. See Seneca, *De Tranquillitate*, 8; Vast numbers in Crete see Lippincott, *Pronouncing Gazetteer of the World* art. Crete. They were mostly slaves and freedmen; Plato *Laws* vii. 11. Countless Myriads of Women they call Sauromatides.

¹⁸ Cf. Wallace, *Numbers of Mankind*, p. 61. Liv. lib. 6, cap. 12.
¹⁹ Cicero, *Pro Sesto*, 25: "Collegia non modo illa vetera contra SC. restituerentur sed ab uno gladiatore innumerabilia alia nova conscriberentur." This

causes of the Christian idea skipping southern Greece in its westward course and planting itself at Rome and everywhere among the already existing communes, with a view of determining a solution to this phenomenon in the great social field already prepared there by these organizations.

King Numa by no means originated the union of the trades at Rome. He simply permitted and encouraged what already existed. We now proceed to give some facts in regard to them. Although the king distributed the working people into eight or nine classes we are not to suppose that there was no greater variety of handicraft in his time. There are still extant slabs and stones found in different places in Italy, notably at Rome and what were ancient towns and cities south and east of Rome, bearing inscriptions which indicate that large numbers of trades were plied in very ancient times.

The *Collegium* a veritable trade union was originally an organization of working people for mutual aid and protection. During the 39, or as Plutarch puts it, 43 years of Numa's reign we hear of no contortion or prevarication of this word from that correct and original sense. But after his death, when the temple of Janus was reopened and wars and their harvests of brutality and repression disturbed the serenity of labor making the mechanics watchful of their interests, they somewhat changed their outward appearance but not their character. For instance, a trade union of to-day is often a protective, an insurance and a burial society. So it was then; but amid the turmoils, suspicions and dangers of war it often became convenient, in order to suit appearances to be exclusively religious. The Pagan religion was at that time popular. Each of the great popular, aristocratic families or *gens* had a tutelary saint or other object of worship, and it was very convenient for the trade union to dedicate itself to one of these tutelary deities; not only to elicit favor from the great patrons but also because they were themselves religiously inclined. Thus the colleges, although they maintained their practical economic or trade union object of mutual advantage in a business sense, often passed for religious institutions; and we have abundant

(King was probably hurled at Clodius with a bitter reference to Spartacus. Cf sketch of Spartacus, chapter XI.)

evidence of this, not in the written histories but in the inscriptions which now begin to exhibit in a new and significant manner, their character and career.

The ancient *collegia* or working people's fraternities in Italy were not confined to the male sex. In later eras of the empire they existed in great numbers as the inscriptions show. Some of them were composed partly, and a few are known to have been composed entirely of women.

The learned archæologist, Johann Casper Orelli, has devoted 89 octavo Latin pages²⁰ to the enumeration of a collection of stone inscription-bearing tablets on which in ancient days, were engraved the wills of the deceased, the tutelary gods worshipped by the members, sometimes even the manner in which they came to their death, the degree of conjugal affection in which they had mutually lived together and many other little particulars shedding important and interesting light upon their mode of living²¹ in those ancient days—events left almost totally blank on the pages of history.

Gruter, another archæologist of great patience and erudition, has given us an immense collection²² of ancient inscriptions, many of which are accompanied by his own readings; thus laying the foundations for simplifying the keys to the study of sociology, and enriching the mind by a knowledge of ancient customs.

The archæological works of Raffaello Fabretti have also furnished us a large amount of material, while Theodore Mommsen has applied his usual care and judgment in making clear much of that which otherwise we might have overlooked.

The *collegium funerarium* was the burial society. After gathering all the information at our command, we are constrained to conclude that it much resembled the great system of friendly or burial societies of Great Britain at the present day. They existed in large numbers, especially at Rome; and in later times, after the passage of the laws of repression they were mostly exempt, because religious. Of this we shall speak later.

²⁰ Orellius, *Inscriptionum Latinarum Selectarum Amplissima Collectio*, pp. 274-860 of Vol. II. *Sepulcralia*.

²¹ No. 4,352 Orel. reads: "Numismatæ conjugal castissimæ et incomparabilis affectionis femina cum qua vixit ann. XVII., Mens. XI., Dieb. XVII."

²² Gruterius, *Inscriptiones Antiquæ Totius Orbis Romanorum*.

From the prodigious labors of Muratori we also obtain several valuable contributions,²³ especially so on account of examples he gives, of genuine trade unions, inscriptions of which he took from Cis-Alpine Gaul, that were written early in the Christian era.

Rose, a learned Greek scholar²⁴ and antiquarian, wrote a work from which we find much evidence in support of our theme, especially regarding the high status in skill of workmen in ancient days; and the splendid work of Guhl and Koner entitled "The Life of the Greeks and Romans," fortunately well translated into English further intensifies our wonder at the high perfection to which the labor of antiquity had brought the arts and architecture.

From the analytical works of August Böckh, we have deduced considerable, proving that the organizations of the proletaries were by no means confined to Italy.²⁵ If Cicero could say they were "innumerable in all Italy," Athenagoras might also have said they were equally abundant throughout the peninsula of Greece and the Ionian Isles. The writers we refer to find tablets of stone in all these countries, some of them, excusably enough, engraved with words often wrongly spelled, sometimes in words suggestive of the prevailing lingo, perhaps even slang language which slaves and their descendants, the freedmen, almost always without education, would naturally make use of, which is of itself exceedingly interesting, bringing the working people of ancient Rome, Greece and Asia freshly down to us, as it were, in their work clothes, their tools in hand, and their careless vernacular exactly as used in every day life.

In announcing our remarks on the ancient *Sepulcralia* or burial societies, we cannot do better than refer to the popular scientific research on the origin of the plebians, by Prof. Fustel de Coulanges. This author, while not appearing to understand that they might have been partly derived from the outcasts of the patrician family, relegated by the *paterfamilias* into slavery, admits fully as much.²⁶ Every student of the facts recognizes that the

²³ Muratorius, *Antiquitates Italicae, Medii Aevi*, 6 vols. Milan, 1,744.

²⁴ Rose, *Inscriptiones Graecae Vetustissimae*.

²⁵ Böckh, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3 vols. Berlin, 1853, folio.

²⁶ "Nous sommes pourtant frappé de voir dans Tite-Live, qui connaissait les vieilles traditions, que les patriciens reprochaient aux plébéiens non pas d'être issus des populations vaincues, mais de manquer de religion et même de famille."

great plebeian class of the ancient population was originally derived from the outcasts of the family and that they were, as a religio-political consequence, without a religion, without a home, without even a recognition or count among the citizen population²⁷ and without marriage rites. They were consequently all illegitimates.²⁸ These are stupendous facts, little understood by people of this day.

These were great grievances which they had to bear. They built up among themselves a religion of their own, had secret organizations and burial societies which often served as a shield to their trade unions, from the law.²⁹ They were regarded by Cicero as wild beasts;³⁰ and he invariably speaks of the organized proletaries with scathing contempt. Just after the death of Spartacus, while the senate was endeavoring to pass a law for the suppression of labor organizations, Claudius Pulcher, who to "curry favor with the plebeians,"³¹ changed his name to Clodius, and boldly came to the front in defense of the labor unions. In spite of all the efforts of Cicero against him Clodius actually succeeded not only in preventing the passage of restrictive laws against the trade and other organizations, but secured the enactment of several others, greatly favoring the proletaries who had been covertly using their secret burial societies and mutual aid communes as organizations of resistance. Cicero was greatly

Or, ce reproche qui était déjà immérité au temps de Licinius Stolon et que les contemporains de Tite-Live, comprenaient à peine, devait remonter à une époque très ancienne et nous reporte aux premiers temps de la cité." (Fustel de Coulanges, *Cité Antique*, p. 278).

²⁷ *La Cité Antique*, p. 322: "Les hommes de la classe inférieure formèrent entre eux un corps," and again p. 278: "Le peuple comprenait les patriciens et leurs clients; la plèbs était en dehors."

²⁸ *Idem*, p. 278-9: "C' était renoncer à une religion. Ajoutons encore que le fils né d' un mariage sans rites, était réputé bâtard, comme celui qui était né de l'adultère, et la religion domestique n' existait pas pour eux." So with the ancients religion and citizenship were one and the same thing.

²⁹ Mommsen, *De Collegiis et Sodalibus Romanorum*, p. 4. "Tanta vero fuit sodalitatibus religio, ut publicis etiam legibus sodales prohiberentur, quominus eam læderent."

³⁰ "Fera quædam sodalitas et plane pastoritia atque agrestis Germanorum lupercorum: quorum coitio illa sylvestris ante est instituta, quam humanitas atque leges." Cicero, *Pro Marco Coelio*, 11.

³¹ See *American Encyclopædia*, Article *Clodius*. Were it not that this article was written in the same spirit of aristocratic bias of patrician history, it would have to be pronounced by the student of sociology as scurrilous. The truth is, Clodius was at heart, a noble, wise and exceedingly able tribune. He was one of those in the army of Lucullus, who took part in the suppression of Spartacus. After his overthrow 6,000 of the proletaries were brutally crucified on the Appian way lining that avenue for miles with this horrid spectacle. From that time Clodius was the staunch lawyer of organized labor.

incensed at this.³² It is clear that Cicero, who was intensely aristocratic, drew down upon him, in his prodigious defense of the *gentes* and the correspondingly aggravating raillery against the organized workers, the hatred and revenge of the laboring element of Rome, who, driven to straits, took up the political issue and even took up arms. These studies are exceedingly interesting, inasmuch as they reveal to us that Rome at that time—less than 100 years before Christ, was very populous, that much the larger share of her population consisted of the proletaries both slaves and freedmen, and that the freedmen and some of the slaves were organized; and finally that this organization, whether in shape of burial or of trade unions, was the cause of political contention, which grew rapidly into vast commotions and a civil duel between the gentiles and the proletaries. Cicero, the mortal foe of the latter, was constantly inveighing against them³³ until his death. In fact, it will be easily shown that the great orator came to his death directly in consequence of his bitter complicity in these labor convulsions, always taking sides against them.

A curious fact is observed, in looking over Orelli and Gruter's list of inscriptions of the burial societies, showing that among the poorest the practice of cremation was common. The order had niches or recesses attached to the grounds frequented by them for their meetings; and being too poor, in fact disallowed the noble rite of burial and its attendant family worship, they were obliged to burn the bodies of the deceased and preserve their ashes in pots called *ollæ cinerariæ*.³⁴ The poor fellows, having no religion of their own, denied that honor by the privileged classes who lived upon their labor, and often being

³² Cic., *Pro Sexto*. We render as follows: "This Clodius has chosen this name instead of Aurelius for his tribunal labors to curry favor with the organized slaves—men enlisted from the streets arranged in companies, cheered on by his moral stimulus to arms, to pillage."

³³ Mommsen says: "Compluribus locis Cicero invehitur in P. Clodium restitutis. lege sua collegiis ann. 58 ante Christ. nova collegia ordinantem." (*De Coll. et Sodal. Rom.* p. 57.)

³⁴ Fig. Orelli, *Inscr.* No. 4,358. *Sepulchralia*, reads: "D. M. M. Herennius a plowman and Herennia Lacena writ en in their son's own handwriting. The pot containing the ashes stands on left side of the monument," etc., etc. So again Ahl and Koner, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, pp. 378-9, figs 401, 402 and others with descriptions. These represent the celebrated *Comlumbaria* of which Gorius wrote an elaborate work, illustrated with engravings. Fig. 402 shows not only the niches in which stand to this day the cinerary urns, but also the urns themselves. One *columbarium*, the *Vigna Codini*, has 425 such niches in nine rows, p. 479. A small marble over each urn gives the name. These are the burial places (see p. 377), of the slaves and freedmen.

of the same original stock and consequently of religious tendency, were in the habit of borrowing from the *gens* families some tutelary deity in whose name to worship. This, it appears, they had always maintained the right to do. When Christianity came a few years afterwards, with its new and absolutely democratic religion and its mutual co-operation more nearly fitted to their case, they embraced it in great numbers.

Mommsen mentions some regulations in the laws governing the burial societies; among others is one against suicide.³⁵ It was a law for preventing suicide by appealing to their pride in a decent burial; and prohibited any money being taken from the communal fund wherewith to defray the funeral expenses of the suicide.

After the passage of the conspiracy laws, B. C. 58, the unions continued to exercise their wonted habits in defiance of the laws of suppression. Two causes lie at the base of this fact; there were by this time wealthy business men in the organizations who controlled social and political influence, although themselves of plebeian stock. This is one cause. Another is, that the organizations, when they felt the knife of persecution, withdrew themselves from public view and became intensely secret. Where the organizations were for religious purposes they were not suppressed; but there was a special regulation fixing it so that they could simulate, or use religion as a cloak.³⁶ It is very unfortunate that the ancient laws of the Twelve Tables were not preserved so as to have come down to us as engraved. They are known to have been placed in the most conspicuous part of the Roman forum. It was the oldest of the three written systems of Roman Law³⁷ having been established B. C. 452. It is, moreover, now supposed to have been almost identical with the Greek law; the provisions, so far as the labor communes are concerned, being alike for the Greeks and Romans. It appeared to Gaius to be a translation, and seems to have

³⁵ Item placuit, quisquis ex quacumque causa mortem sibi adsciverit, ejus ratio funeralis non habebitur." (*De Coll. and Sodal. Rom.* p. 100.)

³⁶ Mommsen, *Idem*, p. 87: "Ipsa illa simulata religio senatum promovit ut jus coeundi tollerat." The clause of the law appears to exempt or exempt those aged associations known to be beyond suspicion: "Sub pretextu religionis vel sub specie solvendi voti cœtus illicitos nec a veteranis tentari oportet." (*Lex 2. Dig. de extr. crim.* xvii, ii.

: Mackenzie, *Roman Laws*, p. 5-7.

been the identical law of Solon who is known to have given the free right of organization to the proletaries of Athens.³⁸ Our opinion is that these Tables of laws favoring the laboring classes, had become so obnoxious to the Roman *gentes* that they determined to rid the forum of its presence, thus virtually annulling the laws.

Large numbers of burial associations existed and it is repeatedly acknowledged that they often acted as a shield to the real trade unions under the garb of religion, notwithstanding the law. Mommsen describes a burial society at Alburnum in Lucania the notice of which was found inscribed on a *libellus* with some words spelled wrongly: "Artimidorus Apollonii, magister collegii Iovis Cernani et Valerius Niconis et Oflas Menofili, quæstores collegii ejusdem, posito hoc libello publice testantur." Then follow the laws of the society prescribing the use of the common fund. Mommsen, however remarks:³⁹ "It is clear that this mutual relief society of Cernanus, although bearing or holding up the name of a god, was nevertheless instituted, in order to give the funeral benefit, collected within a certain time and under the law, to the heirs of the deceased." This means that under the semblance of the burial society, they substantially met as a mutual aid commune—perhaps a trade organization. Again, aside from the opinion of Mommsen, always reliable, we have Asconius for positive testimony that frequently the sacred societies, of which the burial societies were a part, were suppressed on suspicion that they were discovered by the police to be engaged in carrying out the business of those trade or other organizations on which the conspiracy law had laid its hand.⁴⁰

³⁸ Cf. Granier, *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières*, p. 325. "Nous avons fait voir d'ailleurs que la loi romaine des Douze-Tables sur les corporations contenait les mêmes dispositions que la loi grecque, à ce point qu'elles ont paru à Gaius être la traduction l'une de l'autre." The words of Gaius (*vide Digest*, lib. XLVII, tit. xxii, leg. 4, will be found quoted in our note 87, page 127. On page 230, note 1, Granier speaks of the intimate relations between Athenian and Roman trade unions as follows: "Du reste, si le texte de Plutarque pouvait laisser quelque doute sur le fait des jurandes athéniennes, un fragment de Gaius sur les Douze Tables, conservé par le Digeste, dit que la loi sur les corps des métiers paraît avoir été empruntée aux lois de Solon sur la même matière; et là dessus Gaius cite le texte même de la loi de Solon, dans lequel il est statué que les membres des métiers peuvent s'élever eux-mêmes en corporations en respectant les lois de l'État."

³⁹ Mommsen, *De Collegiis et Sodalitatibus Romanorum*, p. 94.

⁴⁰ "Frequentur tam etiam cæcis factiosorum hominum, sine publica auctoritate, malo publico fiebant . . . propter quod postea collegia sancta et pluribus legibus, sunt sublati." (Ascon. in *Coriel.* p. 75.)

By far the most numerous and powerful of the organizations of proletaries or outcasts among the ancients were the genuine trade unions.⁴¹ Had it not been for the ancient habit, probably established by the lost law of the Twelve Tables, of inscribing⁴² more or less of the objects, dates, names of leaders or organizers, and name of the tutelary deity under which they chose to worship—being proscribed from the privilege of worship of their own—we should be altogether without data regarding the vast trade societies which from immemorial times existed in Greece and Rome and in the provinces over which those nations ruled. We have sufficiently explained the causes of this organization. It may be well, however to sum them up in this manner:

First in ancient times all lands not belonging to the *gens* estates but achieved by conquest, were common property of the state. The people relied upon the products of these lands for their subsistence. This was true of people of all ranks, whether the haughty *gentes* or the degraded slaves. Many subsisted upon the fruits of the common lands. King Numa, admitting this, was wise enough to create, or rather recognize an already existing system of trade or business-unions, the special function of which was to till the lands and divide and distribute the products. Nothing could be more sensible and nothing more practical than to give the soil-tillers their organizations under protection of the state—and this means under a species of subvention or common guarantee. It must not be forgotten that by a law of ancient religion there were two distinct classes—workers and non-workers or the privileged and the non-privileged classes. They were so distinct that Dionysius of Halicarnassus declares that the latter were not even counted with the people or enumerated in the census as human beings; a fact which has caused much astonishment to the writers on ancient populousness; some counting them in and some not; thus producing figures so ridiculously at variance and contradictory that nobody pretends except approximately, even to conjecture what the ancient population was!⁴³

⁴¹ The more numerous slaves are here excepted.

⁴² We are, as yet, without the words of the law rendering it binding upon the communes to set up and inscribe a marble, or other stone slab. It was probably lost with the Twelve Tables. Also the similar law of Solon.

⁴³ Cf. Wallace on the "Numbers of Mankind." Edmburg, 1753, p. 28

Thus for many centuries, the lands of the ancient Romans, called *ager publicus* was common or public property, tilled by the proletaries, many of whom were organized into unions legalized by the arrangements of the Twelve Tables which was merely a literal ratification of the plan of Numa Pompilius, dividing the workers into nine species of craft and allowing each the autonomy of an organization. This shifted from the shoulders of the state or land-owner the care and responsibility of cultivation, while it elevated the proletaries to the practical dignity of that work. It was not the plan of small holdings by isolated families but of small holdings by isolated communes, which in turn, were amenable to, and under the general direction of the state, or common proprietor.

It cannot be said that this really great and wise system ever attained to a wide extent. The idea seems to have been clear to the workingmen and they carried it into force to some extent, but were always met with fierce opposition. The manner in which the state obtained its share of the proceeds or usufruct of these lands was by the *Vectigalarii*, the celebrated union of tax collectors who, instead of using money, took the tax "in kind;" which means that they went to the farmers, *agricolæ*, after the harvests and with wagons, brought to the *Municipium* or town in whichever district they were stationed, the share of the proceeds of the common land due the city people—grain, wool, fruits, pease, beans and whatever the land produced. The grain thus collected was turned over to the organization of the united *pistores* or millers, to be ground; thence to the united bakers, *panifices* to be made into bread. So with regard to everything. The almost phenomenal simplicity and universality of this great plan of the ancients is accounted for only by the fact that there were two classes so widely separated that the very touch of a proletary was supposed to pollute. In consequence of this wide distinction the merchant, who was also a workingman, could not become a monopolist because he was obliged to be a unionist which naturally recognized him at a par with his peers. This was a direct result of the crude communism which legalized trade unionism had

"Slaves who were of so little account under the ancient governments."—"Free citizens who alone had a voice in the public councils."

created and upheld for many centuries not only at Rome but all over Italy and in many parts of Greece.

Very gradually however, some merchants succeeded in becoming rich.⁴⁴ On the other hand, as we prove in our sketch of Spartacus, the older slave system which still continued under the law of Lycurgus in Sparta, underwent a revival in Italy. By the plan of Numa Pompilius, which was the true ancient trade union system, there was no way for an aristocrat to conduct business of any kind without polluting himself by contract with the proletarians. He could, by owning the slaves, job them to managers of genius, themselves of the laboring class, some to a boss farmer, some to a miller, some to a wagoner, some to a manufacturer, and thus, without himself touching his own property, gratify his desire of profit, indirectly, through the labor of his slaves. We are told that Crassus bought up as great a number as 500 slaves at a time; that Nicias owned 1,000; that Claudius owned as many as 4,116 and Athens owned and hired out no less than 100,000 slaves!⁴⁵ But these things did not occur in Italy until the decline through Roman hostility, of the seven centuries of trade unionism, which began in high antiquity, and which had been acknowledged and incorporated as an industrial system of the state under Numa, nearly 700 years before Christ, and did not give up its foothold without one of the most terrible and protected agrarian and servile struggles recorded or unrecorded in the vicissitudes of the world. Nor must the remark be forgotten that during all the centuries through which this trade unionism existed the golden era of prosperity and general happiness was at its highest so far as labor was concerned.

But this prosperity and happiness will be better understood as we enumerate, one by one, the links of trade unions which formed the great chain of industrial wealth. While we are doing this it may be well to keep constantly in mind the suggestion, together with its proofs, that labor organization for protection, co-operation, resistance and mutual improvement is always the best standard by

⁴⁴ Consult Drumann, *Arbeiter und Communisten im Griechenland und Rom*, p. 31: "Es verminderte die geringschätzung nicht mit welcher man auf die Arbeiter sah, dass mehrere berühmte Männer durch ihre Geburt oder durch ihre frühere Beschäftigung diesem Stande angehörten."

⁴⁵ For these statistics, see Bücher, S. 35-9. Schambach, *Staatliche Sklaverei*, S. 1-3. Siefert, *Sicilische Sklavenkriege*, S. 10-15.

which to measure the intensity of true civilization. When the law forbidding these organizations struck the proletarians, one-half a century before Christ, their decline began; and this decline was a powerful cause of the fall of the Roman empire.

The old system of abject slavery pre-existing in the higher antiquity, gradually reappeared with the great Roman Conquests and usurped the foundations of the happier unions with its malignant concomitants of degraded labor under the lash of an overseer on the one hand, and with its millionaire politicians, schemers and voluptuaries on the other. Corruption followed. Hope fled with liberty. Thrift disintegrated into pestilential reservoirs of vice. Rome fell into a mass of corruption.

It is not at all strange, nor to be wondered at that the poor who constituted the laboring class, should keenly feel their degrading exclusion from the Eleusinian Mysteries. Nor is it at all to be wondered at if we find Plutarch reciting to us his account of what must have been a gigantic uprising of these people 1,180 years before Christ, under Menestheus, as under Aristonicus in Asia Minor, 1,047 years afterward they rose against similar social degradations. Heaven to those poor people was a boon much nearer and more visible than at the present day. They imagined the earth to be flat. On this side all were mortal; on the other immortal. Some of the immortal happy had power to come from the other side to this. Here from Mount Olympus they assumed charge of the welfare of mortals. Many believed the flat earth so thin that rivers meandered from one to the other. Between the two surfaces there were surging floods of horrid smoke and steaming, lurid waters or pits of fiery asphaltum for the wicked, as well as bright, purling streams sparkling and cool for the just, leaving the banks and plains that were covered with verdure and peopled with enchanting birds and game.

Let the mover of the modern labor agitation who treats with scorn the author who mixes religion with a history of the ancient, reconsider. He must go back to them as they really were, poor down-trodden, superstitious, credulous and ignorant of facts while misled by priests. They believed heaven was so near by linear measure that they

often imagined they could hear the melodious voices of the blessed on the other sides; yet while they had nothing on this side to live for and their grasping imagination overheard and dwelt upon a future world beyond this "vale of tears," they found themselves shut out from all hope. The workman in the modern field of labor agitation certainly has but a gloomy foretaste in anything further than his future natural life. His predecessors have gone before with the axe and sickle of reason and past experience, tools of the thus intellectual pioneer. Their incomputable toil has, with investigation and experiment, with repeated millions of practical works, cleared away the mythic film of priestcraft and superstitious belief. The earth is now a globe. The miner knows this; for the deeper he descends the more unendurable the heat. Who wants now to descend to heaven? Who wishes to go to the other side, to China—a race groveling, mortal and inferior, rather than that of the ancients, beautiful seraphic, melodious, immortal. Who now wants to visit the ouranus of old Plato in the vaulted dome of heaven? Who wants to rise when everybody knows that instead of a region of the immortal happy the farther one mounts the more uninhabitable, more frigid more stifling the ethers of space? Labor's own skillful hand has caused all this metamorphosis in the human mind and forced it and is still forcing it out of its ignorant soarings and credence-ravings down to a cognizance of the earthly things that are.

No, we must picture the life of the ancient lowly as it really was in all its cushioned imagination, in all its yearnings to get there by the beautiful river, its green carpets on the other side where the wicked ceased from troubling and the weary were at rest; and those otherwise incomprehensible, religio-practical associations can be understood and their full function appreciated only by our throwing off our own prejudice and contemplating them as they really were. This we propose to do.

L. CEIONIO. COMMODO. SEX.
VETULENO. CIVICA. POMPE-
IANO. COS. A. D. V. IDUS. IUN.

Lanuvi in Municipio in Templo Antinoi in Quo L. Caesennius Rufus
in the temple of Antinoë, city of Lavinia, where L. Cæennius Rufus

Dict. III. et patronus Municipi conventum haberi jusserat
spokesman and guardian of the town, ordered an association formed, through

per. L. Pompeium

L. Pompey

F um, QQ. Cultorum Dianae, et Antinoi, Pol-
and F under tutelary care of Diana and Antinoë, promising to con-

licitus est se
tribute towards it

in annum daturum eis ex liberalitate sua Hs. Xv. M. N. usum
out of his purse within a given year a sum of \$600 for use of the union.

Die natalis Dianae Idib. Aug. Hs. CCCC. N. et die natalis An-
On Diana's birthday, the Ides of August, and birthday of Antinoë, \$16 more.
tinoi V. K.

Decemb. Hs. CCCC. N. Et praecepit legem ab ipsis con-
in the month of December, \$16. He also prescribes a law regulating the

stitutam sub tetra-
the union which is

stilo Antinoi parte interiori perscribi in verba infra scripta.
written on the inside of the 4 columned pillar in words as recorded below:

M. Antonio Hiberno P. Mummio Sisenna Cos. K. Ian. Collegium
During the consulship of M. Antonius Hiberus and P. Mummius Sisenna the

Salutare Dianae

Et Antinoi constitutum, L. Caesennio L. F. Quir.
mutual benefit society of Diana and Antinoë was organized by

Rufo Dict. III. IDEMQ. PATR.

L. Cæennius Rufus, its recognised patron.

KAPUT

Designation.

EX. S. C. P. R.

Written by order of the Praefect.

Quibus coire convenire collegiumque habere liceat. Qui stipem
It is permitted that all wishing to organize themselves, may do so.

menstruam conferre volent in Funera II in collegium coeant neq.
Any one desiring to pay monthly dues of 8 cents to the Funeral fund may
sub specie eius collegi nisi semel in mense coeant conferendi causa,
attend the meetings twice a month if the objects of such meetings be the

unde defuncti sepeliantur
burying of the dead.

Quod faustum felix salutareq. sit imp. Caesari Traiano Hadriano
Whatsoever is favorable, happy and healthful for the emperors, Trojan, Adrian

Aug. totiusque
and the whole house of the Cæsars,

domus August nostris collegioq. nostro; et bene adque in-
will also be good for us and our society; and we should perform well and
dustrie contraxerimus, ut
industriously our duty that we may

exitus eorum honeste prosequamur. Itaq. bene conferendo
honestly reach the end. So ought we universally to agree, that we may
universi consentire
grow old in union.

debemus, ut longo tempore inveterescere possimus.

Tu qui novos in hoc collegio intrare voles, prius legem perlege et sic
O thou who wouldst bring initiates into this union, read well these rules, that
intra, ne postmodum queraris aut controversiam relinquas.
thou leavest no controversy with thy heirs!

LEX COLLEGI.

Law of the Union.

Placuit universis, ut quisquis in hoc collegium intrare voluerit,
Be it ordered in presence of all men: That whosoever may desire to join this

dabit capitulari nomine.
union shall give to the Secretary-Treasurer

HS. C. N. et vini boni amphoram; item in menses sing. A.
his address, an initiation fee of \$4, and a flagon of good wine; and like-

V. Item placuit, ut quisquis mensib.
wise 4 cents monthly dues. It is ordered that

continenter non pariaverit et ei humanitus acciderit, eius ra-
whoever fails to settle dues continuously for months, remaining a member
tio funeris non habebitur,
by grace, will not have the right of burial, even

etiam si testamentum factum habuerit.
though he may have willed to the association his property.

Item placuit quisquis ex hoc corpore N. pariaus eum decesserit
Be it ordered that whoever dies, not in arrears to the order let his \$4, be re-
sequantur ex arca HS. CCCC. N. ex qua summa decedent
turned from the treasury as expenses of burial.

exequiari nomine HS. I. N. qui ad Rogus dividuntur. Exe-
One sesterce shall be divided at the funeral pile. But the ceremony must

quia autem pedibus fungentur.
be performed on foot.

Item placuit, quisquis a municipio ultra miliar. XX. decesserit
 Be it ordered, that whenever a member dies at a distance of 20 miles from the

et nuntiatum fuerit, eo exire debebunt electi ex corpore N.
 city, it shall be reported, a permit taken and 3, elected from among the

homines tres, qui funeris ejus curam agant et rationem po-
 members, be sent to see to it. Should it be found that there was any de-

pulo reddere debebunt, sine dolo malo. Si quit in eis fraudis
 ception, then as much as four-fold the amount shall be exacted as a fine,

causa, inventum fuerit, eis multa esto quadruplum.

by reason of such injustice.

Quibus sing. nummus dabitur; hoc amplius viatici nomine citro
 Those to whom money is given, are to receive it as follows: If it be more

sing. HS. XX. N. quod longius quam intra mill. XX. de-
 than the 20 miles, the sum shall be for each, 20 sesterces. But if the

cesserit et nuntiari non potuerit, tum is qui eum funeraverit
 member dies at a greater distance than 20 miles, and it cannot be an-

testato tabulis signati sigillis civium Romanorum VII. et
 nounced, then, who ever attends to the funeral must send an account,

probata causa, funeraticium ejus; satio dato ab eis neminem
 signed and bearing the seal of 7 Roman citizens; and when the case

petiturum, deductis commodis et exequiario, e lege collegii
 has been proved, and the funeral expenses found reasonable, no one

dari sibi petat.

objecting, his pay shall be disbursed from the treasury if he asks it.

A nostro collegio doli: malus abesto neque patrono neque patro-
 Let there be no craftiness in our union. Neither patron nor patroness mas-

næ, neque domino neque dominæ neque creditori ex hoc col-
 ter nor mistress, nor even creditor, shall make any demand, account

legio ulla petitio esto nisi qui testamento heres nominatus est.
 or claim whatever, or anybody else, except him who is elected heir.

Si quis intestatus decesserit, is, arbitrio quinq. et populi funerab
 If any one die without children, five sesterces shall be given & all attend.

Item placuit, quisquis ex hoc collegio servus defunctus fuerit, et
 Be it ordered that whoever dies a member, being a slave, and his body is

corpus ejus a domino dominave inquietate sepulturæ datum
 unwillingly given up for sepulture by master or mistress who will not

non fuerit neque tabella, ei funus imaginarium fiet.

permit a registration, an imaginary funeral shall be held.

Item placuit, quisquis ex quacumque causa mortem sibi adseiverit,
 Be it ordered that whoever commits suicide from any cause, for this reason

ejus ratio funeris non habebitur.

no funeral can be held.

Item placuit, ut quisquis servus ex hoc collegio liber factus fuerit
 Be it ordered that whatever slave is set free by this union, he shall contrib-

is dare debeat vini boni amphoram.
 He shall contribute a flagon of good wine.

Item placuit, quisquis magister suo anno erit ex ordine albi ad
 It is ordered that whatever manager who during his year, shall not attend the

cœnam faciendam, et non observaverit neque fecerit, is arcæ
 ceremony nor observe, nor perform functions, shall pay a fine of 30 sœ-

inferet HS. XXX. N. et insequens ejus dare debeat et is
 terces into the treasury and the place shall be forfeited to his suc-

ejus loco restituere debeat.
 cessor.

ORDO CENARUM VIII. ID MAR.

Order of the feasts, on the 8th., Ides of March :

NATALI CÆSENNI PATRIS V. K DEO.

NAT. ANTONOI IDIB. AUG NATALI DIANÆ ET COL-

LEGII XIII. K. SEPT. JAN. NATALI L. CÆSENNI

RUFII PATR. MUNIO.

Magistri cœnarum ex ordine albi facta quo ordine homines qua-
 The managers of the feasts established by the order, will place the men, 4 at a

terni ponere debebunt: vini boni amphoras singulas, et
 three, in their order: each contributing a flask of good wine and a loaf of

panes A. II qui numerus collegi fuerit et sardas numero
 best bread, and each, four pickled sardines served hot in proper

quatuor strationem caldam cum ministerio.
 dishes.

Item placuit, ut quisquis quinquennalis in hoc collegio factus fuerit, a sigillis eius temporis, quo quinquennalis erit, immunis esse debeat, et ei ex omnibus divisionibus partes duplas dari. Item scribe et viatori a sigillis vacantibus partes ex omni divisione sesquiplas dari placuit.

Item placuit, ut quisquis quinquennialitatem gesserit integre, et ob honorem partes sesquiplas ex omni re dari, ut et reliqui recte faciendo idem sperent.

Item placuit, si quis quid queri aut referre volet, in conventu referant, ut quieti et hilares diebus sollempnibus epulemur.

Item placuit, ut quisquis seditionis causa de loco in alium locum transierit, ei multa esto HS. IIII. N. Si quis autem in obprobrium alteralterius dixerit, aut tumultuatus fuerit, ei multa esto HS. N. Si quis quinquenniali inter epulas obprobrium aut quid contumeliose dixerit, ei multa esto HS. XX. N.

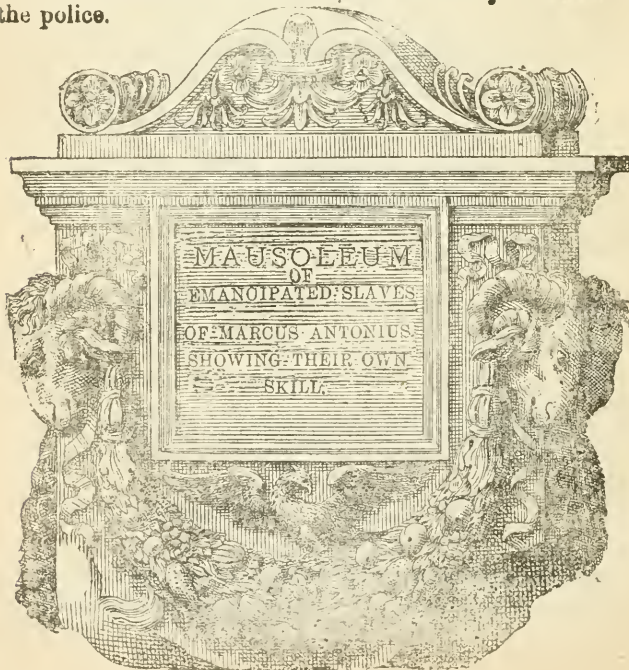
Item placuit, ut quinquennalis sui cuiusque temporis diebus sollempnibus ture et vino supplicet et ceteris officiis albus fungatur, et diebus natalium Dianae et Antinoi oleum collegio in balneo publico ponat antequam epulentur.

The remarkable features of this college are that under the guise of piety, and of being a burial and mutual benefit society, it was used to emancipate slaves. That it was

a trade or labor union is shown by its being devoted to securing good places to work.

Everywhere the severity of the law is apparent. Rome had a mortal fear of labor riots and uprisings and hence the many fines which stood as a constant menace, acting as a check against insubordination. It was difficult to obtain a privilege or charter to organize one of these labor unions, and consequently where they possessed one, it was prized as a gem of great value; which may account for their great age, found in some cases to have been four or five hundred years.

The love of the Latin race for pleasures is observable all through. They used this great union or commune for that purpose; but they are seen in these rules and regulations, to have held uppermost a peculiar system of culture tending toward ultimate emancipation from the lowly and restricted condition in which they were held by the law and the police.



CHAPTER XIV.

THE CATEGORIES.

THE GREAT ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS.

ANCIENT FEDERATIONS of Labor—How they were Employed by the Government—Nomenclature of the Brotherhoods—Categories of King Numa—Varieties and Ramifications—The Masons, Stonecutters and Bricklayers—Federation for Mutual Advantages—List of the 35 Trade Unions, under the *Jus Coeundi*.

NUMA POMPILIUS, the first king after Romulus, recognized trade unions even before Solon of Athens, who followed rather than led in this scheme as a measure of political economy.¹ They had, however, already existed, perhaps thousands of years before receiving any recognition at all. One of the first of importance legalized by these lawgivers was the fraternity of builders.

They were called in Greek, the *technicalai* and in Latin *tignarii*. It is evident from Plutarch, that he intended this word to include also the mason.² If, however, all the building trades were organized into one body or union, they were very different from trade unions of our day. Besides, had Plutarch intended to convey the idea that all the building trades were united into one under Numa he would, it seems to us, have used the still more comprehensive Greek term *technites* which expresses it. Again its Latin synonym found by Mommsen, proves that Numa's

¹ Plutarch, *Numa* l. Numa followed Romulus to the throne, about 690 years before Christ. Plutarch's suggestion that he might have personally known Pythagoras and that he had been brought up among the Pythagorean Greek settlements of Italy which were communitical in character looks exceedingly plausible.

² See Wm. Langhorne's tr. of Plutarch, in *Numa*.

union was that of workers in metal and wood.⁵ In those times the mountains back of Rome produced dense forests, which were not swept away by machinery with the rapidity of modern art. The people, on account of wars, want of medical science, comparative abstinence from marriage, dissoluteness of the rich, hardships of the poor, did not multiply rapidly. In consequence the forests produced new trees as fast as they were cut away by the workmen. Rome was mostly built of wooden houses; and no doubt there was an abundance of work for the carpenters. All the great public buildings were constructed by trade unions for the state, direct—that is, with contractors or middlemen, and the carpenters' union used to take charge of the woodwork. The *Ager publicus*⁴ had to be furnished with houses for the Gentry. Honorary seats were made by these *fabri tignariorum*, such as the splendid *bisellia*⁶ or cushions of the gods. The fine villas of wealthy gentlemen⁶ who had a custom of turning public moneys and lands to their own account were work of their art. In fact this was common from the highest antiquity before the division of the *gentes* into *curæ* and tribes. Thus it was not considered a breach of political rule to divert the public funds, to a certain extent, to the building or repairing of their own fine residences; And this work was performed by the builders' unions.

There were two names under which the wood-workers of the building trades were known. These were the *dendrophori*, mentioned in the code of Theodosius⁷ as

⁵ Mommsen, *De Collegiis et Sodaliciis Romanorum*, pp. 29-30. "Inter classes primam et secundam interjectæ erant centuria fabrum tignariorum et centuria fabrum ærariorum, sive, ut Dionysium (VII. 59) sequamur: δύο λόχοι τεκτόνων καὶ χαλκοτύπων καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι πολεμικῶν ἔργων ἦσαν χειροτέχνηται.

⁴ We prefer to use this Latin term because it saves explanatory words necessary to qualify the meaning of the English word "land." It means common lands belonging to the government, on which the workingmen had no claim as citizens. The propensity of the Roman building trades to organize in protective societies is richly illustrated in an article written by Mr. Rogers and forming a chapter in a large work on labor edited by Mr. Geo. E. McNeill, Bost. 1887, entitled "*The Building Trades*," Mr. Rogers. (pp. 335-7), shows that this proclivity of the ancient Romans for organizing into communes was never lost even in far off Kent, sticking to the English people to this day, furnishes a formidable argument against the assumption that the Saxon Rule absolutely superseded that of the earlier inhabitants.

⁵ Fabretti *Inscriptiones Antiquæ Explicatæ*, p. 170, 824. p. 227, 604. Grut. 875, 3. Also Orell, No. 4,955.

⁶ Our own word "gentleman" is directly derived from the Latin word *gens*, or high and respectable family. If we call the human race an "Order," the *gentes* may be considered a "genus."

⁷ Codex Theodosii, 14, 8. Also Orell, *Inscriptiones Latinarum Collectio*, Nos.

veritable trade unions, and the *tignarii* who were the true carpenters and joiners. As we construe the signification of these two terms from the stone monuments and slabs on which they are found engraved and not as found in the dictionaries, we conclude that the *dendrophori* must have been the heavy lumbermen and framers. They cut and hewed the heavy timbers both for buildings and ships; while the *tignarii* did the lighter work. One thing is certain; they both occur together in many of the inscriptions.* This class of trade unions was considered necessary to the welfare of the state; and was exempted from being suppressed when, in B. C. 58, the conspiracy laws were put in operation by Cæsar; although so much suspicion rested upon them that they were watched with a jealous eye by the officers of the law and as appears, much of their former vitality was crushed out. They had existed from the time of Numa in Rome, and of Solon at Athens, in full strength and vigor. At the time of their suppression by restrictive laws nearly all the Grecian territory, especially that of Attica, including Athens, the Piræus, Eleusis and all the populous towns where they are known to have existed in great numbers, belonged to Rome, then mistress of the world.

It must have been a very strange experience for a great people to undergo. Here was a system of manufacture and repairs of immemorable age, authorized by the most highly esteemed lawgivers, one of whom was one of the seven wise men of Greece. It had been known by the chronicles for fully 600 years, and, though it performed duties which by the haughty and foolish were considered degrading, and upon which there rested a taint, yet it was an important institution, taking charge of indispensable affairs of public as well as of private life. All at once it was suppressed. That the result was a dangerous conclusion cannot be wondered at.

Gruter cites a college of *dendrophori*⁸ who used to build

3,741, 4,082, 3,349, 7,336, 7,145, 3,868, 5,113, 4,055, 6,037, 7018, 7,018, 6,931, 6,073, 6,590, 911, 4,109, 7,194, 7,197, 4,069. Each of these 19 numbers, represents a *collegium* or trade union of wood-workers. The inscriptions were found in as many places nearly as there are numbers.

⁸ Orell, 4,084, "Collegium Fabrorum Navalium Tunc calpea conditione fabr. Tig. Pisaurensium." Pisaurum was an Umbrian town at the mouth of the navigable Pisurnus. *Inscr.* 4,160 Faber Tignariorum and Coll. Dendrophorum are noted together.

⁹ Gruterius, *Inscriptiones Antiquæ Totius Orbis Romanorum*, 175, 2.

houses and ships or boats for the society of freight boatmen located at Rome. He also gives one which Orelli quotes, taken on a stone slab in times as late as Justinian.¹⁰ The word *epulantur* conveying the idea of entertainment, shows that these schools of the workingmen sometimes used their organization as a means of mutual enjoyment. Especially was this the case among the Greek fraternities which we describe in their place. After the great struggle with Spartacus, the right of organization was severely restricted by the Roman law; and it became necessary for the unions, in order to exist at all, to assume two forms of dissimulation by which to parry the attacks of enemies who had recourse to these conspiracy laws in order to gratify their whims of revenge, or to fortify their own schemes of making money through the cheap labor of the slave system which Rome in the later days had revived, and which such enemies of organized labor as Cicero or Crassus, were pushing with an almost fierce determination, on pretense of restoring the ancient purity of religion, family and vested rights. We have noted that certain kinds of organizations were permitted.¹¹ Among these were *collegia sancta*, or those unions and fraternities given to holy or pious purposes. So some of these were shrewd enough to combine business with holiness and thus shield themselves from their pursuers.¹² Mommsen speaks of them in clearest terms which leave no doubt whatever regarding the mysterious procedure¹³ of those old Roman lawyers who were determined to suppress the trade unions, root and branch, in order to reinstitute slavery, the most ancient form of labor known to their religion, which had

¹⁰ We quote the Latin as given by Orelli, No. 4,088. "Ex S. C. Schola Aug. Collegii Fabrorum Tignariorum Impendiis Ipsorum ab Inchoato exstructo, solo dato ab T. Furio primogenio qui et ded. c. ejus HS. X. N. ded. ex cujus summ. redit. omnibus annis XII. K. August die natalis sui, epulantur." Gruter, 169, 6

¹¹ Dion. XXXVIII. 13, *Antiquitates*, says: "Τα ἑταίρικά . . . ὄντα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχαίου καταλυθέντα δὲ χρόνον τινά." Asconius l. C. *Comment.* says: "Collegia sunt snblata præter pauca atque certa quæ utilitas civitatis desiderasset quæ sint fabrorum fitorumque." These saved were Pagan image makers who wrought the religious devices, q. v.

¹² *Complures autem ob fuel ejusmodi instituebantur collegia: religionis ante omnia causa, ut, qui idem vitæ genus essent amplexi, lisdem quoque sacris uterentur,*" etc., etc. Orelli. VII. p. 244. *Inscr. Latin Collectio.*

¹³ Mommsen, *De Coll. et Sodal. Rom.*, pp. 87-88, says: "Ipsa illa simulata (referring to lex. 3, Digest, de extr. crim. XLVII, 11.) religio senatum promovit tu jus co-undi tolleret. Explicanda sunt illa verba de coitionibus in templis ad rem divinam faciendam, quæ etsi neutiquam contra Sctum erant, facile tamen in fraudem Scti usurpari poterant."

founded their patrimony, their law of entailment through primogeniture and their system of grandes and of slaves. Numa and Solon had been these fellows' enemies; Lycurgus their friend. Trade unionism the child of wills and manumissions, had first come among them, a spontaneous growth. It cradled and matured human sympathy. It had proved itself innocent, enterprising and good. It had succeeded in becoming legalized by those two powerful princes—a mighty stride. But it had, as the *gens* families fancied, usurped the ancient and holy system of slavery and thus interfered—by substituting communism—with their vested individual rights.¹⁴ On account, probably, of their superstition, Cicero, Cæsar and the rest, after they had put down Clodius the intrepid orator and tribune who had restored the old and created new,¹⁵ excepted such of the carpenters and joiners or cabinet-makers' unions as confined their labor to manufacturing all sorts of wooden idols, which in those days, were sometimes very large, and built for the temples, the fanes and the family altars. It is also quite likely that a few unions devoted to the carpenter work on the temples and the *ædes sanctæ*, were saved. But we ascend from these cruel days of moribund Rome to an earlier and brighter age.

¹⁴ We have repeatedly mentioned the impossibility, among the Indo-European Greeks and Italians, of there ever having existed in those peninsulas a communistic, or even patriarchal form of government. The bent of labor communes was towards it but they never succeeded in breaking down the power of the competitive system; and it rules to this day. The oldest records of any kind shedding light, confirm the idea that originally the despotic form of government prevailed; the father *paterfamilias* as king, with his sons and daughters and others as slaves around his fixed abiding place, must have been the primitive government behind which there is neither record nor philosophy—no philosophy without overturning the theory of development. Man has grown into refinement through reason and experience and it is altogether inconsistent with reason to suppose that he ever tried so high a form of government as the communistic one, or that he ever had in those times other than selfish, cruel, beast-government in which all research into antiquity finds him. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, Vol I, p. 44, in corroboration says: "But there can be no doubt that, with the Græco-Italians as with all other nations, agriculture became, and in the mind of the people remained the germ and core of their national and of their private life. The house and the fixed hearth, which the husbandman constructs instead of the light but and shifting fireplace of the shepherd and represented in the spiritual domain and idealized in the goddess Vesta or *Eestia*, almost the only divinity not Indo-Germanic yet from the first common to both nations." So again (p. 48). "The Hellenic character, which sacrificed the whole to its individual elements, the nation to the township and the township to the citizen." This exactly expresses our idea, viz: that everything from the first, was subordinate to the unlimited, despotic control of the "father." For valuable information. See Funck-Brentano *La Civilisation et ses Lois*, IV, I, p. 311, quoting Plutarch Numa, VII) "Il en fut de même dans les cités de la Grèce; ce fut une condition de leur progrès."
¹⁵ Ascon, *Ad h. L.* "Iulius, L. Pisone et A. Gabieno consulibus P. Clodium tribunum plebis—tulisse—de collegiis restituendis, novisque institucndis, quæ ait ex servitorum fœce constituta."

Fabretti gives us another union of carpenters and joiners whose inscription was found at Leprignano. It reads very plainly and shows that they had a federation of the trades.¹⁶ Another *collegium fabrorum tignariorum* or carpenters' trade union is reported by Muratori.¹⁷ The tablet was found at Ravelli in the province of Naples, showing that the unions of those days were not confined to Rome or any of the other large cities but were as frequent proportionately to population in any small town.

An inscription is reported by Gruter,¹⁸ bearing evidence of another interesting school, *schola*, of the bona fide carpenters' unions, found in the Tolentine temple of Catharina—religious, of course, and of a later date. Orelli¹⁹ quotes the learned Muratori of Modena as the authority if not the finder of an inscription which describes a *collegium* together with a *sodalitium*—another Roman name for trade union, in which the president or *Magister*, and the secretary are mentioned. It is a union of the skilled woodworkers. It was found in the town of Falaria, and appears to be very old. It is not unusual for the inscriptions engraved in the time of the emperors, to state an approximate of their date by noting the names of the consuls, or of the monarch who then occupied the throne. Unfortunately for the more ancient ones this is not so strictly done; probably owing more to the fact that, as the law at earlier dates fully protected them, they were not forced to inscribe the dates by little points or constructions such as characterized the laws after the restrictive acts were promulgated.

No less than eighteen of the genuine carpenters and joiners' unions are found in the work of Orelli.²⁰ As these working people used their unions as means whereby to parry off the many dangers that beset them on every hand, such as slavery, starvation, slurs of contempt and in later times conscription, we cannot too well understand how keenly alive they must have been to their welfare.

¹⁶ Fabretti, C. IV, 529, of *Inscriptiões Antiquas Explicatio*.

¹⁷ Muratorius, *Thesaurus Veterum Inscriptionum*, 521.

¹⁸ Gruter, *Inscriptiões Antiquæ Totius Orbis Romanorum*, 169. 6.

¹⁹ Orelli, No. 4,056, Muratori, *Thesaur. Vet. Inscr.* 523. We give it with the abbreviations: "D. M. T. Sillio T. Lib. Prisco mag. colleg. Fabr. et q. mag. et q. sodal. fullonum Clavidia lib. uxori ejus matri sodali. C. Tullou, T. Sillius Karus et Ti. Claudius Phillippus mag. e. Q. Colleg. fabr. filii parentib. piissimis."

²⁰ *Scolie Artificum et Opificum*, ed. II pp. 227, 240, and *Artes et Opificia*, *idem*, pp. 247, 266, of Orelli's great work on the *Latin Inscriptions*.

On the other hand, the power of organization which kept them in a position to supply the orders given them by the state, was ever a great encouragement.

Among the many interesting monuments or schools of ancient trade unionism, where mutual love and care were taught and the noble element of sympathy was grafted upon the selfish, competitive body of irascible and acquisitive paganism which animated the Lycurgan rule at Sparta and the purely archaic slave code every where, are those to be found in the Order of masons, stonecutters and bricklayers. These with the painters, glaziers, roofers and plumbers, were indispensable to complete the building trades. They too, felt the necessity of organization, especially in the later time of Cæsar and the emperors, on account of the awful treatment of slaves by their ferocious masters. There existed no law by which the slave masters could be brought to account for savage acts of barbarity toward their slaves.

This distressing state of things was not²¹ relieved until the emperor Adrian withdrew the slaves from the domestic tribunals and transferred them to the tribunal of the magistrates; in other words gave them government protection. But this was 200 years after the war of Spartacus. The fear of being relegated back to slavery was a constant urgent to ancient trade unionism; and this explains one reason at least, why they so tenaciously hugged their fraternities notwithstanding the conspiracy laws against trade and other organizations of the working people. It must not be forgotten that according to the law of B. C. 58,²² all the new unions were suppressed. Consequently, we are to infer that those we find in the inscriptions are those belonging to the ancient plan of Numa and Solon which were spared on account of their veteran age and respectability.²³ Another thing requiring the nicest discrimination is the fact that it will not do to mention all the examples set down in the works of the archæologists. We only mention those where the labor organization is clearly defined. Many of these queer inscriptions appear

²¹ See Granier, *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières*, pp. 491-487.

²² See Mommsen, *De Collegiis et Sodalitibus Romanorum*, cap. IV, pp. 73-78, *De Legibus Contra Conugia Lalis*.

²³ Suetonius, *Cæs.* 42 "Cæsar cuncta collegiis præter antiquitus constituta distraxit."

to us to be only private signs and have nothing to do with our theme. Slavery was everywhere prevalent and many of the slaves were as ingenious as the freedmen. We are told by Drumann and others that it was customary for masters to keep their slaves at work and obtain profit from their labor by letting it out to enterprising foreigners who contracted building repairs and other work on private houses and grounds. But the government was the true employer of the unions because they, possessing of themselves as it were, in a unit, all the men in organization, always ready, money, tools, raw material, skill and even the designs requisite to turning out a good job promptly, were dangerous competitors of slavery on large works.²⁴ From the time of Numa the government of Rome had always patronized the trade unions. Thus it would appear that some of the inscriptions may have been private signs used by slave employers who carried on private work upon a small scale, hiring their laboring force of the rich slave owning patricians; and it will not do to count the archæologists' lists of *artes et opificia*; while it is almost always safe to enumerate their specimens of the *Corpora, Sodalicia* or *Collegia*²⁵ in our list of trade unions and communes. Trade unionism in its highest form is the reverse of slavery. The true trade union of all ages takes care of its members who are co-owners of equal shares, on equal footing. Slavery then, is the exact antithesis of trade unionism in principle; but although it is certain that the principle on which slavery is based was, especially among the Spartans and Romans, carried out with all its repugnant and appalling brutalities,²⁶ yet it is, as a recognized system in the religio-social economy of the world, incomputably the oldest of the two. Trade unionism was a deadly rival to the slave system all through the antiquity of the Indo-European stock; and since slavery was a graft of the ancient religion—the natural child of its law of

²⁴ Granier. *Hist. des Classes Ouvrières*, p. 303, speaking of the insignificance of individuals when compared with the immense force of organized trades, says: "Ici les nombreux ouvriers de Caton (slaves), les 500 ouvriers (slaves) de Craesus n'auraient pu rien faire; il fallait des corporations, (trade unions) des collèges de travailleurs."

²⁵ Cf. Orell. lib. II, pp. 227-246, *Collegia Corpora et Sodalicia. Scholæ Artificum et Opificum*. See also lib. III, Sup Henzen *Index to Collegia, unit.*

²⁶ Granier, *Hist. des Classes Ouvrières*, chap. III and IV., also Plut. *Lycurgus and Numa compared*.

primogeniture and the fostered fruit of entailment in the social, political and economic development of those semi-barbarous families, phratries, curies and tribes which came to be nations and empires, it must not be wondered at that this hideous fledgling, before giving up the ghost, made a terrific struggle to regain what it had lost through the mild but determined enterprise of its great competitor trade unionism.

It was this that constituted the mighty struggle of the revolution in the social economy of the lowly and it so remains to this day; although in this comparatively gorgeous and brilliant hour the spirit of human slavery, resting upon absolute, merchantable ownership of man by man, seems to have forever fled. Nothing now remains of slavery but its skeleton—individual competition—hanging betwixt peace and war over the vortex of revolution and swinging to and fro at every fresh attack from the same trade unionism which, although of prehistoric longevity grows more youthful, enterprising and belligerent with every invention and discovery and every stride of literature, of science and of Christianity.

The unions of the masons at Rome do not appear so numerous as those of the framers among the building trades. Still we find tablets whose inscriptions show their existence.²⁷ We have already mentioned the fact that among the true workmen's organizations the slabs which appear to have been inscribed independently by themselves and without the correctional inspection of masters, often puzzle the experts on account of the sometimes ludicrously bad spelling and misplacement of words. Sometimes also there appear words belonging to the peculiar slang or *patois* monenclature, their trade's vernacular. But while this is somewhat troublesome to archæologists it is exceedingly interesting to students of ethnology and sociology; since it shows otherwise unrecorded proof that the freedmen, only one step above the slaves, were utterly neglected in all matters of education. The presumption must be that the reason they executed their inscriptions so well is that they had, in their mutual federation a trade

²⁷ Orell. *Artes et Officia*, Vol. II, p. 258 of *Inscr. Lat. Select Collectio*, No. 4,239. It is a broken fragment. "Quadratariorum opus Augurinus Catullinus Ursar." We read: "Quadratariorum Corpus." He thus ranks it as a union.

union of carvers and gravers *cælatores* whose business was to work in letters. It was consequently a part of their trade to study sufficiently the Roman and Greek literature to do their work well. Gruter mentions several of them.²⁸ Orelli tells us of the sculptor, *signarius artifex*, who worked in signs.²⁹ Any of these could make their signs or their monuments and tombstones by being called upon at any time; but we are reminded that then as now, economy was everything and that consequently they themselves might often have depended upon their own inexperienced self-confidence and thus have committed these literary faults which as amateurs they were too unlettered to rectify.

The *quadratarii* were the true stone cutters' unions and the probable reason why they are not numerous is that most of the work of the stone cutters was done by the *marmorarii*, marble cutters or marble masons. Of these we find inscriptions of genuine trade unions in considerable numbers. Now this paucity of hard stone-cutters and abundance of marble cutters is easily accounted for. The Geological formation of the Italian, Hellenic and Spanish peninsulas is largely of carbonates of lime. A great share of the Appenine range is composed of fine white marble. Many of the springs and even mountain rivers of Italy, Greece and the Archipelago deposit pure marble. Paros in the Ægean Sea was long a rival in pure white marbles of Pentelicus; and Mount Marpessa the seat of its quarries, may be considered an isolated spur of the Illyrian Alps, Mt. Olympus and the Cambunian range. All through these regions exist the characteristic marbles used in antiquity before the superior powers of duration of sandstone and granites were known. The splendid marble quarries of Luna in Etruria were near at hand and others as celebrated in history were always available to the marble cutters' unions who made the wonderful temples of Ceres at Eleusis, of the Parthenon at Athens and many of the great public structures at Rome. It is therefore, very natural that the marble cutters' unions predominated over the sandstone and granite-cutters in point of num-

²⁸ Grut. *Inscr. Ant. Tot. Orb. Rom.*, 583, 5. This, Gruter mentions as a sign of some emancipated slave — 'libertus qui post manumissionem vel argentarii ve. cælatoris artem exercent.' But it often happened that a trade union was inscribed under the name of its *magister* or director.

²⁹ Orell, *Inscr. Lat. Select.*, No. 4,282.

bers; and this explanation we accept for the fewness of trade unions found among the inscriptions under the name *quadratarii* or stone-cutters. At Rome, even though perhaps many worked in stone harder than marble, the name *quadratarius* was merged; because even the marble workers hewed and shaped large square blocks. We have, even as it is, enough evidence to assure us that the *quadratarii* existed and that they were organized into unions; for this is distinctly stated in the law of Constantine of the year 337. These, with the *structores* and other builders, were enumerated in the list of 35 trade unions recognized at that time. These 35 unions are permitted by this law to exist; although we have found inscriptions and other references giving evidence that at one time more than 50 trade unions existed in Italy, representing as many organized trades, and members innumerable. These will be exhibited as we proceed with the subject. The law of Constantine gives the 35 trade unions existing at one time as follows:

1. *Albarii*,³⁰ plasterers; 2. *Architecti*, architects; 3. *Aurifices*, goldsmiths; 4. *Blatarii*, workers in mosaic; 5. *Carpentarii*, wagon-makers; 6. *Aerarii*, brass and copper-smiths; 7. *Argentarii*, silversmiths; 8. *Barbaricarii*, gold gilders; 9. *Diatritarii*, pearl and filigree-workers; 10. *Aquæ libratores*, waterers; 11. *Deauratores, auratores* or *bractearii*, gold gilders, beaters; 12. *Eburarii*, ivory workers; 13. *Figuli*, potters; 14. *Fullones*, fullers; 15. *Ferrarii*, blacksmiths; 16. *Fusores*, founders; 17. *Intestinarii*, joiners; 18. *Lapidarii*, lapidaries; 19. *Laquearii*, plasterers; 20. *Medici*, doctors; 21. *Mulo medici*, horse doctors, veterinary surgeons; 22. *Musivarii*, decorators; 23. *Marmorarii*, marble-cutters; 24. *Pelliones*, furriers; 25. *Pictores*, painters; 26. *Plumbarii*, plumbers; 27. *Quadratarii*, stone-cutters; 28. *Specularii*, looking-glass makers; 29. *Statuarii*, staturiers; 30. *Scasores* or *Parimentarii*, pavers; 31. *Sculptores*, sculptors; 32. *Structores*, masons; 33. *Tessellarii*, pavers in mosaic; 34. *Tignarii*, carpenters; 35. *Vitriarii*, glaziers.³¹

Here we have the building trades represented in Con-

³⁰ *Codex Justiniani*, 10, 64. 1.

³¹ Mentioned once in Orell *Inscr.*, 4 277; whereas the more correctly Latin term is given by him as an organized union *Idem* 4,112.

stantine's more human law for the post-Christian organization. It is well here to state that Constantine⁸² became a Christian, being the first who threw off the yoke of paganism. He evidently did not understand its true ideas and was far from being a Christian at heart; but he was a politician, and Christian enough to be unbiased by the old Pagan belief in the divine aristocracy of the *gens* family, in which ratiocination Cicero had believingly fought the unions of working people on the ground of their unfitness to aspire to freedom and manhood. This stereotyped logic of the Pagan faith based on the divinity of the slave code, had been overthrown and completely annihilated by the new doctrine of Jesus, which did not war against slavery but subverted it by a new idea of equality—a plan which, at the time of Constantine, was already 300 years old.

Of the artizans in the building trades we find sufficient mention in history; but very little reference to their organization into trade unions. Plutarch⁸³ and others state most clearly that the builders were all ranked into a class by themselves under the wise distribution of King Numa and he applies for them the Greek term *technitai*. So in Latin, *artifices*. They held this organization uninterrupted for 600 years at Rome and under the much praised laws of Solon, nearly as many years in Attica and other parts of Greece. In the year 58 before Christ the conspiracy laws struck them a hard blow, which like an earthquake severely shook them as far as the Greek provinces, their primitive cradle; but they became more secret and political, rallied and outlived their persecutors.

Among the other builders' unions were the architects. These interlinked with the masons, carpenters, joiners and others whenever a building was ordered by the government, and contracted to do the work at prices agreed upon. The *intestinarii*,⁸⁴ or as we call them, the joiners, or inside finishers of buildings, had also their trade or-

⁸² See *De Excusationibus Artificum*, in *Codex Theodosii*, lib. 13, tit. 4, lex. 2.

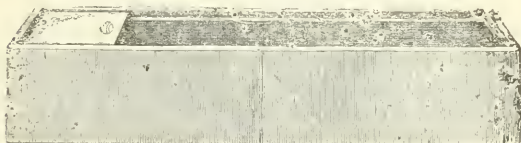
⁸³ Plutarch *Life of Numa*. *Numa and Lycurgus Compared*.

⁸⁴ Muratori, *Thesaurus Veterum Inscriptionum*, 937, 7 mentions a fine inscription found at Capua which is interesting, as it shows the plausibility of our conjecture, in the sketch of Spartacus, as to the causes of the immense multitude of freedmen who joined his army "Fabii intestinarii secundum Bædæum, ex ligno opera conficiebant minutioris artificii, quibus tantum locus est intra aedes." *Scip. Mur.* 929, 6.

ganizations and appear to have been in the federation in undertaking contracts to erect and finish temples or other public edifices.

An organization of plasterers is also recognized in the law of Justinian and exempted from persecution, by the code of Theodosius. These unions are not mentioned in Plutarch's list of Numa's trades because the latter consolidated the building trades into one general fraternity with an object, as Plutarch explicitly recounts, of conciliating the jealousies of nationality well-known to have been a cause of contention and turmoil between the Albans and Sabines. By "breaking them up into powder," to use his own words, Numa taught them to mix and the contact of the particles produced a perfectly conciliatory effect. In other words, throw off the question of boundary lines which disturb workmen and they instantly see that "an injury to one is the concern of all."

THE STONE CHEST CONTAINED THE URNS.
IT WAS LOWERED INTO THE SEPULCHRE.



SARCOPHAGUS OF THE FIRST CENTURY BEFORE CHRIST,
SHOWING HIGH ART OF THE MAFLE AND OTHER STONE-CUTTERS.



BURIAL FIXTURE OF STONE-CUTTERS' UNION;
B. C. 100. See page 368.

CHAPTER XV.

THE ARMY SUPPLIES.

ORGANIZED ARMOR-MAKERS OF ANTIQUITY.

TRADE UNIONS TURNED to the Manufacture of Arms and Munitions of War—How it came about—The Iron and Metal Workers—Artists in the Alloys—How Belligerent Rome was Furnished with Weapons, Shoes and Other Necessaries for Her Warriors—The Shieldmakers, Arrowsmiths, Daggermakers, War-Gun and Slingmakers, Battering-Rammakers etc.—Bootmakers who Cobbled for the Roman Troops—Wine Men, Bakers and Sutlers—All Organized—Unions of Oil Grinders; of Pork Butchers; even of Cattle Fodderers—The Haymakers—Organized Fishermen—Ancient Labor brought charmingly near by Inscriptions.

OF the nine regular trade unions authorized by Numa Pompilius, one was that of the metal workers. They were all incorporated into a community, as workers of hard metals, before iron came to be much in use.¹ Writers who lived in ancient times often treat the subject of useful metals in the light that iron and steel did not come into use until after the foundation of Rome, or 758 years anterior to the Christian era. At that early time however, the *æarii* or metal workers melted copper with the ores of zink and knew how to sprinkle the zink with powdered charcoal during the process of its fusion with copper to prevent it from escaping in fumes of the oxide. It may also be stated that little improvement has ever been made in the manufacture of brass; and even the ancient process of using zink ore instead of the refined article did not come into use until A. D. 1781. It would not be sur-

¹ Lucretius, speaking of brass, says: "Et prior erat æris quam ferri cognitæ usus."

prising if further investigations should lead to the discovery that it was the enterprise of trade unions which led to this and other inventions and discoveries in the arts; for the purely slave system did little or nothing for art or science and the earliest forms of industry outside of slavery seems to have been those of workmen combined for mutual aid. Flavius Josephus in his history of the Jews makes elaborate mention of Solomon's temple, as having been built in a large degree by the trade unions under Hiram a man of extraordinary skill in the building crafts. Not willing to accept our own interpretation of Josephus, we refer the reader to the remarks of Granier upon this subject;² as he seems to have settled it that they were organized trades.

Little doubt can be entertained that iron, at the time of Numa, was also in use at Rome.³ Yet there is no mention made in proof that Numa organized the *ferrarii* or iron workers of whom Orelli furnishes two inscriptions,⁴ one of which represents a genuine trade union, which proves beyond any counter evidence that the iron workers were organized. But abundant evidence exists in the later laws restricting organization, and these clubs stand among the excused, in the list of 35 unions of the code of Theodosius. If any further doubt can possibly remain as to the use of iron by blacksmiths, forgers and finishers at the time of Numa, we have only to refer the critic to Homer, and the celebrated historic inscription called the Arundelian slab, also to the bible.⁵

² Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, book VII, chap. II, noticed by Granier. *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières*, p. 289, note: "Ce que Flavius Joseph raconte des travaux qui furent, à plusieurs reprises, exécutés à Jérusalem, soit pour bâtir le temple soit pour le relever ou le réparer, ne permet pas de douter que les ouvriers, tant juifs que seldoniens, qu'on y employa, ne fussent organisés en corporations. D'ailleurs toute espèce de doute est levé par le passage suivant, où il est clairement parlé de la hiérarchie qui régnait parmi ces ouvriers, et des trois mille deux cents maîtres qu'avaient les quatre-vingt mille maçons occupés aux murailles du temple: Ἦσαν δ' ἐκ τῶν παροίκων οὗς Δαυίδος καταλελοίπει . . . τῶν δὲ λατομόντων ὀκτάκις μύριοι τούτων δ' ἐπιτάται τριχίλιοι καὶ τριακοσιοί."

³ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXIV, 39 says: "Proxime indicari debent metalla ferri, optimo pessimoque vitæ instrumento."

⁴ Orelli, *Inscriptionum Latinarum Selectarum*, Nos. 4,066 and 1,239. The first of these is a union of sling makers who constructed out of iron the formidable ballistæ which threw with deadly effect stones and other missiles into the ranks of an enemy, it reads as follows: "Volcano sac. T. Flavius Florus Sacerdos Dei Solis Statua Marmoris Collegii ballistariorum et Collegii ferrariorum." It was found at Rome and catalogued by Donati, II, p. 225, §. We will omit the abbreviated words.

⁵ Homer, *Iliad*, XXIII, 261, "Ἡδὲ γυναῖκας ἐυζάφους, πολλῶν τ' αἰθῆρον." See Pettit's *Studies of the Arundelian Inscription*; Bible, *Genesis*, chap. IV. *Job*, chap. CXVII

The silver and gold workers did not confederate with these metal workers. We reserve mention of them for a place farther on. Orelli, among his inscriptions gives sufficient specimens carved upon marble and other slabs, some of which have stood the grim erosions of the ages of time that have seen all things else crumble into dust since they were fresh from the chisel of the *cælatores*.⁶

After the death of Numa the doors of the temple of Janus were again flung open, which meant that Rome was again ready for war. This king had closed them as was customary in time of peace. He desired peace with the world in order that the nation might develop upon its own resources, and by its own labor. The 43 years of his peaceful reign gave the artisans time to organize, forget their petty disagreements and settle down upon a basis of fraternity and thrift. And they not only developed their skill but organized it so that after the king's death, when war again broke out, the nation found these metal workers ready to turn their skilled labor to manufacturing swords, shields and all the arms and munitions of the contests which followed.

Thus labor at Rome did not suffer by war, because the Roman arms were successful through a long period of 500 years. During this time the Romans conquered the world with arms manufactured to some extent and we are inclined to think, to a very great extent, by the iron and metal workers organized by Numa. They loved their trade unions and remained organized, working in fraternal bond, in common enjoyment of the fruits of their united labor in spite of several attempts on the part of the senate to put them down. The system, as we have already shown, was to manufacture arms and other munitions of war directly for the government out of raw material which belonged to and was produced from, the mines of the government.

We have seen that the land belonged to the Roman state; that it was farmed by the proletarians on shares and that these shares were collected mostly "in kind," by an organization of unions. These customs-collectors distributed the products of the land each year among the citi-

⁶ Orelli, in his *Latin Inscriptions*, numbers the *cælatores* as follows: Nos. 4 133, 4 050 4 066, 4 140, 4 051, 1,239 361 and 946. Each of these numbers chronicles a genuine trade union.

zen class who virtually possessed and comprised the government. So also with regard to the mines which produced raw material for the iron and other metal workers to convert into lances, darts, swords and all sorts of armor for the Roman army. With the land, the mines also belonged to the government. There consequently had to be a trade union of miners whom the Romans called *ferrariarii*,⁷ if miners of iron, and *ærofodinarij*, if miners of copper.

These miners of Copper and iron were naturally federated together. Neither the union of forgers and smiths nor of the copper and brass or bronze workers could buy and exploit their own mining works in order to supply the workmen and fulfill their contracts with the government, because they did not own the mines. Nor could the workmen at the mines accomplish such an end. The government possessed the mines and in many cases let them to contractors. It remained, therefore, for the workmen whose managers were often the contractors, to preserve a close federation of their trades, no matter how distant they were located apart. We are told⁸ that at the winter quarters of the rebel army of Spartacus at Thuria, he established an armory of large proportions. It was near the mountains and probably near mines of iron and copper; and as his army was composed of workingmen, many of whom were skilful artisans they co-operated as by common consent, and practically used their federation at both the mines and the forge. The iron and metal workers, who were thus confederated or "distributed" by Numa into unions for the purpose of harmony in the arts of peace, were, after his death, thus kept in the same bond of union many hundred years, helping Rome to practice her arts of war. The plan of Government employment directly, without middlemen was a happy one and the long vista of time from the trade union laws of Numa to the conspiracy laws of Cicero and Cæsar was the true golden age of Rome.

Immediately after the death of Numa Pompilius, that wisest of monarchs, perhaps, of whom the world's history makes mention, the doors of the celebrated temple of Janus were thrown open and Mars, the bellicose myth

⁷ Muratori *Thesaurus Velerum Inscriptionum*, 972, 10. also *idem*, 963, 2.

⁸ Plutarch, *Crassus*, VIII, XII. See also Florus, III. 20, 6, speaking of improvising weapons. "E ferro egastulorum recocto gladios ac tela faciunt."

war-god rushed out with trumpets, javelins and the clangor of contention. We are going to recount one seemingly phenomenal instance in human history where labor and war existed harmoniously and thrived together. The king in instructing his people in the arts of peace had actually laid the foundation for the most gigantic successes ever before known in the arts of war! He had taught the state to employ the labor of trade unions direct. He had taught how to do this without the complications, individual emulations, avaricious ambitions and failures which, in wars often break up great schemes through the jealousy and incompetence of individual rule. He had simplified the labor of production, distribution, consumption by himself employing all the artisans of his realm and directing them to husband the resources of the state which was then the owner of the lands, mines and the waters. The workers being themselves exempt from serving in war by reason of their supposed ignoble origin and rank, had no fear of the tedious campaign nor dread of the carnage of battle. They knew how to make the steel that was to pierce the bodies of those they loved not, and whom when they were enslaved, their ancestors had hated as mortal foes. They were happy. Rome was turned into a vast armory. The members of the well organized unions were the first to receive employment from the government which was not theirs and for 500 years were the last to be maltreated or discharged.

Had it been possible for king Numa to live and reign with his peace measures during those 500 years we know not what would have been the consequence but it would have probably resulted in a far different destiny for the human race. His scheme was to cultivate the elements of peace and he was wise enough to understand that labor was a respectable factor. Under him it was indeed becoming a cult; and could he have lived long enough to engraft his peace system, with all its civilizing and soothing effects, until the people far and near had endorsed it as a second nature, the irascible and grasping as well as the concupiscent ingredients of our nature which dominate warlike tribes must have absorbed enough of the great refining gem of sympathy, to have started the Indo-Europeans in quite a different direction from the murder-

ous warpath of conquest which they actually took, leading to ignorance and brutality. It might have been better for the trade unions to confine manufacturing the implements of peace as Numa ordered. But so long as the Roman arms prevailed, Roman trade organizations under the war system were safe; and the workmen doubtless cared little for the refinements of peace, although the neutral position they assumed as workingmen and their educational discussions among themselves certainly developed more of sympathy and far less of cupidity and irascibility than was possessed by the optimates who managed and fought out the brutal orgies of warfare.

From the foregoing we know that no great amount of work was done by the iron and metal workers in the line of armor manufacture during the lifetime of Numa. After his death, when the warring spirit of the patrician class was aroused to anticipations of the ancient scenes of valor and blood, it was found that Rome was without arms and munitions of war. The helmets and shields, the sabres and javelins had been forged into mattocks, spades and cutlery of domestic use. It was necessary to make a new beginning. That the *ferrarii* or iron workers possessed a federation with the sword cutlers is certain, although the exact date of that co-operation is difficult to ascertain. It must have been old, however. A number of inscriptions bearing evidence of this are recorded by Orelli;⁹ and we have distinct mention in the digest¹⁰—showing that these unions or fraternities of workmen were fixed by law. The trade unions had then in their federation the *gladiarii* or sword cutlers, the *sagittarii* or arrow-smiths, the *scutarii* or elliptical shield makers who, however, made this armor of wood and sometimes covered it with thick rawhide, sometimes with plate metal; and the *clipearii* or round shield makers who made them of copper or bronze; the *telarii* or manufacturers of darts and javelins; the *scalperii*, knife makers, and the *hastarii* or spear makers. There was another trade union, the *collegium ballistariorum*,¹¹ mentioned also in the digest,¹² the special

⁹ Orell., *Inscr. Lat. Select. Coll.* Nos. 4,197, 4,247, *Artes et Opificia*.

¹⁰ Tarrant 50, 6, 6, dig. "gladiarii, sagittarii, carpentarii, aquifices, scanduaril, etc."

¹¹ Orell., *idem*, No. 4,066, Donati, 2, p. 225.

¹² Tarrant, *dig.* 50, 6, 6. This was a genuine trade union which had a con

business of whose numbers was to manufacture the celebrated *ballista*, a kind of *mitrailleuse*, or stone thrower, which with great force and deadly effect flung large pebbles or small stones and other projectiles into the ranks of an enemy. Much engineering skill was required to operate this engine of war. Doubtless the unions were obliged to send their own mechanics to adjust and manipulate these huge engines. But it is more probable¹³ that they were federated with the great trade union now known by numerous very interesting and unmistakable inscriptions as the *collegium mensorum machinariorum*¹⁴ or trade union of machine adjusters and setters, whose business was to oversee the work of transporting any finished machinery to the place of its destination and supervise or perform the work of setting it in operation. The body or union¹⁵ which is referred to in the inscription given in the foot-note below evidently combined the two functions of trade union and burial society. *Furius* and *Lollius* were officers, being both members of the society of machinists; and were buried at the expense of the funeral branch and out of the funeral fund. The amount of 25 *denarii*¹⁶ was mentioned for the funeral expenses. Roses costing 5 more were to be put upon the coffin. For the funeral expenses of their aged parents one-half this amount was to be appropriated. In case these requirements were not conformed to, there would be a forfeiture on the part of the trade union of double this sum annually, which forfeiture should be covered into the treasury of the funeral branch.

siderable membership, as the construction of these huge engines required much labor and skill.

¹³ Mommsen constantly bemoans the silence of historians on these extremely interesting subjects. We render for our readers some of his own lamentations: "The deep silence of the stones containing the inscribed constitutions and restrictions, prevents us from determining which (meaning the trade unions were under the law and which adverse to the privileges granted by the senate)." *De Coll. et Sodal. Romanorum*, p. 80.)

¹⁴ *Gruterius. Inscriptiones Antiquæ Totius Orbis Romanorum*, 91, 1. *Muratorius. Thesaurus Veterum Inscriptionum*, 523, 3. *Orellius. Inscriptionum Latinarum Collectio*, No. 4,107. The inscription reads: "D. M. C. Turius, C. T. Lollius quitquit ex corpore mensorum machinariorum funeraticii nomine sequetur, reliquum penes Rempublicam super scriptam remanere volo ex cuius usuris peto a vobis college uti suscipere dignemini VI diebus solemnibus sacrificium mihi faciatis. Id est III id. mart. die natalis mei usque ad XXV denarios, Parentalis XII semis. Flos rosa V. Si facta non fuerint, tunc, fisco stacionis annonæ duplum funeraticium dare debebetis."

¹⁵ See *Orell.*, *Inscr. Lat. Coll.*, Vol III, p. 170. *Varia collegiorum nomina.*

¹⁶ A Roman denarius of the period of Cicero was worth 16½ cents. *Böckh.*

This strange, progressive co-operation of the lowly, industrious, ingenious but despised moiety of the ancient people may justly be regarded as a lost lesson. Until now it has rested in profoundest darkness. So utterly ignored was labor by the ancient historians¹⁷ that even the nominal terminations affixed to nouns and particles in the Latin tongue, giving the technical forms that were in commonest use for artizans of every kind, do not appear, if we except a very few in Pliny and one or two other writers on art. On account of this extraordinary neglect our lexicographers are obliged to have constant recourse to modern archæologists in whose works appear inscriptions *verbatim*, from the time-crumbled stones! From no other source can they with classic authority complete the vocabularies of the language! But this authority is justly considered good. These stones tell tales which the prevaricating, mellifluous sycophants at the court of the Cæsars dared not smirch their parchment with.

The *arietarii* or battering ram makers do not appear as belonging to a union by themselves. If this was ever the case we have not been able to discover any inscription bearing record of the fact. But they existed. Livy repeatedly speaks of the *aries* or battering ram; and it is known to have been at first a simple device, consisting of a huge beam sometimes 150 feet long which a large force of men held on their shoulders and by repeated backward and forward runs, the bronze-plated ram or head, striking against the wall of an enemy's town, broke or rammed down the masonry so that the soldiers rushed through the breaches and sacked the place. It is quite probable that these ram makers were merged into the membership of the *catapultarii* or *balistarii*¹⁸ who manufactured these huge machines, in connection with the catapults or stone slings. However this may have been, it was certainly due to the ingenuity and industry of the machinists that the battering ram developed from this simple form until, in its state of perfection, it was hung by chains to the boom of a tripod fastened by guys; and

¹⁷ Dümman, *Arb. u. Comn.*, p. 155. "Befriedigende Nachrichten sucht man vergebens."

¹⁸ Orl. No. 4,066, *Ballistariorum Collegium*

thus swayed forward and backward by human or mule power so as to beat down the strongest walls.

Then among others of the armor makers were the *jaculatorii* or slingers. Darts, *jacula*, were in common use with the ancients. They were easily broken, were of short duration and consequently had to be manufactured in large quantities; and we are told they were manufactured along with other armaments in Rome and other industrial centers, by the unions who found in the government a reliable employer that paid well for the work.¹⁹

The *Collegium Caligariorum* (soldiers' boot makers or cobblers), was a trade union of shoemakers who manufactured and supplied shoes for the army.²⁰ During the warlike ages which intervened between the reign of Numa Pompilius and the first emperors, a large army was almost constantly employed by the Roman government. These had to be supplied with food, clothing, barracks, tents and *impedimenta* and all the paraphernalia of war. In those times, to be a soldier was a grace; to be a cobbler a disgrace; and as the membership of the *collegia* was always composed of freedmen or emancipated slaves, with their children and their children's children who constituted the great proletariat of Rome, the labor which their poor fathers performed as slaves, came down with them in disgrace. This is the real origin of the taint of labor—the social degradation of the poor who performed it. It is the blackened obloquy, flinging its attendant odium and fastening its stain alike on him who performs and on his performance. These corvine haters of those who fed them, painted social rank festooned in contumely which fastened upon and clung tight to the heart and soul of both rich and poor, cowing the workmen into the unmanly belief that both labor and the laborer were as mean as they were believed to be. Thus contempt for labor had descended from generation to generation with an ignoble belief in the lowliness of so-

¹⁹ Granier, *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières*, chap. xli, pp. 302-304. "Dans son côté, le gouvernement avait besoin de trouver toujours un nombre et une variété d'ouvriers suffisants pour exécuter ses ouvrages; et quels ouvrages que ceux qu'a fait exécuter le gouvernement Romain! Que de temples et quels temples! Que d'aqueducs et quels aqueducs! Que de ponts et quels ponts!"

²⁰ Gruter, *Inscr. Ant. Rom.*, 649, 1. See also Drumaun, *Arbeiter und Communisten in Rom*, who, quoting Cicero, *Pro Flacc.* 7, says: "Eben so die Schuster *sutores*, welche Cicero mit den *Gürtlern, zonariis*, als verächtliche Volksklasse nennt, bildeten eine besondere Zunft nach Numas Einrichtung."

cial grade. But the work of the soldier was honorable. At first, only the patrician and his sons, the grandees of the realm, could enjoy the honor of a soldier's life. But times had changed. The slave who became a freedman had organized himself into the union of resistance against oppression and we find him now a member of the soldier's shoemaking union, by far the happier man of the two, purveying boots and shoes to the comparatively useless ranks of the Roman army whose trade, like that of the brigands, was to rob and destroy, not to produce. Especially must this great truth have gladdened him, since by reason of his organization which at that time there was no law to forbid, he realized easier times. There were then no organized, competing industries, monopolizing his business. In the certitude of employment and its remuneration, though there was little hope of affluence, he was content.²¹ This was certainly the Golden era. The inscriptions bear witness that the society became the instrument of much social pleasure and probably instruction. Indeed, this could not have been otherwise as all the testimony of experience in the scale of social pleasures and means of advancement were similar to those of exactly similar unions of our own times. Working people were not honored by any of the noble or heroic professions; such as the pursuits of war, which were not considered ignoble, or of writing the history of war.²²

²¹ The whole truth is, government patronized, employed and protected the trade unions for more than 500 years. Granier in correctly denying that either the very rich or the indignant individuals upheld the unions, says: "Restait enfin le gouvernement. C' était là le vrai client des jurandes, et les travaux entrepris par lui formaient le seul atelier permanent où les ouvriers pussent gagner, chaque jour leur salaire." Granier, *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières*, p. 303. Again, *idem*, pp. 303-4. Granier says: "De son côté, le gouvernement avait besoin de trouver toujours un nombre et une variété d'ouvriers suffisants pour exécuter ses ouvrages; et quels ouvrages que ceux qu'a fait exécuter le gouvernement romain! Que de temples et quels temples! Que d'aqueducs, et quels aqueducs! Que de ponts, et quels ponts! Ici les nombreux ouvriers de Caton, les cinq cents ouvriers de Crassus n'auraient pu rien faire; il fallait des corporations, des collèges de travailleurs; et c'est parce qu'ils se firent perpétuellement leurs patrons et leurs commanditaires, que le sénat et les empereurs s'immiscèrent dans leurs statuts. La loi des Douze Tables, qui ordonne à toute corporation de se conformer aux lois générales de l'Etat, est donc en réalité le premier privilège établi en faveur des classes ouvrières déjà organisées régulièrement à cette époque." According to this, the Roman government was the employer of the trade unions to an enormous extent; and this explains the cause of the terrible conflicts reaching from the time of Viriathus to the suppression of the unions, B. C. 58.

²² So proud was the *gens* family that even convicts, condemned to the Roman prisons for life, if of noble extraction, could not be put to hard labor because it would tarnish, not the man, but the family or *gens* name. This could not be sul-

Very few pursuits involving labor were looked upon as fitting a gentleman in ancient days; and any admixture however indifferent in these pursuits, sullied the proud claims to aristocracy and family prestige.

The trade union system therefore, which assumed the entire care and responsibility of all labor both in production and distribution, except that performed by the slaves who always lingered upon the *gens* estates, was an economy to the ruling minority; for it relieved them from the real perplexities of toil, and it gratified their pride by absolving them from the stigma which attached to all manipulations of producing and distributing that, without which they must have starved.

We propose to devote a few pages to a consideration of the great trade union method of victualing not only this non-working minority and the army but the entire population of Rome. In the closely allied branch of this great system—that of the customs collectors—we have already approximately shown what may be called this system in outline; we shall soon give the system itself.

The use of wine was very common in those countries in ancient times and was an important article of food. There were two communes of wine dealers, one at Rome and one at the mouth of the Tiber. Maffei cites an inscription, which was found at Verona.²³ Its date is that of the emperors, as it has the name of Augustus, and it portrays a genuine union of the wine men who furnished Rome with that beverage. These organizations were in communication with the productive interior of Italy and may have had wagons and boats, either of their own, or engaged and paid by them to bring the wine to their storehouses; if wagons, direct to the city; and if ships or boats, to the port of Ostia where it was stored and cured, often smoked as we shall describe, and at the proper time distributed to consumers. Not only the wine produced from the government lands and accruing to the citizens in form of rent payable in kind as noticed in the remarks on the *Vectigalarii* or customs collectors, but also all the remainder that the farmers did not need for

lied, even by crime until a later period. See Bombardini, *De Curcere et Antiquæ Ejus Usu*, cap. VIII, p. 763 of *Theaurus Grævi et Gronovii*

²³ Maffei, *Museum Veronense*, 114, 2. "Quinquennialis corporum vinariorum urbanorum et O-tensium.

their own use was sent to market; and of course, in the absence of competing lines of transportation such as now exist, the wine was sent to Rome by the same watermen who took the rent. The most of it, however, went overland by wagons and we have reason to believe, in a crude state; for there existed at Rome more than one union of *fumatores*, or wine curers who matured their wines with smoke. This was done by an apparatus in shape of a hog'shead containing wine, through which smoke was forced by means of force pipes. At Tarentum, was found an inscription which plainly mentions the *collegium fumatorum*. It was sketched by Münter, and incorporated as a regular trade union into the great collection of Orelli.²⁴ The wines of the ancients were rich and excellent. The task of the unions was to finish the taste and color so that they constituted the richest and healthiest beverage to be found. To this day the wines of Italy are counted among the most delicious; but it is questionable whether they are as well cured as in ancient times or whether they are as plenty.

There was a union of cultivators and dealers in table or olive oils, *collegium oleariorum*,²⁵ whose business in part, was to grind and prepare the oils from the fruit of the olive tree which grows luxuriantly in southern Europe. The great *entrepot* of Rome,²⁶ was Ostia, at the mouth of the river Tiber 18 miles from Rome. The quantity of work carried on by the waterman between Ostia and Rome must have been enormous considering the slow, toilsome method

²⁴ Orelli, *Analecta Nonnulla*, No. 5,044; "D. M. Fecit, Collegium Fumatorum bene merente." It was found at Tarentum. Orelli adds: "Novam natis societas Collegium Fumatorum."

²⁵ Fabretti, *Inscriptionum Artiumque Explicatio*, 781-760, citing the inscription, originally found at Ostia, but now in Florence.

²⁶ Orelli, *Inscr. Lat. Coll.*, vol. II, 238, remarks: "In magno Collegiorum et artium numero, notandum in primis, decurias, non corpora vel Collegia constituisse Ostia." In proof of this see Orelli, *Inscr.*, No. 4,169, which enumerates 19 trade unions in one tablet, which we produce for the curious critic. The great epigraphist reminds us in a note that these are not mere corporations but trade unions, (see *ante*). The inscription runs thus: "Cneo Sentio Cn. fil. ter. testici Dec. adilio adl. Decurionum decreto adlecto Quæstorî Aedilî ostiens II, vir. Q. juvenum.

Hic primus omnium quo anno decimo adlectus est et qui a facto est et in proximum duo vires designat. Est quinque curatorum navium marinariorum gratis adlect. inter (*sic*) novicular. Maris Hadriatici. Et ad quadrigam fori vinariorum. Patrono decuriæ scribar. præconum et—et argentariorum, et negotiatorum, vinariorum. Ab Urbe item mensorum, frumentariorum cereris. Aug. item collegia scaphariorum et lenunculariorum. Traject. Luculli et dendrophorum et lege Rogatorum. A foro et de sacruar; et libertorum et servorum publicorum. Oleariorum et juvenum cisianorum et veteranorum. Aug. item beneficiariorum. Aug. et piscatorum propolariorum curatori lusus juvenalis.

Cneus Sentius Lucullus Gamala. Clodianus. F. Patri indulgentissimo."

of propelling little boats. In those days of crude method and meagre facility the functions of a trade union appear not to have been confined to this simple business. It appears from the inscriptions and other data that the manufacturers of an article were often the distributors of it. Thus in the case of the wine smokers, the same union that bought the crude grape juice which arrived through the labors of the unions of coasters, *lenuncularii*, plying between the Adriatic or Mediterranean landings and the chief depots as Ostia and Pisæ or Tarentum, or that which arrived on board the larger ships of the *navicularii* from greater distances, as Spain or from Gaul *via* Arles, assumed also the duty of curing these wines and of putting them into the hands of consumers. This explains the phenomenon as to there being comparatively few middlemen or petty shopkeepers among the Romans although there were many even of these.²⁷ It also leads to an explanation of the curious fact that merchants were considered nearly as low and unworthy the respect of the high-born class as the mechanics and laborers. In those early days, before the development of the vast commerce which belongs to the Christian era, business of any kind whether mechanical, mercantile or agricultural was held under ban and men did not espouse it except as a necessity. This contempt, an inculcation of the aristocratic religion, lived as long as that religion reigned; but when Christianity established itself upon its revolutionary basis of exact equality of all men, the contempt fell to the ground; and gradually the aristocracy of wealth rose in the place of the ancient aristocracy of birth. But as it was not inherent in manual labor to produce much more than the individual laborer consumes, and perfectly possible for the mercantile system to amass—sometimes enormously—the mechanic and laborer continue to be poor and considered with contempt while the speculators on their products rise to the loftiest respectability. But all this is because Christianity is only in its theoretical condition, having not yet, on account of the stupendous magnitude of the revolution it has undertaken, acquired and put in operation the mechanical instrumentalities for the practical realization of its scheme.

So also the oil grinders union was in the habit of buying

²⁷ See Orell., Nos. 4,139-4,300, *Artes et Officia*.

crude oils or unpressed olives on board the slips and boats at Ostia, conveying them to their storehouses, running them through their presses or grinders, purifying, curing and bottling them in ollas, even placing them at the command of the *triclinarch* himself. To do this required a large number of members in the commune or union; but this furnished steady employ in which each member felt himself a co-operator or co-owner which not only secured him or her from the dangers of dismissal but must also have been a great comfort; since members felt the dignity of their position, lowly of course, compared with the rich non-workers who looked upon labor with disdain, yet independent in comparison with the dispropertied and maltreated slaves.

Bread was another commodity the supply of which became largely the task of the trade unions from very early times. The ancient method of baking differed little from that of the present day. The ancient bakers' unions, then, were in nearly all respects, identical with the bakers' unions in New York city to-day. We have abundance of testimony regarding the unions of bakers. A *corpus pastillariorum* mentioned by Muratori,²⁸ was one of the post-Christian communes. The *pastillarii* were manufacturers of dainty loaves, biscuits, cakes and bon-bons.

Then there were the regular bread bakers, *panfices* or *pittores* who also, as part of their task, ground or beat grain into flour or meal with a pestle.²⁹ One can at a glance conceive that the amount of this work was enormous. The method of making bread was the same as now; for very little has ever been added for facilitating its rapid manufacture; but the method of grinding has been so greatly improved as to admit of scarcely a comparison. It required a large force of workmen in those times to pound up and bake the three different kinds of bread consumed by the whole people rich and poor, of Rome.³⁰ But these men dur-

²⁸ Cf. Mur. *Thesaur. Veterum Inscriptionum*, 527, 5. Anno post Chr. 435.

²⁹ *Cod. Theod.*, lib. XIV, tit. 3. The bakers were among the unions which enjoyed the *ius coeundi* or right of organization. See *Codex Theodosii, de Excusationibus Artificum*, lib. XIII, tit. IV, leg. 2. The organized bakers and boatmen were among the most numerous and powerful in Italy.

³⁰ We have shown in our chapters on strikes and uprisings that the slave portion of the proletariat were fed on pease and nuts. See Granier *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières*, pp. 96-97. "Dès les premiers temps, avons-nous dit, les esclaves se trouvaient séparés des hommes libres et firent race à part; ils allèrent nourris et vêtus d'une façon propre et spéciale. Les juifs leur perçaient l'oreille, les Grecs et les Romains les marquaient au front, d'où le nom de Stichus était resté commun et général parmi les esclaves. Dès le temps d'Homère, leur régime ali-

ing a cycle of 700 years were organized and they enjoyed a trade union in all probability from long before the time of Numa. Their scope was wide, their members large, their business steady, their work guaranteed; and they had the balmy satisfaction of knowing that they were safe.

Another great and very important organization of the laboring people was that of the butchers. A considerable branch of this business was performed by the *suarii* or pork butchers. It is stated that the wealthy repudiated pork and confined their diet of meat to fish, venison and mutton. But it must not be forgotten that there were organized unions of *suarii* or pork butchers, and we have evidence that they drove a heavy business. What did Rome want of pork butchers if her citizen population refused to use pork and her slave population was not allowed to use meat of any kind? This is a troublesome question, to be solved only by the student of history and archæology, from a standpoint of social science. By the student of social science it is seen, that there existed a very large class of the poor, but manly, better fed, self-sustaining, hard working element of the proletaries who were freedmen and always organized; and as we are assured by abundant evidence from their own inscriptions, always capable of living well. This is the class which consumed the products of the *suarii*. The animals were raised in southern parts of the peninsula, in great numbers and probably were of an excellent breed. According to Granier they were driven or conveyed in wagons to Rome alive. The work of the pork butchers was not confined to killing and dressing them. In the etymology of the word "confection" we have a history of a part of their business. The ancient confectioner was a slaughterer of swine; but in addition to this work he prepared his pork in a great number of ways. He made sausage meats of several varieties, corned pork, smoked bacon and ham, very much as we do now. From data which we have observed, there seems to be little difference between the ancient and

mentaire était réglé et ils ne mangeaient pas de pain fait de froment." So Guhl and Kœner, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, pp. 501-2, after describing the sumptuous dishes of the Romans of rank, conclude with the remark on the poor, that they "at all periods chiefly fed on porridge (*puls*), made of a farinaceous substance (*far*, *ador*), which served them as bread, besides vegetables, such as cabbage (*brassica*), turnips and radishes, leek (*porrum*), garlic (*allium*), onions (*cepa*) pulse (*legumina*), cucumber (*cucumis*), pumpkins, melons, etc." They had no meat except on occasions such as the entertainments of the *theasos* and the *so-dalicium*.

the modern methods of preserving and using the flesh of the swine. But there is one observation which cannot well be avoided here.

Pork, according to the ancient religions, both of the Indo-Europeans and Jews, was always repudiated. It was strictly a proletarian aliment. The reason why it became popular on the table of the Christians and lost its ancient stigma is, that the early Christians were themselves proletaries and did not belong to the nobles who fed on fish, fat venison and mutton. Christianity in boldly proclaiming the revolution on a basis of equality of all men, was not ashamed to live up to its professions. By far the largest number of its membership were poor. The poor freedmen were glad to get pork to eat. The Saviour himself was one of them, without an atom of aristocracy in his veins and consequently unhampered by old religious prejudices, restrictions or usages. This new sect, poor and persecuted, struggling for the existence of its tenets and its members, began life at Rome in earnest, although born in Judea. Its first members were the poor work people—freedmen and slaves—all of whom were not above a plate of ham and eggs; and to say the least, the new sect exhibited much sound sense in calmly adopting the usages of the diet and clothing of the commons.

Its tenets expressed and inculcated the new idea that by birth one was as good as another; and it also logically and by implication defended the dignity of pork and sausage as it did the makers of pork and sausage and every other food available which was found palatable and nutritious.

We do not find mention either in the inscriptions or elsewhere of butchers located at Ostia, the port of Rome. This, however, is accounted for by the supply of hogs, sheep and cattle being in an opposite direction from the emporium. There is an abundant mention of the *pecuarii*, or cattle breeders and their *greges* or herds. They took the government pasture lands on shares, and at the close of the year paid to the tax collectors the share agreed upon. What remained over this amount, which was paid in cattle, sheep and hogs more frequently than in money, was their own; and they sold it to the butchers at the market.

When the rich gentry made their encroachment upon the public land and drove these *pecuarii* from the pastures, thus

usurped, as we have already shown,³¹ the slaves were forced to do this work; and in many parts of Italy this ancient system was at an end. Very little mention is made of true trade unions of butchers in the inscriptions thus far discovered except those of the *suarii* or pork butchers. Granier suggests that these conducted the whole butcher business of Rome;³² but this is a matter which we leave in abeyance, in the absence of more exact data.

There were unions of workmen whose task was to fodder cattle and other animals of the stock farms. One of these a *collegium pabulariorum* is given us by Donati.³³ They were allied to the haymakers; for hay is one kind of *pabulum* or fodder. It is an inscription of a genuine labor union, and is curious, showing how systematic they must have been in getting down to nice distinctions, something like the division of labor of the present day.

We have, however, an instance which comes near making up the missing link connecting the cattle breeders with the unions, in shape of a genuine *collegium faenariorum*,³⁴ or union of mowers who prepared the hay for the cattle and sheep. The inscriptions, of which there are several, are the result of the labors of Gruter, one of the most learned and reliable archæologists, who is constantly quoted and consulted by both Mommsen and Orelli. But the discovery of a union of mowers which once existed at a fashionable watering place like the Puteoli, where this was found, does not sufficiently attest. Orelli supplies the gap with several other unions of hay-makers³⁵

³¹ See chapters on *Spartacus*, *Eunus*, *Athenion* and *Artimonicus*.

³² See *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières*, chap. xiii.

³³ Don. *Cl.* 9, n. 3 and 20.

³⁴ Gruter, *Inscriptiones Antiquæ Totius Orbis Romanorum*, 175, 9.

³⁵ Orelli, *Inscriptionum Latinarum Collectio*, Nos. 45, 4, 187 which is Gruter's, and No. 4, 194 which is Gruter's inscription 264.

CHAPTER XVI.

TRADE UNIONS.

THE GREAT TRADES VICTUALING SYSTEM.

How ROME WAS FED—Unions of Fishermen—Discovery of a Strange Inscription at Pompeii, Proving the Political Power and Organization of the Workingmen and Women's Unions—Female Suffrage in Italy—The Fish Salters—Wine Smokers—Union of Spicemen—The Game-Hunters' Organizations—Unions of Amphitheatre-Sweepers—Unions of Wagoners, Ox-Drivers, Muleteers, Cooks, Weighers, Tasters and Milkmen—The Cooking Utensil-Makers—Unions of Stewards—Old Familiar Latin Names, with Familiar English Meanings Reproduced—Gaius and the Twelve Tables—Numerous Notes with References to Archæological Collections and to Histories Giving Pages and many Necessary Renderings, of the Obscure Curiosities Described.

UNIONS of fisherman, *piscatores*,¹ existed in numbers at Rome, Ostia, Pisæ and other points on the sea and the mouths of the Italian streams. Considering the fact that fish were in high regard with the wealthy people, the fishing business was extensive. An account of a union of the *piscicapii*, published in the *Wiener Jahrbücher*,² causes Orelli to remark that before elections for the ædiles and duumvirs in the municipal cities, the unions furnished

¹ Orell., *Scholæ Artificum et Opificum*, No. 4,115. The inscription of this pair of trade unions—the fishermen and divers—reads: "Ti. Claudio Esquil Severo decuriali licitori, patrono corporis piscatorum et urinator. QQ. III. eiusdem corporis ob merita eius quod hic primus statuas duas, unam Antonini Aug. domini N. aliam Iul. Augustæ dominae nostr. S. P. P. una cum Claudio Pontiano filio suo eq. Rom. et hoc amplius eidem corpori donaverit HS. X. Milia N. ut ex usuris eorum quodannis natali suo xvi. kal. Febr. sportulæ viritim dividantur præsertim cum navigatio scapharum diligentia eius acquisita et confirmata sit. ex decreto ordinis corporis piscatorum et urinatorum totius alv. Tiber quibus ex SC. coire licet S. P. P.—Romæ. Grut. 331, 1.

² X. p. 12-15, *des Wiener Jahrbuchs*.

members to be voted for as candidates to the municipal offices; and what is more strange, women, if it happened that there were any thought proper for the places. The inscription which records this fact was found among the ruins of Pompeii.

The discovery of this ancient city has been of incalculable value to the students of sociology, in affording modern science an opportunity to compare ancient with modern life placed in juxtaposition. It brings to our vision in realistic form, such as no human being can for an instant doubt, the social and political life and habits of a great people concerning which the surface historiographers have been profoundly, painfully silent! Who can doubt the veracity of words inscribed on a tablet of marble, scrawled upon a wall and having been, perhaps, already a hundred years or more in use, and at last, in the awful eruption of Vesuvius, at whose foot it stood, overwhelmed, buried and lost to view under a thick stratum of lava for one thousand seven hundred years; then all at once dug out, delivered and held up to the gaze of men now living, fresh as though just from the chisel of the *artifex signorum* who graved it for his brother unionist? Yet there it stands, its own monument for our blazing enlightenment to decipher. In modern political English it reads like some very cranky caucus slate of a New York ward Tammany club. Freely translated the inscription reads as follows:

(a) "Phoebus, together with his buyers, asks the people to vote for Holcon, who was formerly president of the union and for C. G. Rufus—two men nominated by us." (Meaning two of *our* men.)

(b) "Licinius Roman nominates and calls for the ballots of constituents in favor of Julius Polybius for superintendent of public works."

(c) "The members of the fishermen's union (nominate) make choice of Popidius Rufus, for member of the board of public works."

(d) "The international gold workers association of the city of Pompeii demand for member of the board of pub-works, Cuspis Pansa."

(e) "Sema, with her boys, ask that you work with a will at the election and secure success, for the office of magis-

trate, to Julius Simple. He is a man in the fullest sense of the word; a faithful servant of the people of Pompeii; a good man; worthy of assuming public affairs."

(f) "Verna, the home-born, with her pupils in all right, and good faith, put Miss or Mrs. Capella³ to the front for a seat in the board of magistrates."

(g) "It is worthy of you that you work for P. Popid for member of the board of public works, with might and will."

(h) "Fortune (probably a female member) desires the election of Marcellus."

This is all very simple and homely. But it must be clear to every one that such talk was confined to those who were federated together and intimately acquainted with one another; not that we would arbitrarily construe the vernacular of a Roman municipal town, but there is a peculiarly quaint air of familiarity which savors so remarkably of what is taking place in the unions of our own cities and towns that it seems like a mirroring of the ancient upon modern brotherhoods.⁴

This remarkable find goes far toward clearing up points which otherwise might leave doubts upon our statements.

Orelli himself expresses surprise, especially upon the phases of woman's suffrage.⁵ Whatever may have been the actuating power at the bottom of general elections, it is certainly proved by this inscription that in the labor unions, women had not only accorded right but also a practical hand in securing the choice of their unions toward building up a democracy among the ancients.

³ We read this feminine because the context shows it to be so. Duumvir has no feminine termination and they could not alter the word as a political term.

⁴ The Latin of the inscription is as follows:

- (a) "M. Holconium priscum, C. Gaium Rufum Q. Viros, Phœbus cum emptoribus suis rogat." (i. e. eis suffragium fert).
- (b) "Iulium Polybium ædilem, Licinius Romans rogat et facit."
- (c) "Popidium Rufum Ædilem Piscicapi faciunt"
- (d) C. Cuspium Pansam ædilem, Auriflces universi rogant."
- (e) Junium Simplicem ædilem, Virum amplissimum, servatorem Populi Pompeiani, virum bonum, dignum republica, omni voluntate faciatis, Sema cum pueris rogat."
- (f) "Capellam duumvirum juridicundo omni vel optima voluntate facit Verna cum discentibus."
- (g) "P. Popidium Secundum Ædilem Omni Voluntate Facere dignus est."
- (h) "Marcellum Fortunata Caput."

⁵ Orell., *Inscriptionum Latinorum Collectio*, No. 3,700. "Ante comitia duumviralia et ædilia in Municipiis Collegia, municipes, et, quod maxime mirum, feminas quoque, ut iis, quibus favebant, apud alios suffragarentur, hujuscemodi tabellas publice proposuisse, ex Pompeiorum parietinis nuper compertum est."

In this inscription we have not only a full verification of our conjecture that the trade unions were well organized about the time of the labors of Christ but that they were federated with similar communes all over the known world, *in universo* and also that they achieved so great a progress as to have actually been voting their own members into municipal offices at or probably long before the earthquake in A. D. 79. This does not, however, by any means show that they were in the majority. We have never claimed this. Far from it. The number of slaves was always far in excess of the freedmen; and then, there always were great numbers of freedmen who would not organize and who were too indolent to work either for themselves or for masters.⁶

In addition to the fish catchers there were numerous craftsmen who made it their business to dress, season and put up the fish in barrels, casks and packages. These were the ancient *salarii*,⁷ of the Romans. It seems to be an established term. *Salarius* applies in the inscriptions to the fish salters; although it may apply to the salting of any flesh for food. Used much in early England it differentiated into the word "salary." The *salarii curatores* should be rendered fish curers,⁸ instead of superintendents of the business of fish salting as Orelli imagines, in at least one case.⁹ We have, in the inscriptions found in different places, evidence enough to settle the question about their being organized into unions. Sometimes they are called *corpores*, bodies; sometimes *collegia*,¹⁰ unions. They were all engaged in the vast work of victualing the people.

There were societies of fruit-purveyors of several different sorts. We have already spoken of a queer inscription at Rome, noted by Oderic,¹¹ showing that one Julius Epophra, once a cabinet maker, changed this business to that of apple-man and with his wife Helen made a living near the Roman Circus. They seem to have kept an apple

⁶ Dr. Bucher, *Aufstände der Unfreien Arbeiter*.

⁷ Marini, *Alth.*, 2, p. 294. *Corpus salariorum*. Orell., *Inscriptiones Latinarum Coll.*, No. 1092.

⁸ This is the origin of the modern word "salary." In England, at other fisheries and salt works, workmen were paid in cakes of salt by the Romans. See Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXI. 7, and XLI. fin; Dion Cassius, *lex.* viii. 22, and lii, 23. *Digest.* 2 *lex.* 15, tit. 8.

⁹ Orell., *Inscr.* No. 3,464, note, also No. 1,092.

¹⁰ Supplement to Orelli's *Collectio*, by G. Henzen, Vol. III, p. 170 of *index sub caption*: "Varia collegiorum nomina. The several synonyms are here explained.

¹¹ Oderic, *Inscriptiones*, p. 74.

stand. So trivial a circumstance would scarcely have been worth the labor of graving upon a tablet of stone to be wondered at by their fellow men 20 centuries afterwards. The more probable solution is that he belonged to the cabinet makers' union, and from infirmity or other disability was pensioned off and allowed to pick up an occasional *denarius* by selling apples in the open air. In that case the union would naturally put his case on record.

The *vinarii*,¹³ or vine dressers, and the *vinitores* often brought wagon loads of grapes to the city. We are not informed as to the exact manner of supplying the people with these grapes. They were fruit of a season and were probably disposed of somewhat as at present in any Italian city. Many of the houses of the rich had slaves of their own who went to the open market places and procured these fruits in their season. The fruit of the olive tree was sometimes used in the family.

Rome had its *mercatores*, wholesale and retail, who always kept a supply of every kind of fruit in season. There was a strong union of the wine dealers *vini susceptores* legalized in the code of Theodosius;¹³ and they are evidently the same as the *vinarii* quoted above.

We may class the spice dealers' unions also among the purveyors of fruit; as these people had a strong organization called the *collegium aromatoriorum*.¹⁴ An inscription proving this, has been discovered at Rome and cited by Muratori.

The lords of the land were often too dainty to eat the common products we have enumerated and were foud of indulging in what they considered the nobler fruits of the chase, *venatio*. Some 15 inscriptions have been discovered portraying different phases of this sport and its products. At least one genuine union of hunters has been found; the *collegium venatorum* brought out by Muratori, found in the vicinity of the fortified town of Corfinium of the Peligni and not far from Sulmo. Doubtless there was game in abundance at the time those hunters were there.

It would certainly be interesting to know more than an inscription on a slab of stone can tell, in regard to the

¹³ Orell., *Inscr.* Nos. 3,921, 4,302, 6,430.

¹³ *Cod. Theodosti*, lib. XVI., tit. IV, leg. 4.

¹⁴ Muratori, *Thesauris Veterum Inscriptionum*, 511, 4.

exact object of these hunters, away in the wilds of the Apennines; especially as they might have been runaway slaves who, under the protecting shield of some law regulating hunting fraternities, carried on business here.¹⁴ Another inscription cited by Orelli¹⁵ under his "critical observations of Hagenbuch, portrays a commune consisting of a number of persons, some of whose names are given, hunting, apparently for other than live game; perhaps for the ores of copper. It is credited to Cardinali and was found at Velitres. A still more singular one is that cited by Gruter and found at Naples. Orelli places it in his *Res Scenica*—scenes in nature. Were it not too long we would give its rendering, as it speaks of wild animals and scenes. Singularly enough its words *venatione passerum*, sparrow hunting, is insisted on by the great master¹⁶ as meaning *struthionum*, of ostriches. We know that the *venator passerum* sometimes applies to turbot fishing; and we are inclined to think, notwithstanding the great respect we entertain for this expounder of abbreviations and hieroglyphs in his practices in archæology, that he may be mistaken.

Another family or union of hunters; *collegium venatorum* is given by Gruter,¹⁷ as coming from Monselice which is quoted by this author not as a business union but as a family because the words *familia venatoria* occur upon the stone. Orelli, however calls it a collegium in his index to *Artes et Opificia*.

A beautiful specimen of a genuine hunting club, *collegium venatorum*, was picked up at Beaufort in France¹⁸ which verifies our suspicion, that some of the hunters' unions were escaped slaves who, without losing their organization or parting company, fled to the far distant forests and there established themselves in the new art of hunting, thus maintaining their existence in the wilderness. This is one theory. We shall presently speak of another. The inscription reads rather strangely.¹⁹ There was a union of hunters who used to fight wild beasts in the amphitheatre, or the arena, but who broke away through

¹⁴ Mur., *Thesau.*, 531, 2.

¹⁵ Orell., No. 4,395.

¹⁷ Gruter, *Inscr. Totius Orbis Rom.*, 4^{ca}. 6.

¹⁸ Gruter, *Inscr. Tot. Orb.* 331, 11.

¹⁹ *Mémoires Présentés à l'Acad.*, d. b, livre II. p. 399.

conspiracy. It is well-known that gladiators most of whom were slaves were compelled to fight and kill each other or fight and be killed by wild beasts on the sands of the amphitheatre, enacting scenes of the most terrible and bloody character known either to the past or present history of the human race. They often had a horror and sometimes were repelled by their own conscientious scruples, against these ghastly scenes enacted in presence of thousands of spectators shouting, gloating and betting on their bloody exercise of muscle and wit. This seems to have been a union of them who, apparently in good faith, had formed a conspiracy to escape and remain together in the fraternal bond. At any rate this is the opinion of Orelli-Henzen.²⁰ This second theory, then, although somewhat in contradiction to the reading of the inscription quoted, suggests that the "*collegium venatorum qui ministerio arenario fungunt*," was no other than a union of servants of the ring, a part of whose duties, in addition to what we have mentioned, was to undertake long journeys officially in quest of the wild beasts that were used in the amphitheatres, during the emperors. These fierce beasts are known to have been sought, and highly prized by the spectators who delighted to witness a gladiator fighting an enraged lion, tiger, leopard, wolf or bear. Beaufort is at the foot of the mountains of Savoy where to this day, bears of a large size give the farmers and herdsmen trouble. Wolves also still linger among the great forests of the inaccessible mountain slopes; and although we are not aware of panthers or tigers or any of the largest feline animals being found in modern Italy or France, yet they might have existed there in ancient times. But there was game enough to have attracted the hunters for the great games of Rome.

The archæologists have found as many as five inscriptions of these unions of the arena. On one of them is written "*arenæ gladiatorium purgandæ*." A union of gladiators who clean the amphitheatre—giving incontestable evidence of a union of amphitheatre cleaners.²¹ The unionists were not slaves. Slaves had no privileges.

²⁰ "*Collegium Venatorum Deensium, qui ministerio arenario fungunt*. Ded. Ex. decreto soluto voto."

²¹ Orelli, *Collegia Corpora Sodalicia*, No. 7,209. *Inscr. Lat. Coll.*, Vol III, p 456. Cf. *Mémoires Présenté à l'Académie*, Vol. 2, p. 399, 1851.

They were freedmen, and those we mention were chartered and existed according to law.

But whatever might have been the special object of the hunters, their general object was, of course, to supply the table of those who could pay, with the delicacies of the chase. The unions had wagon transports to the stations in the forests, communicating with the cities. The difficulty of taking game must have been very great, considering that gunpowder was not in use. Bows and arrows were used and for the manufacture of such implements they had unions of workmen making devices for trapping, for archery and harpooning. There being a great demand for them, not only for hunting purposes but for war, these weapons were of the best quality; and archery won a high station in ancient times as an accomplishment.

In the great system of victualing the people of ancient Rome and its almost innumerable provincial towns and cities, some of which were fully as aristocratical and fastidious as the Romans themselves, the teamsters' numerous associations played a no inconsiderable rôle. We find numerous evidences in the inscriptions, that they were at one time organized. There were the ox drivers *jumentarii*,²² who worked at the port of Rome conveying grain, oil, wine and other commodities to the storehouses of the weighers' and measurers' association, *mensores portuenses*.²³

These and the unions of muleteers, *coll. mulionum et asinariorum*²⁴ that existed everywhere in Rome and out of it, did most of the work of conveying provisions from producers to consumers. Perhaps, in making this remark we are exaggerating somewhat on the amount of work expected of them. Their system was such that they could have performed it all; but there seems never to have been a time when the trade unions obtained a complete control of this work. The large class of capitalists²⁵ were in constant competition with organized labor and always had a large force of mules or oxen at work. Nor must it be

²² One was found or observed by Muratori, *Thesaur. Inscr.* 511. 3. The second by Connegietur, *Nom. Rat.* p. 219. A third by Cardinali, *Inscriz. Velét.* p. 44, found at Veletri. A fourth, that at Beaufort and a fifth, prob. at Pisa by Marini, XIII. *Giorn. di Pist.* p. 25.

²³ Orell., *Inscr. Lat. Collectio*, No. 4,093. Mommsen, *De Coll. et Social. Rom.* p. 97.

²⁴ Gran. de Cassagn., *Hist. des Classes Ouvrières*. p. 510, Grut., 462, 1. Orell., *Coll. Publica et Privata*, No. 7,194.

²⁵ Idem No. 7,206, coll. mulionum et asinariorum.

understood that anything like all the work of any kind, was a great length of time, ever performed by the unions alone. The competition between the unions and the speculators must have raged with activity for at least 200 years, and finally the hatred of the speculating oligarchy went into legislation.

After endless turmoils, among which the unions, championed by Clodius, not only restored their old rights of organizations but gained many more, the struggle culminated in Cæsar suppressing nearly all of them. But the unionists were strong and influential and in course of time, after the death of Cicero, Cæsar and other enemies, they reassumed most of their fallen power. Nothing was able to grind them out entirely.

History gives us little in regard to the methods by which the armies of the ever victorious Romans were supplied with provisions. If there is any mention by historians of a union or association of sutlers who made it their business to supply the armies stationed upon Roman territory, we have failed to find it. There are inscriptions, however, which are beginning to reveal a subject pregnant of importance in solving misty queries regarding the phenomenal successes of Roman arms. We have already shown that from the end of Numa's reign the Roman armies were supplied with arms in a great degree by the unions of armorers.

It is here relevant to prove, if possible, that they were also supplied by them with provisions. For at least 500 years the armies used union made wagons, union made swords, union made javelins, bows and arrows, helmets and shields, wore union made shoes, trowsers, hats and coats, and tore down the walls and battlements of their enemies with union made catapults and battering rams. Did they not eat union made bread, union cured meat and drink the delicious wines and beverages prepared by the organized victualers? True, when far away in their foreign conquests the Roman soldiers depended much upon the pillage and plunder of their unfortunate victims; but at home, when the armies were at quarters this question sharply applies. The student of sociology is particularly interested in this subject, because this matter of union labor in supplying the legions goes far in settling the long

mooted problem hanging over the decline and fall of Rome.

Rome prospered in peace and in arms, until the glut of conquest changed her statesmen from the wise tolerance of Numa and Servius Tullius to the rapacious slave-holding policy which sought to destroy the unions that made possible her unparalleled success. But when gorged with enormous wealth, she lost her manhood and swine-like fell upon and devoured her own nurslings and friends. The sin struck back upon herself like the fangs of the tortured crotalus and poisoned her own blood with a reacting plague of ingratitude and pollution.

The stones have already revealed to us that there existed unions of victualers who made a business of supplying the armies. They were called "*collegia castrensiariorum*,"²⁶ sutlers. We are not informed of the exact relation they had with the armies; whether like our sutlers they hung around the flanks and peddled with the soldiers, or whether they supplied the armies by contract with the senate or consular generals.

In addition to the unions already mentioned we find that the cooks and waiters also had their organization of self-help. They may all be classed as one family or commune, although in some cases at least, the cooks and the waiters were apart. In the inscriptions there are three unions of cooks; one a "*collegium coctorum*"²⁷ who took charge of the stately business of cookery in the palace of Augustus Cæsar, at Rome. Another is mentioned on the slab as "*cocus*,"²⁸ a cook which was found at Rome and is cited by Marini,²⁹ and the third also speaks of a man who was an Alban cook, evidently president of the society. It was found on the site of the ancient city of Alba.

Mommsen cites the "*collegium prægustatorum*"³⁰ mentioned by Gruter as a genuine trade union of waiters, who, as this designation implies, were foretasters as well as waiters. The rich in Rome were ever beset with fears of being poisoned. They were obliged to have their food tasted

²⁶ See Bücher, "*Aufstände der Unfreien Arbeiter*," pp. 3-16. Geldoligarkie, Pauperismus, Sklaventhum.

²⁷ Orell., Nos. 7,189, 6,344 and elsewhere. Also Gruter, "*Inscriptiones Antiquæ Totius Orbis Romanorum*," 649, 5, and several others.

²⁸ Cardinali, "*Dipl.*" 410.

²⁹ Marini, "*Att.*," 2, p. 610.

³⁰ Romanelli, "*Topog.*" I, 3, p. 213.

³¹ Grut., "*Inscr., Antiqu.*," 581, 18

³⁰ Momms., "*De Coll. et Sodal. Rom.*," p. 78, note 25.

of by the waiter in their presence. If the waiter ate it with impunity they need have no fears. The waiters being in constant communication with the cooks were supposed to know all the dangerous designs that might originate among the kitchen people, to be consummated in the dining rooms; and were thus held responsible for the honesty of both themselves and the cooks. They were required to taste the milk they served to the gentry direct from the jugs or pots, *ampullae* of the milk men, or the *collegium lacticatorum* a milkman's union mentioned by Mommsen³¹ as a corpus or labor union. This interlinking of many trades, whose sympathies and contact sometimes fitted them for carrying out cunningly concocted plots with the waiter thus became practically a sort of key to the treachery. Even the manufacturers of these milk jars had unions, one of which, in the collection of Gruter was found inscribed on a slab of slate or stone discovered at Narbonne.³²

A stone has been dug up bearing the inscription *collegium vasulariorum*. It exhibits the relics of a union of manufacturers of cooking utensils. Most of their productions were of copper or bronze. The *vascula* were of various shapes; spits, ladles, cups, bowls, soup spoons and many other implements of cookery. Hammer work with the ancient artisans was a fine art. Sometimes the best workmen, if not slaves, had organizations, which were called the *malleatores*, hammerers and are mentioned by Orelli as inscribed on a stone.³³

There also were the basket makers' unions the products of whom, *sportulæ*, figure in the decree of laws governing sacred unions as found in the Roman temple of Barberinis and given in full by Orelli in No. 2,417 of his great collection, which is in itself a curiosity. Other dishes used by the cooks were two-eared flagons or flasks for wine and other liquors, *amphoræ*, besides a number of others, for nearly all of which we have proof of unions having existed, who conducted their manufacture.

Finally the *tricliniarchs* or stewards who had the supreme charge of kitchen and dining room. Their name

³¹ Gruter, *Inscriptiones Totius Orbis Romanorum*, 643. 10.

³² Orelli, *Inscriptionum Latinorum Collectio*, No. 3,229.

³³ Fabrett, p. 724. 443.

was derived from the celebrated *triclinium* or dining-couch of the ancients. It was a seat, generally cushioned, which extended around three sides of the table, upon which people did not sit, but reclined—a practice so demonstrative of exuberant luxury, if not of lasciviousness that it was abolished as one of the abominations by the Christians and seems to have completely disappeared from the earth. There is extant at least one monument giving clear evidence of a society of this kind, called in the inscription⁸³ *tricliniarum socii*. It is in the museum of Rome and bears a very queer, unpolished style of Latin.

⁸³ Fabett, 449, 69.



The complete system. See Pl. a. l. ii.

CHAPTER XVII.

INDUSTRIAL COMMUNES

AMUSEMENTS OF OLD. UNIONS OF PLAYERS.

THE COLLEGIA SCÆNICORUM—Unions of Mimics—Horrible Mimic Performances in Sicily—Bloody Origin of Wakes—Unions of Dancers, Trumpeters, Bagpipers, and Hornblowers—The Flute-Players—Roman Games—Unions of Circus Performers—Of Gladiators—Of Actors—Murdering Robust Wrestlers for Holiday Pastimes—Unions of Fortune-tellers—Proofs in the Inscriptions—Feroocious Gladiatorial Scenes between the Workingmen and Tigers, Lions, Bears, and Other Wild Beasts made compulsory by Roman Law.

THE Greeks and Romans are known to have given at an early period much attention to amusements, in which it appears there was a larger admixture of the lowly, with the noble class than occurred in other pursuits. The theatre with the Greeks, was quite a democratic affair. The earliest theatres were rude; but during the heroic ages immense buildings were constructed. That of Megapolis in Arcadia was of gigantic size. Their size was such that roofs were out of the question, and people sat on stone seats for from four to eight hours in daytime exposed to sun and rain, during the performances, listening to, and bound up in enthusiastic delight over the inimitable sallies of Aristophanes in the "Babylonians," satyring the tyrant Cleon, or thrilled by the sublime grandeur of tragedy and mimic of Sophocles and Euripides at Athens. Some of the great theatres were capable of holding 60,000 spectators. The great theatre at Ephesus was 660 feet in diameter and one in Syracuse 410 feet. An immense wooden theatre, built by Scæurus at Rome, 51

years before Christ, and at the moment when intolerance to the labor unions and profligacy among the grandees were beginning to crumble the proud Romans into demoralization and decay, was capable of accommodating 80,000 people.

We find no fewer than six genuine trade unions; called, on the stones, *collegia scaenicorum*.¹ They are coeval with the age of the Roman theatres. Their members of course, fared better than the gladiators,² another class who contributed to the Roman pastimes; but they were hard-worked people and all belonged to the proletaries.

We shall bring to view as illustrative of our object, principally the Roman life in this section of the ancient trade unions, not because we are wanting of archæological specimens; for there are very many profoundly interesting relics of the life of ancient labor now being discovered among the ruins of the Greeks. Renan, Wescher, Foucart and Böckh have eloquently told the story and the solemn silence of crumbling marbles, like skeletons seem to be speaking in incoherent phrase of a day when the whole Greek world was ablaze with labor communes, whose secrecy was suggestive of a smouldering social volcano. But if we gave them all it would make this work tediously voluminous. Besides, the inscriptions in the Latin tongue seem to bring the matter under investigation more conspicuously before us, not only because they are topographically less remote but because the language in which they come to us is smoother and more intelligible to the readers of the western world.

In the Wiener Jahrbuch for 1829 there appeared a deciphering of an inscription on a plate of bronze containing an epitaph of the president of a union of mimic actors. It is written in the second person. He had lived to be nearly a hundred years old; had never aspired above his fellows and had died bidding them farewell. It is in the Museum at Pesth. Several others have been found in Austrian territory. Orelli³ describes several anaglyphs

¹ One found at Wasserstadt, *Aquævicum*, a suburb of Buda, by Labus and published at Milan, 1827 reads: "Genio Collegio Scaeniariorum Felan, Secundus Monitor Decreto Decurionum.

² Chapter xii., *Spartacus*, *init.*

³ Orelli, *Inscriptionum Latinorum Collectio*, in his *Collegia Corpora, Sodalicia* No. 7,183 Vol. III, Henzen.

in stone and metal composition, which have withstood the erosions of nature fully 2,000 years. In the *Res Scaenica* and *Ludi*, one is quoted from Muratori,⁴ bearing uncertain evidence that it was a union of histrionic artists. It was from Præneste. Two remarkable tablets bearing record of the year 112 A. D. are noted by Gorius.⁵ They were preserved in the museum at Florence, and unless recently removed, are there still. Upon these slabs are inscribed the names of soldiers of the seven Roman cohorts, of the praetorian force of Misenum ever on the alert conducting the scenic plays. Claudius Gnorimus is being made an *aedile* or superintendent of public works by the battalion; plays are going on by the acting comrades with their buffoons. Among all these are to be observed: 1st. The head mimic actor; 2d. The mimic Greek leaders; 3d. The clowns; 4th. The Greek clowns; 5th. The Greek actors; 6th. The jesting dandies; 7th. A working-man. All the names of the soldiers are given in the vocative case. Consequently the inscription is too long to be given entire in any work which we have seen. It portrays the kind of military theatrical scene which used to be enacted 200 years after the beginning of the Christian era, or about 1,700 years ago and of course, much earlier.⁶ Another inscription appears among the *Res Scaenica* in Orelli's catalogue which still more clearly represents a mutually protective union of actors. It was found at the French city of Vienne, a few miles from Lyons, on the Rhone, by Millin.⁷ It is also very ancient and shows that in that far off country of the Allobroges there was a great population long before Cæsar's invasion.

Although we are endeavoring to give the facts consec-

⁴ Muratori, *Thesaur.*, 659, 1; Gruter, *Inscr. Tot. Orb. Rom.*, 330, 3.

⁵ Cf. *Etruscan Inscr.*, I. p. 125 and II, p. 447 and Mur., 886-887.

⁶ Consult Orellius, *Inscriptionum Latinarum Collectio*, No. 2,608. Muratori, *Thesaur.*, 886-7. Gorius *Etr.*, I. p. 128. "Memorabiles sunt tabulae anni p. Chr. 212, duae a Gorio *Etr.* I. p. 125 (2,447), et Mur. 886 et 887 editae, Florentinae nunc adsertae, in quibus referuntur nomina militum ex Cohortibus VII. Vigiliis et Classis praetoriae Misensis, qui Ludos scenicos egerunt, quum Claudius Gnorimus aedilis factus esset a vexillatione, ludisque ederet, 'agentibus commilitonibus cum suis acroamatibus' In his notandi; 1. Archimimus. 2. Archimimus Graeci. 3. Stupidi. 4. Stupidi Graeci. 5. Scaenici Graeci. 6. Scurra. 7. Operarius. Omnia militum nomina vocativo offeruntur." For more on the *vexillum*, red flag, and *vexillatio*, consult our chapter on the ancient *red flag* of the workman.

⁷ *Voyage*, 2, p. 21.

utively, we shall here be compelled, for want of data, to mention in an anacoluthical manner, some of the most interesting of these unions known to have existed coeval with those times, or approximately so.

The *communiones mimorum*, one of which⁸ was discovered in the ruins of the theatre *Bovillensis*, and others in great numbers in Greece⁹ and elsewhere, were unions of mimic actors. They constituted an order by themselves. It appears that they marched around in the cities and took from their friends and the public whatever gifts were offered. We mention these data to exhibit to our readers the colossal scale on which amusements were conducted, that the mind may be prepared to comprehend the vast amount of labor of the lowly, which the evolutions of this business entailed.

Following up our scheme of inquiry into the dark chasms and gaps of history, from a standpoint of sociological investigation, our point of intensest interest is the question whether these purveyors of pastimes were organized. Of this there is abundance of evidence in the inscriptions. In the catalogue of the archæologist Orelli, there appear no less than 12 tolerably well preserved slabs which show not less than a hundred unions!

At Rome there is an inscription, much broken and defaced by time and neglect,¹⁰ which bears positive proof that the theatre players were not only organized but that they, like the gladiators belonged to the plebeian stock. Caput VI., of Orelli's work, headed *Ludi, Res Scaenica et cet.*, has no less than 116 inscriptions, a large number of which are seen at a glance to be either genuine unions or corporate communes. But as some of these unions were those of gladiators, we reserve their description for that more tragical and brutal class of amusement.

A very remarkable mimic performance for enjoyment was once in vogue during the insurrection of the Sicilian slaves B. C. 143-134. It may not be generally known that in addition to accredited kings and tyrants of Sicily there once reigned a king of the slaves. The extraordi-

⁸ Orell., *Inscr.*, No. 2,625, also Nos. 4,094, 4,101.

⁹ Mommsen, *De Collegiis et Sodalitatis Romanorum*, p. 83. "Communia mimorum Romanorum, et in nomine et in institutis τὰ κοινὰ των περί τὸν Διονύσιον ῥαγιστῶν referent, quæ apud Græcos ampla et plurima fuerunt." *Idem*, note 6. "Communia Mimorum multa inveniuntur," etc., etc.

¹⁰ Orell., No. 2,619; Marini, *Atti*, 2, p. 438.

nary history of king Eunus is so interesting and so replete with passages which enlighten the student of sociology on points that we have reserved for it a separate chapter as a special illustration of our theme.¹¹ It is enough here to bring forward the episode alluded to in evidence of the fact that in ancient times theatrical performances were sometimes conducted in presence of enemies whereby to tantalize and to wreak revenge. The Sicilian capitalists, landlords and slaveholders had for a long time been growing niggardly and cruel. It was a common thing for a slave master owning from 500 to 1,000 slaves, to call their poor little children together precisely as the herder calls his swine, and feed them nuts, pods and dried figs¹² because the helpless, enslaved and horribly cruelized beings were considered no better than hogs. One Polias, an enormously wealthy Agrigentine not only thus abused his slaves but often whipped large numbers of them at the post at night, to prepare them for obedience the following day. Damophilus, who owned 500 slaves at Enna in Sicily, was another extremely rich planter. He starved his human chattels, while at the same time driving them beyond their powers. One day several of them ventured to ask him for more clothing; for the place is many feet above the sea and chilly during some seasons of the year. Their supplication though given in a respectful manner was treated not only with refusal but with a severe castigation. His wife, Megallis, was, if possible, the most heartless and brutal of the two. She, with her own hand stabbed and whipped to death several of her female slaves, first torturing them with her knife and her stiletto or needle.¹³ Unable to endure their inhuman tortures the infuriated slaves suddenly arose in rebellion and seizing their tormentors murdered them in great numbers. Damophilus was bludgeoned in the theatre of Enna in presence of his wife, Megallis. A council was held on her case, before her husband's dead body, in the theatre. Our authority does

¹¹ See Chap. VII. An account of the Mimic plays at the sieges, pp. 229-230.

¹² See Dr. Bücher, *Aufstände der Unfreien Arbeiter*, p. 63-64, quoting Stobæus on *Flortus*, LXII, 48. We have also in many places given quotations proving this by other authors. See in lex, *Food of the Slaves and Freedmen*.

¹³ Consult chapter 'v. On Eunus and the first Sicilian war, where quotations explaining these brutalities, taken from the fragments of Diodorus, are given, together with excerpts from Bucher and others.

not establish that the mimic performance was gone through with during the wild gloatings of that bloody night; but no doubt the tables were turned upon the trembling millionaires who before were wont to shout with almost equal savagery at the mutual murder of their myrmidons acting as their slaves. The result of the trial of Megallis, was her condemnation and sentence to death. She was dragged to a rock and plunged headlong into the hideous abyss by the women themselves. Their daughter, a tender girl who had many times remonstrated against her mother's cruelty, was treated with respectful courtesy, guarded from danger and under escort sent to a place of safety. This uprising lasted 10 years; during which time many places were captured by siege. The slaves who, according to history,¹⁴ at length arose to the number of 200,000 in Sicily, inaugurated the system of holding histrionic mimes composed in their own rude vehicles of thought and represented by performers who could best reproduce, in presence of their previous tormentors, scenes which they and their children had suffered when they were chattels. In this manner they doubtless wreaked a rude and gloating satisfaction too malignant for true humanity, but certainly not surprising, considering their former misery.¹⁵

Spartacus, the celebrated gladiator, after the battle of Picenum, when he held in his hands the officers and men of the Roman army as prisoners of war, although a humane and kind-hearted general, delighted his soldiers by compelling those proud and high-born gentiles to re-enact upon the field of battle and in honor of the *manes* of Crixus their fallen hero, the same gladiatorial scenes which he and his comrades when slaves, were destined to perform on the arena. In the captive's hand was put the *gladium* and in the humiliating garb of an *ergastularius*, or convict, condemned to fight in the mock amphitheatre and for his audience the vast army of victorious rebel slaves and gladiators, many a haughty Roman knight with his unspeakable contempt for the very condition of

¹⁴ For all known particulars of this great servile war, see Bücher, *Ausfände der Unfreien Arbeiter*.

¹⁵ Bücher, *Aufst.*, S. 66-67. Diod. XXXIV., frag. 34. Lbbers, *Die Dionysischen Künstler*, pp. 105-131, where are explained the numerous theatrical habits to which the Greek artisans were addicted.

slavery, was forced to make the runs and re-enact the bloody work it had been the now victorious rebels' own undignified misfortune to perform upon the Roman sands. Surely, the knights of Lentulus, Poplicola and the other captured soldiers could now have a practical insight into the causes of the great insurrection, when, under stinging urgents of their mock *scholae praeceptores*, they punched each other, to the music of jeer and of derision from 70,000 vengeance-wreaking infuriates!

Wakes¹⁶ held over the deceased bodies of friends are not of Christian origin but of a much higher Pagan antiquity. Again, where history is silent, the inscriptions—those whispering chroniclers like grinning skeletons of the murdered—survive to hisp their testimony before our courts of science. This subject of the origin and practice of holding wakes, supposed by some to belong to the Christianized races, is really to be sought among the stones which tell the savage tales of haughty masters' funeral feasts whereat poor workmen were forced to fight as gladiators; and when they fell by mutually inflicted gashes, were buried beside the great dead hero with the object of remaining guard to him as they had done in life. This is the true origin of wakes. They were originally, extremely bloody, and should be classed among other specimens of moribund or fading heathen customs, that are gradually disappearing from the earth.

Scholars reading the Latin classics, are sometimes puzzled to comprehend the reason why Cicero, Suetonius, Florus and the rest, so unexceptionally speak of the dancer, *saltator*; the female dancer, *saltatrix*, and the little girl dancer, *saltaticula*, with a species of contumely. Of everything not human, however humble, they could speak in praise. Their favorite horses, dogs, cats, even cows could earn a good word and a caress; and all things germane to their household were worthy of a feeling thought. But it is a seemingly strange fact that dancers who worked so hard to amuse the ancients, get only a reproachful mention.

Among amusements it may be best to class the various kinds of musical instrument players. There was a regular union of the trumpeters, *uenatores*.¹⁷ Another sort of

¹⁶ Friedländer, *Da-stellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*. II, 16.

trumpeter was the *buccinator*, who played the *shopxæ*'s horn which had a long range of sound.¹⁸ These trumpeters also accompanied the army. Usually the horns were crooked. Mommsen who has worked out the evidences in regard to the Roman arrangement of centurians, in accordance with the military notions which distributed the trade unions into squads of tens and hundreds, thinks that another trumpeter, the *liticen*¹⁹ also had his union, probably a mutually protective association like the musicians' unions of the present time. The *liticenes*, were clarion blowers and their music was shrill and exciting. Still another kind of trumpeters were the *tubicenes*²⁰ who are likewise known to have been an organized profession or trade. They played the tuba. It is difficult to understand how a separate society was necessary for each instrument. If there were a number of different instruments in each, corresponding to a band of music organized for self-support, as in our times, it would not appear remarkable.

The union of *scabillarii*²¹ does not appear so inconsistent; since the ancient *scabellium* was an awkward instrument played upon by the feet, while very probably the hands were also employed thrumming another instrument whose harmonies combined, made a band of themselves. The bagpipe is known to be an ancient instrument—so old that its invention is ascribed to a god of the mythical antiquity. Whether the old *tibia utricularis* was the identical bagpipe of the Scotch Highlanders is a question; but judging from the derivation of the word there is a strong reason to suppose that no great change has taken place in its construction. The bagpipers had an association called the *collegium utricularium*²² and there are several inscriptions to that effect. In addition to the one found by Donati, we have one described in Gruter's collection and catalogued by Orelli.²³ It was found at Lyons. It is something like an epitaph and the work bears the marks of having been dedicated to the name of the president, *mag-*

¹⁷ Of this we have assurance in the work of Gruter, *Inscriptiones Totius Orbis Romanorum*, No. 261, 4; a marble slab giving unmistakable evidence.

¹⁸ *Idem*, 1, 116, 4.

¹⁹ Orell., *Inscr.*, No. 4, 105.

²⁰ *Idem*, Nos. 2, 448 and 1, 803 both were collegia or unions.

²¹ Orell., *Inscr.* 4, 117; 2, 643.

²² Orell., Nos. 4, 119, 4, 120, 4, 121, all were unions, also Donati, 2, p. 470, 8, cites a stone found at Cabelli, which has merited considerable comment. The inscription registers a genuine union.

²³ Orell., *Inscr. Lat. Coll.* No. 4, 244. Nos. 9, 208 and 5, 803 are also unions.

ister, of the organization; although, in this case no mention is made of the usual word *collegium* or *corpus*.

The *cornicen* or horn player was another musician²⁴ who is found mentioned on the same marble with a *liticen* at Rome. But the music of the horn blowers and that of the clarion players was so similar that it may, in this case, be a confusion of the two in one.

The flute players deserve a more particular mention. Among the Romans they were called *tibicenes*, and among the Greeks *auletrides*. In very remote antiquity the latter existed at Athens and other cities of Attica. They were poor girls of lowly origin who went about playing their flutes and earning here and there a little coin, sufficient to keep them from suffering. Some of them were very beautiful; and as this natural accomplishment was sometimes more charming even than their music, there goes up a charge against their character.²⁵ It is now known that these flute players were organized in a trade union or some kind of a labor federation. In order to carry on their business they were required to pay a small tax to the government as a license, which tax was collected by the *vectigalarii* as stated in our chapter on the customs collectors. This was another union whose members were required by the state to collect the last *denarius*, even if they had to torture, imprison or sell the poor, impecunious creatures as slaves. It may therefore have happened that a beautiful auletrid, before surrendering her life as a slave and legalized concubine of the wealthy Roman or Athenian who bought her at the shambles, would sometimes procure the inveterate tax money by accepting the best available offers which promised life and liberty.

At Rome a genuine flute players' union, *collegium tibicenum Romanorum* existed²⁶ during the emperors which was shielded from the repressive laws against organization by being a sacred commune. Probably the girls played sacred music on occasions.²⁷ That there were male members in this commune is certain. The wording of the inscription shows this one name taking the masculine termination. There were also at Athens and the Pi-

²⁴ *Idem*, No. 4,105.

²⁵ Cf. Sanger's *History of Prostitution*, chap. iii, p. 46.

²⁶ Reines, pp. 184-167.

²⁷ "Qui sacris publicis præsto sunt." Orell., *Inscr.* No. 1,803.

ræus many of the *aulitrides* or Greek flutists who lived under protection of their gallant unions. A study of the excellent work of Guhl and Koner²⁸ will afford the reader much additional knowledge upon the subject of ancient music.

The great *ludi circenses* which, although in point of history, treatment of performers and other features, were very different from the gladiatorial style of amusement, so resemble these latter in many other respects that it seems consistent to treat of them as belonging to one variety. The Roman circus was not the only institution of its kind. There was evidently a circus at Lyons. An inscription mentioning a union of players, speaks of the right of organization at Lyons, for all who wish.²⁹

Everything built to entertain amusement seekers among the Romans, whether at Rome, Pompeii or elsewhere, if public, took the amphitheatrical shape. There were numerous race-courses at Rome, some of which were of prodigious extent. The circus Maximus³⁰ was enormous. "According to the latest calculations, in late imperial times, it must have contained 480,000 seats. It is about 21,000 feet long by 400 wide."³¹ It is very old, having been begun by Tarquinius Priscus. These figures are sufficient proof of themselves, that Rome once contained an immense population. Large numbers of slaves were necessary to supply the labor of these enormous public works. The many scenes of hippodromes, chariot-running, foot-racing, of archery, mock manoeuvres, and sham battles were observable from a great distance. They thrilled vast audiences.

But the inner life of the poor who were to manage and carry out the innumerable features of those games is a subject which the reader of history learns little. They were all of the lowly class and eked out a living under many difficulties and humiliations; and many of those who were not slaves but existed in the capacity of freedmen, took refuge from abuse and overtoil under the meagre privilege left them to unite in mutual self-aid.

²⁸ Guhl and Koner, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, Tr. F. Hueffer, (Lon. Chatto and Windus.)

²⁹ Grut., 431, 1. *Inscr. Tot. Orbis Rom.*

³⁰ Guhl and Koner, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, Tr. pp. 422-428.

³¹ Guhl and Koner, pp. 423-4 note. See fig. 431 note.

But the celebrated gladiatorial amusements are more generally known to us at this day, although the circus performance has outlived them, being yet common on a much smaller scale. There was no mockery about the amphitheatre. The combats were real. We have already spoken of the large traffic in lions, tigers, leopards and other wild animals for the combats. Not only did the Romans pit lion with tiger, panther with bear, lynxes and leopards with serpents, but they matched tigers, lions and serpents of terrible ferocity with men. When at the great games the stock of fierce wild animals was killed off they sent hunters in quest of more Romanelli³² preserves an inscription which for clearness has been regarded by the archæologists as an object of much value. The inscription commemorates a family (probably a community) of hunters of Pompeii, who procured noble game from the forests, and mentions Popidius Rufus as the manager of the *familia gladiatorum*.

We have elsewhere seen that there were unions of sweepers of the amphitheatres, *collegia arenariorum*. They were not required to fight in the arena. They dragged the dead gladiators off the sands, shoveled up the blood, new-sprinkled the floor with sand, sharpened the *gladia* or swords as well as the javelins and other tools, stood ready to perform any service; even perhaps that of cutting off the heads of vanquished gladiators who heroically, when *hors de combat*, bleeding and dying with their gaping gashes, impatient of death, bent the head to receive the severing stroke of the broadsword.³³

Marini found two queer inscriptions, **graved on one stone, of gladiators who "fell fighting, steel in hand."**³⁴

³² Romanelli, *Viaggio a Pompel.* tome I, p. 82; Marini, *Att.* I, p. 165. It is clear that there must have been lions in the forests of Mt. Olympus for Polydamus the wrestler (B. C. 404, see Plato, Bekk. Lond. chap. XII note) killed a huge lion there. Lions are known to have lived in Germany and Hyenas in Eng. See Buckland, *Reliquæ Diluviana*, Lond., 1822 because their bones are now being found in the Pleistocene caves.

³³ Bulwer Lytton's, *Last Days of Pompeii*, where these awful scenes are graphically set forth.

³⁴ Marini, *Att.* I, p. 165. The modern ages are actively studying out the horrors of the gladiatorial combats. We refer the reader who may doubt as to whether those people fought under the most intense humiliations, to the cuts of Guhl and Koner, pp. 562-3, *trans.*, showing the distressing scenes of these fights with the wild animals, also to Carey, *Principles of Political Economy*, Part III, p. 123: "The great mass having sunk to barbarous rudeness, bloody gladiatorial games and combats of wild beasts took the place of dramatic representations while the few were becoming more refined and fastidious." To the *Iconographic Cyclopaedia*, Division IV, New York, 1851, R. Garrigue. Tafel 15, magnificen

Inscription No. 2,552 of Orelli's *Res Scaenica* is designated by him as representing gladiatorial combats in the coliseum. It is a horrible thought for an age like this to endure; yet there was a time when killing men for sport was so popular that crowned heads were turned from meditation to convulsions of delight by the sight; and ladies dressed in the costliest attire of fashion could sit for hours bewitched with the whirl, the charge, the lunge of steel and shrieks of pain, the spurt of blood from the wounds of naked men, the roar of lions and screech and growl of tigers, bears and wolves, the murderous hand-to-hand fights of the *hoplomachi* with heavy swords and the whole swirling, mazy, gory labyrinth of the Roman arena! Surely, forced as we are to admit that such scenes of cruelty really once existed, as it were, among our forefathers, we feel almost constrained to admit that the many thousands of years which had flown before the present era, had produced little better than savages to people the world. Those awful brutalities were the product of the slave system. They could not have taken place where men were free.

The gladiators had several different names. Some were called gladiators, some mirmillions, some agitators, some *pugnatores*, some *ergastularii*, according to their social rank and the kind of weapons with which they were allowed to consummate their murderous tasks. But slaves though they were, they found means to accomplish fraternal unions. That there were unions of gladiators inscriptions exist so plentifully to prove, that the most skeptical can no longer doubt. There are several inscriptions, evidently signs of gladiator brokers,³⁵ showing that there were speculators in this species of human flesh. Being slaves and not freedmen, except in cases where they won freedom by killing their adversary, human or wild beast, thus achieving their manumission, they could only with difficulty organize for mutual help.

Orelli, in *Res Scaenica*, No. 2,066 reproduces the remarkable inscription of Donati, found in Rome, which is acknow-

steel engraving of the arena, where are seen fighting men, women, elephants, tigers, lions, panthers and serpents, for the amusements of myriads in the seats above! That they fought naked see *Idem* Hecht, Section IX, Tafel 7, Vol. II. Plates, showing men killing men.

³⁵ Orelli., *Inscr.* 4,197 and 4,247 of *Artes et Officia*.

ledged to have served a union. Of itself it is an object of surprise; and has not yet been studied enough to shed all the light that was latent in its curious palæograph. There are recorded in the *Res Scaenica* of Orelli not less than a dozen genuine trade unions of the gladiatorial art. This of itself makes it conjectural whether there was not some law relative to the organization of slaves.

Fortune-telling was so common that there is a law in the code of Theodosius providing for a union of fortune-tellers, *corpus nemesiacorum*.⁸⁶ They had a secret order whose members worshipped the goddess of fortune, called *Dea Nemesi*. They were something like our clairvoyants; some of them like our psychologists but more nearly resembling the *aruspices* and diviners of oracles. Such was the superstition among all classes that they were held in high esteem by rich and poor and probably patronized a good deal, thus affording an opportunity to combine profit with mysterious wisdom.

There are some great stories connected with superstition. Eunus the slave king of Enna in Sicily was a fortune-teller. The poor downtrodden slaves, crushed to the lowest condition which left breath and animation in their tortured frames, when they heard of his wise sayings—some of which, like those of our weather prophets, came true—and when they were informed by him that he was destined to quit the servile post of waiter in his master's family and assume the royal robes of a monarch, they believed him; and this superstitious credulity actually wrought the fact. He was fortune-teller, fire-eater, prestidigitator and stump speaker; and combined with all this a bluff managerial talent and a rollicking good nature and winsomeness which determined and cast the die to the greatest insurrection known in history unless we except that of Spartacus. If he had no organization at the start he soon effected one. He also showed much shrewd resignation of his prerogatives of kingship when he gave to the terrible Achæos, and the impetuous Cleon the command of the armies. He showed a wisdom akin to revelation when he decided not to take arms personally but to stay in his palace and blow fire out of his mouth, dawdle with the trinkets of his throne and let these

⁸⁶ Nemesiaci, a dea Nemesi, quæ eadem est cum bona Fortuna. Cod Theod lib. XIV, Nat. ad leg. 2, tit V, l

generals fight his battles with a soldiery of slaves who believed that every word he uttered was dropped from the Almighty.

Witchcraft and fortune-telling have been twin trades from the earliest times and were well worth organizing for; and as they were intimately allied to the mysteries of early religions the membership had less difficulty in procuring laws exempting them from suppression. But they carried it to intrigue and machination, so that oftentimes it did not restrict itself to simple amusement. It gained a strong foothold upon the solemnity of religion and exercised so powerful a control of men's consciences that the hints and pre-sages of the soothsayer sometime decided the fortunes of battle.

Great numbers of unions of mimic actors existed among the Greeks and Romans.⁸⁷ We have especially noticed that part of the ancient world inhabited by the Roman stock of the Indo-European race; but this was merely for the purpose of making the fact perspicuous that the ancient working people had a labor movement and that the freedmen were organized. In Greece, Syria Phœnicia, Gaul, Germany and the regions of the Danube are also found inscriptions and other evidences that once a great trade and labor movement existed covering most of the then Roman world.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Mommsen, *De Coll. et Sodal Romanorum*, p. 88, note 6. "Communia membrorum multa inveniuntur."

⁸⁸ Wallace, *Numbers of Mankind*, p. 142, makes some remarks which, though written a century ago, are applicable to the study which engages these pages: He says: "As the riches and luxury of the great men in Rome increased so prodigiously, this must have occasioned a vast circulation, and a general plenty of gold and silver; nor was it possible to confine the money to a few hands; however, the necessaries of life continued at a moderate price, and did not rise in their value in proportion to the high rates which were set on the materials of luxury." This shows that yearning, at least, for the socialistic system largely prevailed among the ancient lowly.

CHAPTER XVIII

TRADE UNIONS.

THE ANCIENT CLOTHING-CUTTERS.

HOW THE ANCIENTS WERE CLOTHED—The Unions of Fullers—Of Linen Weavers, Wool-carders, Cloth-combers—Inscriptions as Proof—Later Laws of Theodosius and Justinian Revised—Government Cloth Mills—What was Meant by Public Works—Who managed Manufactures—The Dyers—Old-fashioned Shoes of the Forefathers—How made—Origin of the Crispins—The Furriers' Union—Roman Ladies and Fineries of Fur—The great Ragamuffin Trade—Their Innumerable Unions—Ragpickers of Antiquity—Origin of the *Cenciapiole*—Organization of the Real Tatterdemalions—Origin of the Gypsies—Hypothesis.

It is quite possible to establish the fact that the clothing trades were organized. Woollen goods in those times were not manufactured in large mills with costly machinery. Weaving was done on small hand looms, and the fulling of cloth was a trade by itself. Cotton was used for tents, theatres and also to some extent for clothing at an early date; yet our limited data will not permit us to state that cotton manufacturers were organized. But the workers in wool had societies, some of which were screened from the restrictions imposed on many other trades, on account of their innocent usefulness. There is a law of the Theodosian code¹ providing for the right or privilege of mutual organization to the fullers, *fullones*. We consequently have a fullers' union *fullonum sodalicium*² commemorated on a marble slab, found

¹ Cod. Theod., *De Excusationibus Artificum*, lib. XIII, tit. IV, lex. 2.

² Murator, *Thesaurus Veterum Inscriptionum*, 951, 9. Found at Spoleto among the Appenines. It is an inscription in marble. Cult of the union, Minerva.

at Spoleto; another, picked up at Falaria, inscribed with letters so well preserved that no hesitation is indulged in by the critics in pronouncing it a genuine trade union of the fullers, as the word "*collegium*" appears three times and "*sodalitium*" twice;³ both terms convey the meaning of mutual union or organization; and as both these inscriptions appear to be of the era of the republic, they are probably very old. If, however, the two tablets above cited are not sufficient as evidence of the union of fullers, we have a gem from Pompeii in the form of an inscription of the fullers who worked in some public establishment. These artisans, as Mommsen observed in his disquisition on labor unions, evidently shielded themselves from the severity of the law suppressing the colleges, by having recourse to a certain amount of piety⁴ which they scarcely felt in their hearts. A society of sacred fullers sounds ridiculous!⁵ Yet this inscription commemorating a fraternity, or at any rate, a force of workmen fulling cloth for the use of the people, bears pious words which would incline one to imagine that some of their wages was devoted, like a collection at church, towards defraying the expenses of the holy temples instead of providing for the earners' hungry babes. This inscription is one of the many contributions to ethnological science which the exhumations from Pompeii have produced. Of course then no one can question its greater antiquity than the earthquake of Vesuvius, A. D. 79; and it might have existed many hundreds of years anterior to that event.

The linen weavers during the emperors, enjoyed the free right of organization, according to a provision in the *codex Theodosii*,⁶ and we accordingly have an inscription quoted in Orelli,⁷ of the linen weavers, *linterarii*, found at Nemausum, by Muratori. But the stone is in a bad condition. It might have been a private sign, in which case it proves nothing to our purpose.⁸

The wool carders, *lanarii pectinarii*, used to card and

³ Cf. Orellius, *Inscriptionum Latinarum Collectio*, Nos. 4,056, 4,091, 3,291 all of which were fullers.

⁴ Mommsen, *De Collegiis et Sodalitiis Romanorum*, Cap. V. *passim*.

⁶ Vide Orelli, *Inscr. Lat. Coll.*, No. 3,291, *Opera Publica*. "*Eumachis filii Ingenti Sacra. pub. Fullones.*" Pompeii

⁶ Cod. Theod., lib. XXX, 6, 8. 16.

⁷ Orelli, *Inscr. Latinarum Collectio*, No. 4,215 also Cod. Theod., lib. X, 20, 16.

⁸ For further information on linen weavers, see Granier *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières*, p. 310: 'Les principales corporations marchandes de l'empire étaient celles des tisserands, *linterones* etc.'

weave with similar cards and hand-loom as were used by the colonists of the United States. In all probability the teasel was used in dressing and combing the cloth the same as now; since no application of mechanical invention and science has ever superseded the use of the teasel in combing cloth, although new experiments of great ingenuity are constantly being made.

The weavers and carders were also organized. Of this we also have proof in the inscriptions. Gruter found at Brixia⁹ a fragment of a slab on which were engraved a few words signifying that the *sodalitium* or union had added another emancipated slave to their numbers, either as apprentice or otherwise. The organization was one of wool carders. The same author records several others, one of them discovered in the village of Rummel *agri Silvaeducensis*.¹⁰ At Rome there were several others discovered.¹¹

Inscription No. 2,303 of Orelli is placed by him among *Opera publica*, public works, which is very strong evidence that the state farmed out the manufacture of wollen goods to the unions, who produced the goods for the government in its own mills. Did the Roman state own woollen mills? It would be well for political economists to consider this important question before proceeding to accuse the labor movement of this day of making demands which are "unprecedented" in the methods of manufacture and distribution of the means of human life and comfort. The evidences which are coming to light through the labors of archæologists, who dig up, interpret and record the tell-tale palæographs of an ancient civilization are accumulating proof of the conjecture that once in Rome, at Athens and elsewhere, the governments were owners of woollen factories; and that they were run for government by trade unions, watched, curtailed, hampered and restricted of course, by the jealous optimates lest the immense advantages natural to such a method should conduce to the liberty and social emancipation of the proletaries. The student of sociology may dimly discern some obscure light from great writers to the effect that not only the woollen mills were counted as public works but also many other establishments of a nature to supply food, clothing and shelter to the population.

⁹ Gruter, *Inscriptiones Totius Orbis Romanorum*, 648, 2, 957, 2.

¹⁰ *Idem*, 957, 2.

¹¹ *Idem*, 648, 4.

When the linen or wool was carded, spun, woven into cloth and fulled, it was necessary to have it dyed. It is however probable that then, as now, the goods were dyed in the yarn. This required another trade—that of dyers.

There was a class of dyers, those who colored the celebrated purple hues, who were especially provided by law;¹² the *blattearii*. They enjoyed the free privilege of organizing their numbers and possessed trade unions, being exempt from the restrictions which so curtailed and embarrassed some of the unions of other trades.

Another class of dyers were the *murileguli* who fished for shells and purple-fish that secreted an ink used for coloring silk and probably other materials. No inscriptions have been discovered that we are aware of which describe them, but frequent mention in the Roman law in connection with the franchise extended to some unions, corroborates the assurance that they possessed organizations. In fact their fraternity was mentioned and provided for in the codes both of Theodosius and of Justinian.¹³ These workmen colored the exquisite red and purple of the ancient red banner.¹⁴

Thus we have the cloth ready for the tailor. The ancients wore a sort of loose cloak or flowing mantle called *sagum*. It was usually of long wool and colored. Tailors who made them were called *sagarii*¹⁵ and they were organized; but as they were a branch of the tailors' profession there appear no special inscriptions of them except in the lists of epitaphs.¹⁶ There was a union of tailors provided for by a law in the code of Theodosius, under the designation given them, of *gynaeciarii*¹⁷ which is a warping of a Greek word and a Greek custom into the Roman tongue. At Athens the *gynaecium* was that portion of any house where the women lived. They also worked there for their masters; and by this we know they were often slaves. But in Rome it served as a manufactory of clothing in addition to being the harem of the lord. Under the emperors there was a man to oversee this work.¹⁸ As the emperor was the head of the

¹² Cod. Theod., *De Excusationibus Artificum*, lib. XIII, tit. IV, leg. 2.

¹³ Cod. Justiniani, IX, 7.

¹⁴ See chapter on the *Ancient Red Flag*, *infra*.

¹⁵ Cod. Theodosii, lib. X, tit. 5 leg. 12, also X, 20.

¹⁶ Orellus, *Inscriptionum Latinarum Collectio*, Nos. 4,251 and 4,723. *Sepulcrata*.

¹⁷ Cod. Theodosii, lib. X, leg. 2, 3, 7 and X, 20, 3.

¹⁸ Cod. Justiniani, lib. XI, 7, 3.

people he was considered the government and his palace like the residence of the president of the United States, was government property; so that it seems to be a fact easily proven that certain manufacturing establishments were carried on by the ancient governments; since it is well known that the spinners', weavers', dyers' and tailors' overseers who were called *gynacciarrii*, had shops in the emperors' palaces and conducted the manufacture of mantles, togas and other articles of clothing on quite an extensive scale for the household of his majesty, including family and retinue. These female clothiers worked in the same manner for others of the great *gentes* or lordly families. This prepares us for a distinct comprehension of the desire of ancient labor to be organized. It lifted the member one step higher than the slave and placed him or her in the co-operative supervision and care of the fraternity. The Roman *gynaeciarius* was generally a man who had charge of the workshop.

On account of a misapprehension of this word's true meaning, lexicographers define the *gynaeciarius* as an overseer of a harem! This is a cheap way of degrading the character of hundreds and even thousands of poor working women who plied the honest needle wherewith to eke out a wretched living. But it is the inscriptions—a late study—which bring out the original home-meaning, otherwise lost. Not only the code of Theodosius but that of Justinian contain well worded provisions for the organization of tailors into trade unions. This association was taken advantage of by the women as well as their chivalrous male companions in poverty and lowliness and they were only too glad to enjoy the patronage of their emperors, and work in their houses and those of the grandees, under a foreman, doubtless also a member of the union. The *gens* family thus furnished shop, tools and stock and the workers here performed the work. But family and state were identical terms.

We now come to the shoemakers. If the reader, in admiring the pictures of the ancients, will carefully observe the apparel in which their feet are shod he will notice that the shoe has the form of a sandal; and that it is laced to the foot like a modern half-slipper. That is to say, it is mostly sole; there being very little upper-leather,

especially about the instep. This was the principal article of foot clothing manufactured by the ancients for popular use. Italy, Greece, Spain, Phœnicia, Northern Africa, are almost semi-tropical countries. It is the pinching cold of Central Europe that has forced differentiation in the shape of shoes and boots. The Roman sandal, *solea*, was manufactured in enormous quantities largely, no doubt, by slaves. But as we have positive evidence of unions of shoemakers, *solearii*, we know that they were also produced by free labor. The archæologist Marini, found at Rome a beautiful tablet¹⁹ on which is engraved in unmistakable terms the name of the union and states that it was a *collegium saliarium baxearum*. This means that the members manufactured one particular kind of sandal or shoe—the *baxea* which was of a certain Greek pattern. In the Vatican is another mentioned by various authors,²⁰ which, however, does not so unmistakably represent a trade union. The Crispins, it is well-known, were a very powerful trade union of a later date, whose members carried with them a bigoted species of priestcraft. But as their existence is of so curious a character and their organization so secret, we have failed to find any genuine inscriptions. Their identity however has come down to us in history, and marks an era in the Christian religion, connecting it with labor and practically verifying its precepts by its commingling of the nobility with the proletariat, thus leveling all to one plane.

Diocletian was the tyrant who persecuted the early Christians. Under his reign two brothers—noblemen belonging to a *gens* family—were converted to religion. Their names, as the story goes, were Crispin and Crispinian. For a poor slave or freedman to embrace Christianity was not so much of an offense because he had no recognition, no family; but for a nobleman to forsake the worship of his ancestral *manes* and tutelary saints, abjure faith in the miraculous gods and goddesses who for unaccounted ages, by sea and land had presided over the destinies of men and had been believed in with an iron bound confidence and a terrorizing authority that left not a shimmering of option wherein to plant an independent

¹⁹ Marini, *Atti*, I, p. 12

²⁰ See Orelli, *Inscriptionum Latinarum Collectio*, No. 4,218. *Artes et officia*.

thought—such an offender was thought to deserve the punishment of death! These Crispins, therefore, having thus offended by embracing the new faith, were obliged to fly to Gaul, where, according to vague tradition, they settled at Soissons, preaching by day and shoemaking evenings, until in A. D. 287, they were executed by order of Maximian. They had first founded the order of Crispins which exists to this day. Many centuries afterwards, 1645, Crispins were chosen as the patron saints of a religio-industrial community at Paris—a secret order called the *freres cordonniers*—brother shoemakers. This secret order has had a varied experience. It was suppressed several times but grew again; and to-day the order of Crispins exists in the United States, and many other countries of the world, as a regular and genuine trade union of shoemakers.

There was also a union of soldiers' boot makers, *caligarii*, spoken of by Lampridius.²¹ The archæologist Gruter²² brought to light an inscription which may serve as proof. It commemorates the existence of a family of shoemakers who made such shoes, *sutores caligarii*, but is too brief, or at least the section of it which we have seen is too incomplete for a specimen to fix judgment upon. Another stone from Auximum is more elaborate but rendered vague by the endless abbreviations which the Latins seem to have been so fond of.²³

Mommsen gives a long account of the Roman manner of dividing the unions into decurians, centurians²⁴ and other numbers, somewhat in the manner prescribed by king Numa, more than 600 years before Christ. This inscription alluded to refers to the centurians, and the division to which the union was allotted. Of the ordinary shoemakers, *sutores*, we do not find any inscriptions proving that they possessed trade organizations. Perhaps they were all slaves, as was the case with some trades. There are hopes, however, that more inscriptions may yet be discovered to prove that the *sutores* had their organization.

In Rome, as at the present time, it was fashionable to wear furs; and we also know that the furriers were organ-

²¹ Lampridius, *Alexander Severus*, 33.

²² Gruter, *Inscriptiones Totius Orbis Romanorum*, 649, 1.

²³ Orell., *Inscr. Lat. Coll.*, No. 3,868.

²⁴ Mommsen, *De Coll. et Sodal. Rom.*, Cap. II, p. 27-32.

ized into trade unions. The furriers were called *pelliones*. They were classed as innocent, and allowed the privilege of combination by a special clause in the code of Theodosius²⁵ and had numerous unions of the trade. Among other branches of the furriers were the fringe and border makers, *limbolarii*,²⁶ who trimmed ladies' dresses with furs or costly silk or laces. The *limbolarii* or fringers were connected with the ladies' head dressers on the one hand and *textores* and *textrices*, male and female weavers on the other. That they worked in the head dress or hat business is certain; but we are in the dark about the method and personnel of the hat manufacture for either sex.

A very remarkable and numerous trade union called *centonarii*, patchworkers and junkmen or ragpickers, crops out everywhere among the inscriptions. Near the ancient town of Come in Curia, Gruter²⁷ observed many queer inscriptions, among which are several which clearly indicate that at this *municipium* of Rome the rag pickers were numerous enough to get elected into the municipal offices. Indeed this is his own comment upon the matter. There is no ground for doubt about their being genuine trade unions, as the wording of the stone distinctly says: "*collegium centonariorum*." At Milan, the same great pioneer of the renaissance dragged forth another of these long forgotten witnesses of the ancient mode of living, to shed its light upon social science.²⁸ This led to further investigation, and Fabretti²⁹ from the same field brought out two other tablets of *centonarii* bearing equally good testimony. The centurian legion is mentioned upon one of them, and by this we are apprised of the fact that the law dividing the unions into tens, hundreds, etc., held good as far away as Milan in the extreme north of Italy.

Another, found at the ancient Mevaniola, is quoted by Orelli.³⁰ It is a slab of stone on which is inscribed the name of the president of the association. It is quite evident that these institutions had something to do with manufacture of rough articles of clothing if not also of any and everything they could pick up the makings for. If among all their col-

²⁵ Code Theod., lib. XIII. tit. 1v, leg. 2, *De Excusationibus Artificum*.

²⁶ Orelli., *Inscr.*, No. 4,213.

²⁷ Gruter, *Inscr. Totius Orbis Romanorum*, Nos. 471. 5, 358. 6 and others

²⁸ Gruter, *Inscr. Totius Orbis Rom.*, 477, 1.

²⁹ Fabretti, *Explicatio*, p. 73, 72.

³⁰ Orelli., *Inscr.*, No. 5,122, *Collegium centonariorum Municipii Mevaniolæ*.

lections of rags picked up in the streets or obtained by beggary or otherwise in their wanderings by day, they found in their culling and sorting, material of mixed colors and qualities sufficient to make a coat, no matter how versicolored and *bizarre* it looked when finished, they set about cutting, patching and putting together the pieces, and of them creating a garment readily disposed of among the poor slaves and outcasts whose wretched lot it was often to work in sun and storm, heat and cold, without clothing, as naked as the gladiators who fought on the sands of the amphitheatres.

The immense number of inscriptions bearing record of these facts, affords proof of the formidable misery which poor despised humanity were obliged to suffer in ancient days. In proof of the position above stated, we have from Regium in Cisalpine Gaul a splendid stone containing over 100 words showing that the membership was allied to manufacturers, but of what sort is not given; that they had a temple of some kind of their own; and that they took an active part in public affairs by force of their organized numbers.²¹

We are inclined to the opinion that whoever investigates the subject of the ancient ragpickers from the numerous and unmistakable data already at command, will arrive at our conclusion that they were a sort of social jack-at-all-trades, undertaking in poverty, with limited means, and under many checks of social humiliation and contempt, any job that fell in their way by which they could make a living. Muratori exhibits in his enormous folio collection Nos. 563 2 and 564 1, of his *Thesaurus*,²² two others, found at the town of Sentinum, a place in ancient Umbria, which, on the whole, adds little to the points already given.

In the Neapolitan museum is, or was a collection of bronze statues, statuettes, plaques and tablets, all conveying thoughts valuable to the study of ethnology—the Heraclian or Herculanean museum. Stored there is another interesting tablet of these *centonarii* or ragpickers. It was found by Fabretti, directly or indirectly, at Patavium.²³ According to Heineck it is very old.²⁴ Another from the *ager Co-*

²¹ Orell., No. 4,133; Gruter, 1,101, 1 and Murator, 563, 1.

²² Vide Orell., 4,134: "Similia decreta, nec minus verbosa, adulationisque plena"

²³ Fabretti, *Explicatio*, p. 485, 160.

²⁴ Heineck, *Antiqua*, p. 238.

mensis, classed by Orelli, among the societies of artisans is equally suggestive.²⁵ It is ascribed to Muratori, and is from Torcellum. Mommsen's great collection²⁶ contains another stone bearing an inscription of an Æsernian rag pickers' organization and Orelli gives a very fine specimen from Brixia, which he arranges with his *collegia, corpora et sodalicia*.²⁷ One that Orelli mixed up with his *Dii Immortales* seems to commemorate one of those unions, combining several kinds of labor under one set of rules.²⁸ When the monument was lettered the union had already existed 151 years. It is at Milan.

These things show how dear the union was to freedmen. We have already cited twelve of the evidences of a powerful organization of freedmen on Roman soil. There are over 40 more good specimens in the museums and other collections, and their record is made good for all time in the voluminous catalogues of Archæologists. The great number of inscriptions of the *centonarii*, or rag and old junk gatherers, in comparison with most other organized trades may be accounted for if we reflect that very many of the ancient lowly obtained their manumission late in life, after they had been worn out in toil, whose products had gone to their masters.

Manumissions were easily obtained at an advanced age because the owner of a man would be glad to free himself from the expense of maintaining him after he became old, decrepit and useless. Doubtless the owner often killed his ultra-aged slaves rather than accord them the boon called liberty to die in possession of. But we may be sure that such was ever the longing for freedom when offered the slave under whatsoever motive that he seldom refused to accept the gift, though its acceptance entailed all the anxieties and dangers of the precarious competitive struggle for existence. Assuming at an advanced age the responsibilities of life, he drifted into any labor, no matter how groveling, and became the junk-man, rag-picker and patch-piecer; and with the mutual aid of his union succeeded in living happier in responsible independence than he was before in his irresponsible thralldom.

A second reason for their large numbers may be, that

²⁵ Orell., *Inscr.*, No. 4070: Mur. *Theasaur*, 513, 3. See also Orell., No. 4071.

²⁶ Momms., *Inscr.*, No. 5,060.

²⁷ Orell., *Inscr.*, No. 7,201.

²⁸ Orell., *Inscr.*, No. 1702.

many times no work could be found; consequently to obtain enough to live upon they took to picking what others threw away and found that by scouring the streets and alleys they could bring to their rag and junk markets sufficient to relieve the pinch of hunger, and with the otherwise unusable stuff, make fires to cook their food and warm themselves in winter.

The fact that these *centonarii* are found to have existed not only in Europe but throughout Asia, is a matter deeply suggestive to the student of ethnology. That they had already had their bands, and their bodies or *corpores* at the dawn of manumission from this primeval state of slavery there seems little doubt. The inscription that we cite from Orelli's catalogue⁸⁹ shows by its own words—the identical ones engraved in antiquity upon a piece of stone—that the union had existed *de facto* already 151 years. Further light is suggestively shed here, to the effect that the union had been able, traditionally or otherwise, to count the years of its age with precision.

These seemingly phenomenal things are cleared up when we come to discover that when the great wave of political antagonism to the growth and influence of organized labor struck backward and overwhelmed the unions which, as we have clearly shown by the inscription from the ruins of Pompeii, were able in some municipalities to elect their own superintendents of public works, a few were excepted with the proviso that they should keep themselves piously subject to the rules of the ancient religion, should fear and honor the *lares* of the gentile immortals and preserve their identity and their habitat by an inscription or register of each union in perfect accordance with the law. Provided with this inscription whereon was registered their habitat, the name of the deity they had chosen as their tutelary guardian, and the business which they professed as a means of existence, the law accorded them the right to organize, *jus coeundi*. But these regulations they must strictly observe; because they made it very convenient for the police whose duty it was to watch over them and report their behavior to senate and tribunes of the people.

Under the more ancient *jus coeundi* or right of combina-

⁸⁹ Orell., *Inscr.*, No. 1702, note 2 of explanation: "Collegii supra scripti anni 151, ex quo collegium isthoc constitutum fuerat."

tion into unions of trades and professions, it certainly, as proved by many inscriptions of the period of the emperors of Rome, could not have been obligatory that the unions should chisel out these lithoglyphs, so precious to us now. So when the law came, some of them searched back for their chronology and pedigree and had them inserted with the rest of the inscription. We know from abundant evidence that the oldest societies stood the best chance of escaping suppression. They were especially exempted by law. This exemption was based upon the respect for the laws and traditions of Numa, Solon and Tullius. The new societies, however, were looked upon with distrust; and it logically follows that if a *collegium*, *corpus* or *sodalitium* could prove its age by tracing its record back to a time anterior to the agrarian or servile troubles, it would have an almost certain chance of remaining unmolested.

We have enlarged upon this curious subject of the rag pickers with a view of preparing the mind of the reader with facts in regard to our theory—which we will admit to be original and unique—upon the origin of gypsies.

It is admitted that history has failed to record the origin, life and migrations of the gypsies. Of course everybody agrees both that they are a caste and that they are, so to speak, the pariah dogs of these later days; but everybody, upon reflection, also admits that they always were and still are organized. The fact is, their organization has always been exclusive and severe. Another fact always was and is, namely, that their language is Latin although mixed with Sanscrit and Greek; and this is the most incontrovertible stronghold to our suggestion that gypsies are the still lingering, self-constituted, tribal relics of the archaic children of the great *gens* families of the Aryan race, both Asiatic and Indo-European.

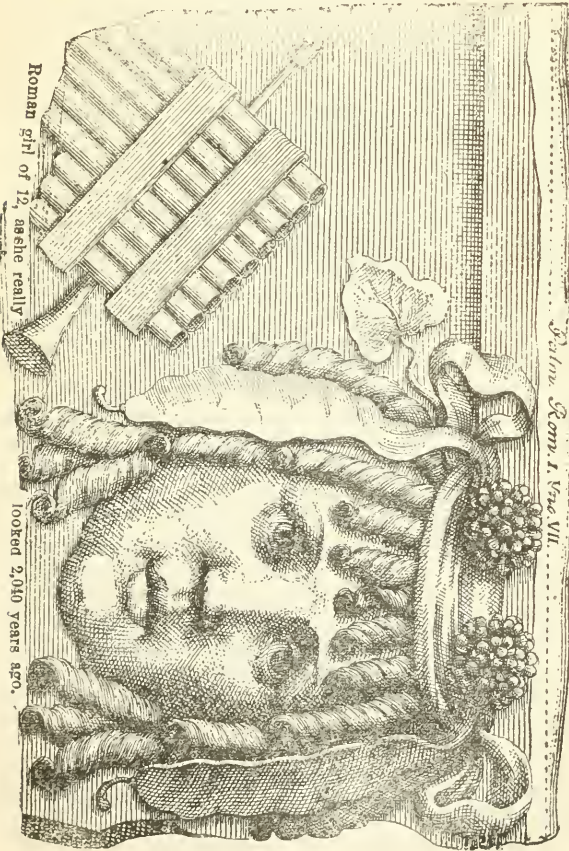
We suggest that being outcasts of the *domus* or paternal home through the law of primogeniture, they served for unknown ages as slaves on the paternal estate; and at the dawn of the period of manumissions were among the first to form self-supporting, or mutually protective unions out of which the least qualified, most cunning and romantic never developed, but continued to pick up a living by petty theft, rag, junk and slop-gathering, horse-jockeying and piece-patching, warping their tongues to fit localities, and

their ingenuity to all the cunning quibbles which characterize the competitive system. These we conjecture were the *centonarii* or rag pickers, whose compulsory inscriptions we study with wondering surprise. They are simply the fruit of the cruel condition of ancient society; and the unique monument their name and shame have built must arrest the gaze of man, imparting to him a mournful lesson as he toils onward to the revolution.

ANCIENT GYPSY BEAUTY & HER PIPES.

From a slab of marble found near Rome. ONE OF MARK ANTONY'S LIBERATED SLAVES. The wage slave's ancestral mother.

Salon, Rom. I. Vno. VII.



Roman girl of 12, as she really

looked 2,040 years ago.

CHAPTER XIX.

TRADE UNIONS.

THE PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN IMAGE-MAKERS.

ORGANIZATIONS OF PEOPLE who worked for the Gods—Big and little God-Smiths—Their Unions object to the New Religion of Christianity because this, originally Repudiating Idolatry, Ruined their Business—Compromise which Originated the Idolatry in the Church of to-day—The *Cabatores*—Unions of Ivory Workers—Of *Bisellarii* or Deity-Sedan-Makers—Of Image-makers in Plaster—The *Unguentarii* or Unions of Perfumemakers—Holy Ointments and the Unions that manufactured them—Etruscan Trinketmakers—Bookbinders—No Proof yet found of their Organization.

DIRECTLY connected with and a component part of the ancient state, particularly that of the Indo-Europeans, was the great subject of the gods, *deorum immortalium*. This with them was no wild fancy but an institution so closely interwoven in all the affairs of public and private life that no person of patrician birth who could lay claim to a family¹ could possibly, without heresy often punishable with death, disregard or question. The worship of the *manes* at the domestic altar, and of the *penates*, the mysterious home of the *lares* and all the holy immortals was compulsory. All paganism was excessively, tyrannically, inexorably, cruelly, religious. It ignored the whole proletarian class; and most logically, according to its tenets; for they, possessing no family, no property, no paternity, could have no tutelary saint except by proxy and in an eleemosynary way, used by them superficially

¹ The proletaries or working people had no recognized family. To be born into an ancient family was to belong to a great and noble *gens*.

to flatter conscience,¹ and in all cases borrowed by them from the grandees, who sometimes permitted the loan of a family god² to act the sham of tutelary protector, and this sometimes out of mere contemptuous pity. But this archaic, aristocratic worship was in practice mechanical. Its temples, the work of the proletaries, were massive, often magnificent structures. Idols were numerous, some of them specimens of the finest sculptures the world ever produced. Its altars were solemn, massive and awful; its sepulchres, sarcophagi and mausoleums, striking in the solemnity of their incidents and surroundings; its little images and deities were visitants of every respectable household; its sacerdotal and sacrificial paraphernalia numerous and indispensable and the oracles and shrines of the aruspex and soothsayer had each to be adorned with furniture which best convenienceed the cunning, flattery, superstition and makeshift of priestcraft.

All these things required tools to make them and were the product of skill and industry of the proletaries. Great numbers of these emblems of Pagan piety are preserved in the collections; and by them we know how to appreciate the methods of mechanics who produced them.

The *cabatores* had a union that made images of the greater gods. By this is probably to be understood, the most powerful immortals, Jupiter, Ceres, Vulcan and the like. They had their shops in Rome and Athens. If they were numerous we are without evidence of the fact; although their skill covered a considerable range. The *cabator* and the *imaginifex* made images of many kinds but the manner of their operations is obscure. We know more of their extent. The business of the former was to make the less elegant statues, reliefs, and perhaps pictures of the great deities; while the latter busied himself with the manufacture of the household and toy gods for which there was always a steady demand. In this manufacture of deities there was from the most ancient epoch of which we have data, enough demand to keep large

¹ Fustel, *Cité Antique*, livre II, *passim*.

² Mommsen, *De Collegiis et Sodalicitis Romanorum*, p. 86: "Legibus collegii Dianæ et Antinoi et collegii Æsculapii et Hygiæ." Note 13, *Idem*, p. 78. "In familia Augustali multa collegia opticum fuisse." *Idem*, p. 10, *De Cultu Minervæ* "Nautes quidem accepit simulacrum, . . . Nautiorum familia sacra Minervæ retinebat."

numbers of mechanics employed. It grew with the numbers of the human race, and increased as human taste for luxury increased. Belief did not perceptibly change. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, even Anaxagoras and Diogenes worshiped the immortal gods whose emblems, statuettes, and profiles adorned not only the temples but the residences of all respectable citizens. Such images, liable to accident and decay, had to be replenished or repaired, and the labor required to do this gave the incentive of organization.

We shall show in another chapter, that on the introduction of the Christian faith at Rome in after years, one of the objections most vigorously raised against the new doctrine was, not that it would interfere with them in point of conscience, but that it would interfere adversely to their means of earning bread! It threatened to sap the fountain of economic existence. The early Christians wanted no idols. The image-makers who wrought holy emblems out of wood, brass, gold, pearl and sometimes of amber and the precious gems, gained a living by their trade; and consequently, Christianity, however it might otherwise please their sense of mutual love, of equality, fraternity and freedom, yet so long as it threatened their means of livelihood in the slightest degree they opposed it with every effort within their reach; whereupon a share of the Pagan idolatry was bargained for, sufficient to restore the manufacture of images and idols. Then working people, always prone to accept, threw away their objections and embraced the new religion in such numbers and with such zeal that the old religion began to dissolve, and in course of a few centuries crumbled to the dust, while the workman's craft of image-making continues to this day.

Of the most celebrated idol manufacturers, Phidias, perhaps stands foremost. Like all proletaries his family is unknown. No blooded historian could taint the noble prestige with a line enlightening mankind upon his pedigree; and writers of his own class, there were none. His superlative genius, however, wrote his history in the exquisite images of Athena, in the great works on the Propylæa of the acropolis and the Parthenon, wrought by his combined imagination and chisel. Ivory and gold

entered into this last chryselephantine colossus; and his adornment of Olympia with the statue of Jupiter as a virgin goddess signalized his age by an exhibit of the mechanical in the most exquisite and costly details. Pericles the renowned optimist and politician, stood in astonishment and admiration before this workingman's genius and originality.

Myron, the cotemporary and celebrated rival of Phidias, could sculpture a quoit-player, a cow or a god with equal perfection. His Hercules, his Jupiter and his Minerva were so perfect that Roman warriors in capturing them were captured by them. When, afterwards, Lysippus, Praxiteles, Scopas and a great many others adorned this art with perfection it never had before or since, it became a trade at which many thousands earned a living,

Great schools of image-making flourished in Greece and Rome from times long anterior to Phidias. The Etruscans had schools of idol manufacture conducted, as in Greece, by the proletaries or working people. Once when the Romans beat them in battle and at the siege took Volsinii nearly 300 years before Christ, about 2,000 holy images and statues were a part of the trophies of victory. The Etruscans were hard working, faithful people who had trade unions in great numbers. Some of these were image-makers; and they well knew how to live and profit upon the superstitions which thus attached to the Pagan faith.

While Rome produced few image-makers of brilliancy she patronized enormously the manufacture of all sorts of holy trinkets. The household from the earliest times was the true patron, and ladies bought many little imitations of gods and goddesses together with an endless variety of sacerdotal paraphernalia, such as suited their fancy as to merit and price.

Orelli gives us an inscription of a genuine union of the *bisellarii*, who manufactured the great sacerdotal seat or chair; a splendidly finished and richly upholstered tête à tête for the gods.* There were also signs either of unions or private business of persons working ivory, *ebu-*

* *Inscriptionum Latinarum Collectio*, No. 4,137, note 1, also Gruter, *Inscriptionum Totius Orbis Romanorum*, 12, 8, and Muratori, *Thesaurus Veterum Inscriptionum*, 544, 1.

rarii. The inscriptions are given by Orelli.⁵ But we have more positive evidence of a trade union of ivory workers in a direct mention of them as such in the Justinian code which provided for them the right to organize and labor in the holy cause.⁶

The evidences indicate that the *tectoriolae* or little plaster images of which Cicero⁷ and others have made mention, were the work of the *albarii*.⁸ An inscription found at Rome and published by Gruter,⁹ appears to signify by its reading that the business was managed by one C. Ateius Philadelphus but gives no clue to warrant that he was managing officer of a trade union of the plasterers' craft.

Besides the wonderful chryselphantine ivory workers belonging to the great school of Phidias, already mentioned, there were the *eburarii*, who, as we have already stated, were fortified by a law in the code of Justinian, and were excepted in the late statutes on trade unions.¹⁰ These craftsmen made little statuettes, symbols, ivory chains, variously shaped charms and talismans propitiatory of the gods. They for this purpose carried on a considerable trade with the Africans and Phœnicians whereby to obtain pure and delicate ivory. Indeed, the superstition inculcated by the ancient religion led to a veritable industry which through many a long century furnished bread to these mechanics and their families.

Orelli,¹¹ gives an inscription of an association or genuine trade union of the gods' bed makers, or *pulvinarii*.¹² They were organized under the society name of *sodalitium* which Cicero characterized as low and mean; but we presume that as in this case their calling was to manufacture the elegantly upholstered couches and silk embroidered sleeping furniture of the mighty immortals, the piety and solemnity which enveloped their workshops rescued them from the rigors of the conspiracy laws which Cicero and

⁵ Orell., *idem*, Nos. 4,180 and 4,302.

⁶ Cod., *Justiniani*, x, 64, 1.

⁷ Cic., *Fam.*, 9, 22, 3.

⁸ Tertulian, *De Idololatria*, cap. viii. This author, however, admits that besides images placed in the walls, the *albarii* did several other kinds of plaster work.

⁹ Gruter, *Inscr. Tot. Orb.*, 642, 11.

¹⁰ Orell., Nos. 4,180, 4,302.

¹¹ *Inscriptionum Latinarum Collectio*, No. 4,061.

¹² We say "genuine" in cases where we find full approval as to their genuineness. Orelli, Fabretti, Muratorius, etc., are high authority.

Cæsar instituted for their extinction. Another inscription was registered by Oderic, of these couch makers.¹³ It says that one Julius Epaphra was a fruit seller, formerly *pulvinarius* who worked at the couch makers' trade furnishing them for the great circus; and Orelli cites Suetonius to show that such seats or couches were common at the games although their usurpation by the grandees did not please.¹⁴

We close our section on the image-makers with the *unquentarii* or perfumers. The reader by this time begins to see that in reality all these fine things "fit for the gods," which were manufactured by the unions in such quantities, were appropriated and used by the rich who in thus usurping or assuming what was destined for immortals, substituted themselves therefor; and in that way threw a halo of glory around themselves and their great, inaccessible *gens* families. The whole of it was a sort of self-deification, using political priestcraft to puff their vanity, inflame their egoism, and widen the chasm which forbiddingly yawned between them and the proletarian classes.

These fine things, so pleasing to the sense of feeling and vision were not enough. They also required something to gratify the olfactory sense; and perfumes of the richest kind were manufactured for them. There were unions in considerable numbers who did this work. At Capua before and during the servile war of Spartacus, there were perfumery factories which were celebrated all over Italy. The perfumers can scarcely be called image-makers, but their art completed the category of delicacies and amplified the means of satisfying the voluptuous cravings of the enormously wealthy. Their perfumes were used in the temples, and at the sacrifices. They were esteemed at feasts and were used in dress. At the great circus, and afterwards the coliseum, the reserved seats of the grandees were known by their aroma.

The perfumers were not only workers but also merchants; and necessarily, because they had to carry on a considerable traffic with the east and south to obtain

¹³ Oderic, *Inscriptiones*, p. 74.

¹⁴ "Spectare cum circenses ex pulvinari non placet nobis." Suetonius, *Claudius*, 4.

gums, spices, nuts, seeds and other raw material for their products. The perfumers or *unguentarii* also had similar unions in Athens and Corinth where they carried on a considerable business. There are found quite a number of inscriptions of different kinds of these workmen and their societies. One archæologist cites an inscription found in Rome, upon which there has been some comment made, arising from a disagreement about its exact meaning.¹⁵ Publicius Nicanor, was a perfumer on the Via Sacra, and one Maximus Accensus, was one of the members of the union whose duty was to do up the goods. Most probably it was a union of perfumers chartered under the names of two foremen, or one foreman and one director as was customary in order to comply with the law. Marini¹⁶ cites another inscription showing that these prominent officers were females, or at least one of them. The slab was found in Naples. Orelli¹⁷ has an inscription found by Gruter at Venusia in Lucania, which celebrates the setting free of a bondsman and family, by the father, out of the money obtained as proceeds of the perfumery business. His name was Philargyrus, a perfumer. This was probably a private business of the Augustine period. The marble is broken here, leaving us with this conjecture.

All the image-makers and perfumers' trades were countenanced and provided for by King Numa who believed that religion was a thing most proper to cultivate. He further believed that it was impious to wage war; or at any rate, to risk the chances of war lest the sacred temples and altars be desecrated by its ravages. Thus from a high antiquity, and largely out of respect to the memory and works of this king, the image-makers were classed as the futherers of the holy cause and exempted from many of the restrictions and persecutions which in later times became the source of bloodshed.

There was a regular trade society of the pearl fishers, *margaritarii*,¹⁸ who, it appears, communicated with the

¹⁵ Donati, *Roma, Vetus et Recens*, p. 327, 51. It is also mentioned by Muratori, *Thesaurus, Veterum Inscriptionum*.

¹⁶ Atti, 2, p. 516. *De Unguentariis*.

¹⁷ Orelli., 2, 988.

¹⁸ Orelli., *Inscriptionum Latinarum Collectio*, Nos. 1,602, 4,076, 4,218. One of these, No. 4,076 is a genuine trade union. No. 4,218 comes under the title of *Artes et Opifica*, leaving it questionable as to its having been a private business.

workshops in the cities, which their labor supplied with pearls in the rough. Diving and scraping in the distant waters for pearls was, at the starting point of this precarious business, a trade which to render successful, *nee* led to be fortified by a federation with the inlayers and other pearl finishers working at home. Much of this pearl was used in decorating the images which the demands of an idolatrous faith places upon the market; and by thus furnishing labor, gave bread to the working people. On a superficial view, the fact that the great artists, such a Phidias, Myron, Polyclethus, Alcamenes of the heroic school of Ageladas, or the still more versatile school of a few years later of which Lysippas, Praxiteles and Scopas were the heroes, we do not find the pearl industry to have extensively entered into the composition of the great sculptures. But we must remember first, that the descriptions are defective, and next, that the originals are lost.¹⁹ We know that pearls were used in archaic times. If they entered into the composition of idols—and there seems to be no ground for doubt of this—it must probably have been by inlaying.

Great skill was required in the whole pearl business. Among the Etruscans and Romans the art turned rather toward the trinket manufacture. Many of the little gods of the household, emblems, talismans, mementos and charms were gemmed with pearls. Of course, these things, at this late period, if dug from the ruins, would fail to discover the perishable pearls; because the delicate carbonate crumbles with moisture, neglect and time.

We find a few dim accounts of book-glucers mixed up with the amanuenses or scribes. They acted the part, so to speak, of the modern printers. These, together with poets, teachers and persons engaged in medicine and surgery, were always, or nearly always, of lowly birth.²⁰

¹⁹ A more thorough ransacking of this subject may bring to light much of value regarding the unions of image-makers who inscribed their record in the Greek tongue.

²⁰ Guhl and Kohner. *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, p. 526. "Three classes amongst the slaves and freedmen, held a distinguished position by their intellectual accomplishments, viz: the *medici chirurgi* and *liberalli*." As to the *liberati*, *idem*, p. 529 we quote as follows: "We have already mentioned the *litterati*, cultivated slaves, generally of Greek origin, who had to copy books or write from dictation. By these slaves manuscripts were copied with astounding celerity, with the aid of abbreviations called, from their inventor, *Tironian*, a freedman of Cicero, Tironian notes. These copies, some the result of mistakes went to the shops of the bookseller (*bibliopola*), unless these kept copyists in their own

Glucers, *glutinatores*, are spoken of by Cicero.²¹ That they were numerous is evident from the large amount of work required of this kind. The great histories of ancient writers were copied times without number and some of them were bound in boards or leather or cloth with much art and taste. It is, however, beyond our power, as yet to discover whether the book-binders possessed a trade organization. The fact that most of the other trades had unions renders it probable that they also were organized, and it is possible that inscriptions may yet be discovered revealing the fact.

shops. Numerous copies were thus produced in little time. The satirical writings of Ovidus, Propertius and Martialis were in everybody's hands, as were also the works of Homer and Virgil, the odes of Horace, and the speeches of Cicero; grammars, anthologies, etc., for schools, were reproduced in the same manner; indeed, the antique book-trade was carried on on a scale hardly surpassed by modern times." Much is taken from Pliny, *Natural History*, lib. XXIX. *intl.*

²¹ Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, liber. IV. c. iv. 1. See also Orell, *Inscriptionum Latinarum Collectio*, No. 2,925, 4,198. *Glutnarius*, the inscription is on an elegant tomb inside of a vault, according to Gruter, copied by Orell, *Artes et Opificia*, Vol. II, p. 293). See bookbinding, Ed. Bevan. *Series of British Manufactory Industries*, (Article by Freeman Wood, pp. 70-94).



Palms. Rom. I. vi. ix.

ANCIENT SCULPTURED IMAGE FOUND ON A BROKEN STONE AGE ABOUT B. C.

CHAPTER XX.

TRADE UNIONS CONCLUDED.

THE TAX-GATHERERS. FINAL REFLECTIONS.

UNIONS OF COLLECTORS—A Vast Organized System with a Uniform and Harmoniously Working Business—Trade Unions under Government Aid and Security—The *Ager Publicus* of Rome—True Golden Age of Organized Labor—Government Land—A prodigious Slave System their Enemy—Victims of the Slave System—Premonitions on the Coming of Jesus—Demand by His Teachings for Absolute Equality.

JUDGING from all the records within our reach, it was Numa who first recognized the necessity of regularly organized trades unions for express purposes of purveying goods of every kind, in a systematic manner. He was a strictly business man; and the most important business has ever been that of getting the means of life. In addition to the federated trades there had to be the tax collectors; otherwise the expenses of the government could not be defrayed. For this, there was a set of workmen, whose express business was to traverse city and country with their credentials from the regularly chartered union of the *Vectigalaria* or tax collectors. There were, at that early time, no such arrangements as now exist, by which the government did its own work of this kind. A labor guild or union did this work. We have evidence showing that the men going on their rounds collecting the taxes, were sometimes severe, even brutal to the poor farmers, forcing them to comply with the requirements of the law.

Of the branches into which king Numa distributed the

working people we have already spoken elsewhere, representing them as they appear to us from evidence, through a long vista covering what we, for our own scheme of reasoning, term the golden age because the workmen thrived. Meantime we are well aware that the so-called Golden Age of Rome, is reckoned between the years 250 and 14 before Christ; but this calculation is made by historians of the competitive system, and befits itself to conquest and literature, not to the progress of social prosperity. It actually begins about the time this social and economical prosperity had reached its zenith. We cannot admit the Golden Age of Rome to have begun at so late a date. From a well sought point of view of sociology this era began with the recognition, by the law of Numa, of the right of free organization; and the laborers' methodical assumption of the business of supplying the people with the means of life. This was the true golden age of Rome; and as it also covers the largest part of the era ordinarily admitted to have been the golden age, including the great period of Roman conquest and the splendid era of literature, it only varies in having commenced 670, instead of 250 years before Christ.

If it was necessary for the scheme of Numa to have the public lands formed by the guilds or societies of practical agriculture it was also as necessary for him to institute some reliable means of collecting the fruits of this labor and distributing them among those whom the law recognized as the true owners. We have had abundant evidence that among the ancient Indo-European Aryans, no persons except those born to an inheritance possessed the right of owning the public domain. Even the patricians who were the privileged class, and the makers of the laws, did not, until a comparatively late date, attempt to get personal possession of the *ager publicus* of Italy. The plebeians who were the only workers, never owned any land. The state owned the land and the proletaries worked it. The fruits of the lands had to be brought to the people. What is meant by the state ownership, in ancient law, is citizen ownership—the state holding it in common for the citizens. But who were the citizens? It certainly was not the working people, who were the outcasts, the descendants of the slaves, or the slaves themselves. They

owned nothing and could own nothing. But their function was to do the work: and Numa permitted them to organize and do the work socially or in common.

After the harvest the grain had to be distributed among the citizens who, according to the law, were the owners of the land, the state holding it for them in trust. The workers were always obliged to recognize their lowly condition, and were always glad to get enough of what they produced to keep them alive.

The plan instituted whereby to collect these products and distribute them among the privileged citizens and others, was organization of the *vectigalarii* or collectors of incomes, who did this work through a system of societies. The society had a manager or principal overseer, *procurator*, and was also supplied with a *quaestor* or inspector, who was perhaps the chief clerk. Then came sometimes a secretary, a treasurer and foremen and the working hands, all of whom constituted the membership of the union or commune. The old name of the secretary was sometimes set down in the inscriptions found by the antiquaries, as *cornicularius*,¹ which signified that the secretary had risen to the place by promotion. It appears from the numerous inscriptions cut in stones, that these customs collectors had societies or unions all over the provinces under Roman domination.² At Lyons, after the conquest of Cæsar, there were several of them.³ Their work was to collect the proceeds of the harvests. Others collected the products of the manufactories: others the proceeds of the fisheries. Even the proceeds of the brothels were collected and distributed in money.⁴ All the multiform labor of collecting had to be done, and the state made it obligatory upon the customs-unions to do their work well. This accounts for Granier's⁵ remark

¹ Later an assistant secretary, Cod. Theodosii, VII, 4, 32.

² See Orelli, *Inscriptionum Collectio*, 6,642. *Vectigalia* and many others.

³ Boissac, *Inscription de Lyon*, VII, 25, p. 272, found one which reads as follows: "Memoriae Aurelii Ceciliani præpositus. Vectigalium posuit Epictatus Alumnus—Lugduni." Meaning that Epic the apprentice inscribed the slab to the honor of the director one Aurelius Cecil, in Lyons.

⁴ Süsser, *History of Prostitution; Rome*, p. 68: "The *Prostituta* (strangers not organized) paid no tax to the state; while their registered rivals (organized *meretrices*, see p. 66 *idem*), contributed largely to the municipal treasury." *Greece*, 48. "Any speculator had a right to set up a *diclerios* by paying the tax to the state."

⁵ *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières*, chap. xiv. *Ancient Trade Unions and Their Development*.

that these customs collectors were sometimes brutal to the poor farmers whose unions failed to garner as much as the law required.⁶ It is evident that the collectors had to put themselves in direct business relation with the union of *vectuarii* or teamsters; as they more frequently took the produce itself than the money. Their practice was to supply the citizens, not so much with the money these proceeds of labor were worth, but with the proceeds themselves.⁷

The trade unions were recognized by the state and held responsible to the state for their work. If in conveying the grain from the farms to Rome, the wagon was attacked by mountaineer brigands and the goods lost, the citizens, who were the state, held, not the teamsters but the whole union responsible. In almost all cases, however, the produce of the *ager publicus* was transmitted to Rome by sea.

For instance; a certain quota of the province of Aquitania, or the neighboring province of Lugdunensis, where are found many relics of these societies, is claimed at Rome. Lugdunum or Lyons was connected by water every step of the way to Rome. The society at Lyons sent the grain down the river Rhone by barges to the Mediterranean. At Arles, a ship took it on board and consigned it to Ostia, the mouth of the Tiber and port of Rome. Now the barges of the Tiber had to belong to a union. So there were unions of bargers, *caudicarii*. The first society guaranteed the safe arrival of the grain as far as the mouths of the Rhone, *Ora Rhodani*. Here were the ships of another society to further convey it to the port of Rome, so hither it had to be conveyed on board a ship. Thus is seen why the seafaring men also must have an organization; otherwise, if the ship was lost, captain, crew and cargo, there would remain nobody responsible; and the citizens would be the sole sufferers. It became necessary therefore, since the government had jobbed out one part of this business to a commune, that it do the same thing in their case, because the rich citizens who were to be fed by labor, though, personifying government, could legislate or conduct war, could not work; because upon it there was a taint. So the order of the *navi-*

⁶ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, book V. chap. 43, explains the power of the law permitting and furthering these organizations

⁷ Granier. *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières*, chap. xiv. Much additional information may be obtained by reading this valuable chapter of M. Granier's work.

cularti existed; and being chartered by government, was made responsible for the loss of any cargo. When the cargo arrived at Ostia, the mouth of the Tiber, sixteen miles from Rome, it was conveyed to the granaries of the city by the societies of boatmen, known as *caudicarii*, bargemen, under guarantee, precisely in the same manner as in former cases. Thus for the least possible trouble and with utmost security, the government or non-laboring citizens got the greatest possible amount of produce from the *ager publicus*, or common land. Yet the people who labored were satisfied and thrived better than they were ever known to thrive under any system, because their industry produced enormously and their strong arms made labor easy, agreeable and safe.

Now the customs collectors or *vectigalarii* were interested in all these details of supply; because the government looked to them directly or indirectly for everything the citizen population had to live upon from year to year.

But the supply of grain, wine, oil and other agricultural products was not all these tax collectors had to attend to. There were many artisan societies. These we have treated separately and in regular order, according to their importance. They all had more or less to do with the tax or customs collectors, with whom they were interlinked in the great social bond. Sometimes, as in the case of the pork butchers union,⁶ there were officers appointed whose business was to go personally, or send, into the stock farm country and collect the tax either in money or in kind. This would, of course, entail an immense amount more labor than that attached to butchery. It would entail the whole business of the drover. Weighing would require much attention and an inspection of all the various operations of several vocations.

Slabs have been found to the number of 262, bearing inscriptions of the *vectigalia*, of different dates, ranging mostly from the time of the first Cæsars to that of the emperor Constantine. These 262 include only those registered by Orelli in his work on the Roman Antiquities. Great numbers of those unions probably existed of which no record

⁶ Granler, whose researches into these societies and the laws governing them reveal an astonishing versatility and accuracy, says that very many, if not all the commercial trades had officers, whose work was to oversee the customs collections. See *idem*, pp. 310-315. There was a Boatmen's insurance mentioned by Livy xxiii. cap. 44. Beckmann, *Hist. of Inventions*, (Bohn) I. p. 234. (Caudicarii).

was kept, and antiquaries of the future may yet reveal more. On the whole these facts regarding inner workings of the ancient human family present a picture of deep interest, revealing as they do a system of industry unique in its method of supplying the great population of Rome at that time containing probably about 2,000,000 inhabitants⁹ and its numerous *municipia* or provincial cities and town with means of life. The *vectigalia* evidently covered more of the immense business of those times than the ordinary reader would ascribe to them. Orelli,¹⁰ speaks of iron miners who sometimes interlinked with the mines situated at great distances from the city; yet it would appear by this mention that the miners far away in the mountains and perfectly organized, were in close and systematic, if not happy mutual communication with the forgers' association stationed at Rome.

The most remarkable part of the system was that it was government work; that the work was performed by trade unions instead of isolated individuals as in the competitive system; and that during many centuries through which this system existed, both in war and peace, the ancient working people were prosperous and happy. Of course, this organization does not apply in any form to slaves. This terrible scourge of the human race still existed; but there are strong proofs that the trade unions were at one time making inroads upon the slave system which required care by the masters and slave owners in order to conduct business; whereas the trade union system endorsed by king Numa lifted all the troublesome details and responsibilities from the shoulders of the patricians who regarded individual labor as a disgrace. Labor being a humiliation to the propertied class who managed the government land but did not perform the actual work, it was a matter of convenience for them to have trade unions. The state, then, was their great patron and protector. Rich individual slave owners like Crassus or Cicero or Nicias could job out their slaves' labor to persons of enterprise, but the very pride of their blood prevented them from undertaking any except the noble en-

⁹ Consult Dr. Beloch. *Bulletin de Statistique de l'Institut International*, tome, I. année 1886, p. 62 sqq. *Roma*.

¹⁰ Roman antiquities, No. 1,239 *vectigalia ferrariorum* also *ferrifodnaril*. See also Mur. 972, 10. The inscr. reads: "D. M. Primonis ferrariariorum vitallis contuber." Found at the mines of Nimea.

terprises of war and politics. There was nobody to compete with the unions and the state became their great employer. But we have seen in our account of strikes and uprisings that human cupidity, taking advantage of the slave system and by means of it, grasping, holding and tilling the *ager publicus*, finally destroyed the public trade unions.

That the trade union or social system was good there seems to be no ground for doubt; but the workman being stamped by the old religio-political jealousy of paganism which branded him as a wretch, preventing him from taking political action, whereby to secure and fortify his system, gave the grandees all the advantage because they made the laws. When, therefore, the unions found that they must exercise their political power, which they did in later times, it was too late. They were themselves too deeply tinged with the deadly, unmanly sense that their masters were superior to them by birth. There had been no Christ to boldly declare a new state of things based upon absolute equality by birth and natural rights of all men. Seeing the encroachments upon themselves as well as upon the public lands their sole source of raw material, the trade unions tardily fell into the struggle, learned to wrestle valiantly, suffered a more pronounced hatred of their masters, grew in self-dignity but gradually lost in vested rights, forced up a great social struggle but incurred the deep-rooted hatred of Cicero and Cæsar, grew poorer, more numerous, more secret, vindictive and conniving and wrought up a spirit all over Greece, Rome, Judea and the provinces, which rendered possible the kindling of that marvelous revolution that destroyed the identity of ancient paganism.

But there is one thing our researches fail to discover. We do not find clear and sufficient evidences of a system of agricultural communes. These may have existed. We are in doubt. Everything else was organized. Where is this missing link? Had it existed, would not the great trade union system have grown so complete as to gradually obtain the ascendancy, political as well as industrial and thus been able to realize thousands of years ago, the revolution?

CHAPTER XXI.

ROMANS AND GREEKS.

THE COUNTLESS COMMUNES.

UNIONS OF ROMANS AND GREEKS compared—Miscellaneous Societies of Tradesmen—Shipcarpenters—Boatmen—Vesselmakers—Millers—Organization of the *Lupanarii*—Of the Ancient Firemen—Description of the Greek Fraternities—The *Eranoi* and *Thiasoi*—Strange Mixture of Piety and Business—Trade Unions of Syria and North Palestine—Their Officers—Membership and Influence of Women—Large Numbers of Communes in the Islands of the Eastern Mediterranean—Their Organizations Known and Described From their Inscriptions.

ALL antiquity was at one time a hive of trade unions. Nearly every species of business was organized. Especially was this the case in southern Italy, where Plato found a system of communism extensively prevailing, supposed by some to have been planted there by Pythagoras.¹ The early inhabitants of the Italian peninsula were well acquainted with trade unionism; and traces of it, if not mentioned are discernable in history and this fact stands as the fundamental solution to many of the otherwise incomprehensible things which have puzzled modern historians. Nevertheless the nobility and its laws of primogeniture reigned in circles of politics and power. Plato is known to have visited Italy several times in search of material for his ideal state. He was, however, so much of an aristocrat, or so enslaved by his environments that he signally failed to give

¹ Drumann, *Arbeiter und Communisten in Griechenland und Rom.* somewhere remarks that Pythagoras and Numa were not only contemporaries but personal friends. If so, we cannot wonder that Numa befriended the trade unions.

the world the benefit of his communitical lucubrations. The nearest he could possibly get to a decent government was to one of bosses, policemen and slaves, and the sociologist of our day is forced to drop Plato with a species of chagrin or disgust. Aristotle did better; but both were aristocrats, enslaved to great men of wealth. Both Solon and Numa, long before them had planted the real, practical government which the world is at this moment following. Though Aristotle could analyze the course the world should and does take, yet he was too Pagan-bound to see beyond the galling bands of slavery.

The *Fabri navalium*, ship carpenters and boat makers, of the Tiber had well regulated unions which were considered among the most respectable of the organizations. These Associations were found along the banks of the navigable rivers and the coasts of the sea on both sides of the peninsula and also in Sicily.

Of the boatmen's unions, *collegia naviculariorum*, the greater number, according to our evidence, were to be found in the country. There could not have been many boatmen at Rome; but we have a mention, among others, by the great jurist Gaius, who speaks of them in discriminating the right of organization in later times.² The unions of boatmen were naturally confined to the sea shores. We might speak of them as possibly connected directly or indirectly with the lawless boatmen who swarmed the sea from Naples to Syracuse, and whom Plutarch says Spartacus found to be treacherous, without principles and looking only for gain. Even to this day the Mediterranean is lined with them from Gibraltar to Barcelona and thence to Toronto. At Genoa and Nice and on the Baltic, they are still well organized and take advantage of every opportunity to gain a lira by fair means and in all their methods to attain this end are thoroughly sustained by one another, as they enjoy all the mutually assisting quirks known to their union.

The *collegium vasculariorum*³ (metal vessel makers), was, of course, a union of potters; but it appears their art was mostly, if not quite confined to manufacturing vessels in

² Gaius, *Digest*, 1, III. 4, "Item collegia Romæ certa sunt, quorum corpus sanetis coll. atque constitutionibus principalibus confirmatum est, veluti piscatorum et quorundam aliorum et naviculariorum et in provinciis sunt."

³ An old inscription mutilated by age and ill usage reads: "P. Monetius sociorum libertus Philogenes vascularius Victoria C. I. Salvia sibi et suis." (See Fabretti, *Inscriptionum Antiquarum Explicatio*, 632, 276.)

metals. The *vascularii* were skilled workmen. They often wrought beautiful urns in bronze and other material. Some of the delicately chiseled *amphorae* having two handles were of their workmanship, although most *amphorae* were made of potters' clay. Many vessels in gold were the work of their hands. They are known to have realized well by virtue of their trade union; because their patrons were largely the proud *gens* who were not stingy about the amount of cost, if they could have their æsthetic tastes gratified.

The *collegium pistorum*, union of millers, who ground grain in mortars and afterwards in mills, was also a trade organization. This trade was a very important one, as it furnished the *farines* for the family use of all who could afford to eat wheat flour or any of the cereals, coarse or fine. When we further take into account that it required at least seventy men to grind as much grain in a given time as is now ground in a steam mill by a single man, we may realize that in Rome and vicinity there must have been several thousand workmen constantly employed at this handicraft in order to produce enough to supply the demand. It must not be forgotten, however, that there were many people at Rome and everywhere, and from the earliest times, too poor to enjoy bread and who were obliged to subsist on peas, roots and other cheap food.⁴ Nevertheless the millers were numerous, and being organized, they succeeded in competing with slave labor and got considerable of the work to do as a free industry.

Originally or in the remotest antiquity, all such work was done by slaves on the paternal estate, under the eye of the *paterfamilias* or head of the family; but when those degraded slaves became numerous and began to think for themselves, as we have previously seen, they secured manu-

⁴ Feeding the laboring class poor food is of early record. Herodotus (*Euterpy* 125) expressly tells how cheap fed were laborers who built the great Egyptian monuments. They were glad to get onions, garlic and roots. The same paragraph explains the cost of their living: "Σεσήμανται δὲ διὰ γραμμάτων Αἰγυπτίων ἐν τῇ πυραμίδι, ὅσα ἐς τε σурμαίην καὶ κρόμυνα καὶ σκόροδα ἀνασιμώθη τοῖσι ἐργαζομένοισι· καὶ ὡς ἐμὲ εὖ μεμνήσθαι τὰ ὀ έρμηνεύς μοι ἐπιλεγόμενος τὰ γράμματα ἔφη ἑξακόσια καὶ χίλια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελέσθαι." Still earlier, Homer, (*Odyssey*, XIV. 414, 415, 416,) says:

"Ἄξεθ' ὡν τὸν ἄριστον, Ἴενα ξείνω ἱερυσσῶ
Τηλεδαπῶ πρὸς δ' αὐτοῖ ἀνησόμεθ', ὅπερ οἶζον
Δὴν ἔχομεν πάσχοντες ὡν ἐνεκ' ἀργισδόντων."

Shows that the poor fed on pork. See Gull and Konor, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, p. 501 for the later Roman food. Virgil, *Eclogue*, II, v 9, 10, parcelly smallage and onions; So Horace, *Ad Pisone*m; V. 249; "Nec si quid fricti ciceri probat et nucis emptor." Pliny, XXVI. 3.

missions and thus the trade unionists were mostly freedmen who had the sagacity to organize. The advantages in those days, of a good, sound, business-like union for each trade must have been very great; especially so, as their unions were communistical, and used as means of convivial enjoyment, as well as for economic ends.

Of the *collegium incendiarium*, or firemen's association mention is made by Mommsen, who wonders why they should be suppressed; since burial and firemen's societies were among those saved.⁵

The *collegium Vinariorum*, (wine dealers and wine vaulters) was an institution of later date than Numa, who did not encourage wine drinking. If there are data extant regarding them at so early a time, we have failed to find them. During the time of the emperors, however, they were the subject of discussion as to whether they should be suppressed or exempted.⁶ The *collegium lupanariorum* (brothel keepers), as is seen in the passage here cited, was an institution well known in the later ages of the Roman empire and two centuries before Christ there were secret associations of the *lupanarii*,⁷ of which an account has gone into⁸ history. These were curious products of the mania for organization that must have existed at Rome. But it must be remembered that the whole plebeian class of inhabitants were out in the cold, competitive world, and depending each upon his or her trade or profession which he or she considered right, so long as it was patronized by the elegant people of the other class who had social as well as political institutions upon which they could base a guaranty of safety.

During a visit in Europe we became indebted to Mr. Henry Tompkins of the Friendly Societies' Registration at London, from whose hand was first received a copy of his pamphlet on the Friendly Societies of Antiquity. We also made the personal acquaintance of Professors Vogt, Errera, Huber, Vignano and many others who referred us to volumes

⁵ "Ut enim senatus e. g. et funerum causa et incendiariorum jus coeundi re-
buerit, qua ratione vetiti sunt, si qui funerariis intererant incendiariorum
causa societatem ibire?" (Mommsen, *De Censuris et Sodalitibus Romanorum*, p.
89).

⁶ Corpora omnium constituit vinariorum lupanariorum caligariarum et om-
nio omnium artium hisque ex sese de censors dedit et jussit quid ad quos iudices
pertinerit. (Lamprid, *Alex. Severus*, c. 33).

⁷ See Sanger's *Hist. of Prostitution*, p. 66.

⁸ Livy, XXXIX. 8-19.

of Drumann, Foucart, Wescher, Lüders, Mommsen, De Broglie and others. It is through the great labors of such men that the modern students of the labor movements are made aware of what wonders in the social problem were wrought in antiquity. But their evidence is nearly all derived from the silent inscriptions upon slabs, urns and sarcophagi that survive the corroding vicissitudes of the sad centuries. In fact the industry of the archæologists may yet reveal as valuable contributions to the science of sociology as the fossil diggers have revealed to their branch of paleontology. It is now made certain from multitudes of inscriptions which have weathered the storms of more than two thousand years, that great numbers of social organizations of the laboring classes existed simultaneously in Asia Minor, Egypt, Greece and Italy.

The variety of names for them found on the relics are more attributable to epochs and languages than to differences in their character and tenets of association. Where the Greek was spoken they were called after the term *eranos*, meaning a meal of victuals in common, or food for which a common assessment was made upon members who enjoyed it by mutual consent. Thus it came to be a method of procuring or earning the meal—a trade union. Hence the *eranoi* were organizations or co-operations for the purposes of self-support; and partook more of the character of the community method, such as in our day exhibits itself at the Société de Conde sur Vesgre, than of the more prevalent co-operative associations,⁹ like the Equitables.

This term *Eranos* is unmistakable in meaning. An obloquy attaches to it, pretty much the same as to our word communism, wherever it is used in the classics; because the societies existed during that period of the world's career in which the sovereignty of the individual was more fierce and intolerant toward the meeker spirit of mutual help than it is now; for the *eranoi* were the Greek guilds. Yet evidences are abundant that such communities existed in large numbers; that they obtained no little moral and pecuniary aid from outside; that they were persecuted by the politicians, hated by the optimates, and were obliged to assume

⁹ Consult Lüders, *Die Dionysischen Künstler, Einleitende Ueberleht*, S. 1-49. *Verschiedenheit und Ausbreitung der Organisationen.*

a good deal of veneration for the gods, and play other social as well as political counter-tactics to exist.

Another name, that of *Thiasos*, was given to a similar, and it would appear cotemporaneous class of organization. In fact so far as we are able to determine, the *thiasoi* and the *eranoi* were pretty much one and the same thing. But as the term *thiasos* with the various forms of verb and substantive, refers to demonstrations of joy, such as marching, dancing, singing and the like, in the open streets, it appears they were one kind of organization with two names—that of *eranoi*, the secret union which met twice and sometimes four times a month; and of the more generally known *thiasoi* whose members sometimes paraded in large numbers in the open air.¹⁰

Mr. Tompkins, who has devoted his very useful life to statistical matters regarding the Friendly Societies of Great Britain, is prone to picture analogies between the ancient and the modern form. Studying the former from the light he and others have rendered, we are strongly suspicious, because they were distinct from the bacchanalia and the more ancient *erotiae*, that they were unions of trades whose tenets involved nearly all the elements of the socialists of to-day, rather than of the present standard of liberty and development to be found in the Friendly Societies of Great Britain. According to Mr. Tompkins' list, which was always official, the Friendly Societies in 1868 numbered 23,000, with an aggregate membership of 1,700,000, and a capital of nearly 50,000,000 dollars.¹¹ The comparison therefore is at least respectable. We quote from his pamphlet on Friendly Societies of Antiquity:

“Let us now consider what these companies were which are called by the names of *eranos* and *thiasos*, and of which the following and other inscriptions have revealed the number and importance. These companies were formed of members who met together to sacrifice to certain divinities and to celebrate their festivals in common; besides this they assisted those members who fell into necessitous circumstances, and provided for their funerals. They were at once religious associations and friendly societies.”¹² Sometimes

¹⁰ See further on these distinctions in subsequent chapters, also much respecting them and the Jewish and Egyptian cummunes.

¹¹ Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies of Great Britain, for the year 1868.

¹² This author might have here said “trade unions;” for numbers of the

they daringly partook of a political and commercial character. These private corporations (recognized by the state), had their presiding and other officers, their priests, their funds supplied by the contributions of members and the liberality of benefactors. They assembled in their sanctuary and made decrees. They were found in great numbers in the important cities, and especially in the maritime ones. At Rhodes, for example, there were the Companions of the Sun, the Sons of Bacchus, of Minerva Lindienne, of Jupiter Atabyrius, of Jupiter the Savior. At Athens (or rather at the Piræus), there were the Heroistes, the Serapistes or company of the worshipers of the god Serapis, the Eranstes the Orgeons and lastly the thiasotes."¹³

Many of these were trade unions possessing a common fund, the amount of which depended upon the number of members who paid regular contributions, and the amount of the donations that were given from wealthier people who were in sympathy with them. There is plenty of evidence that women as well as men formed the membership of these societies. Woman took her stand with all the dignity and the honors of the man; and there are several slabs of stone and other relics on which are inscribed some of the particulars in regard to the kind and importance of the honors awarded her for faithfulness and ability in performing the duties of an executive officer. The monthly meetings or sociables held in enclosed gardens and groves were largely conducted by the women who gave the attractive convivial feature, which may account for their long existence and extraordinary status and power, that enabled them to do what no social society of our more enlightened age is doing—write their record as the dinotherium and the trilobite have done, in the irrefutable argument of their stone remains and inprints. There are at present very few societies of socialists of which we have any knowledge that are in the habit of chiseling out their archives with such a degree of minuteness and upon such imperishable material as was habitual with the ancient *eranoi* and *sodalicia*.

It is true, we are making so profound an impression that friendly societies of Great Britain have become, since the repeal of the conspiracy laws in 1824, genuine trade unions of the best pattern. During the existence of the cruel law of Elizabeth they maintained the title of friendly and burial societies almost exactly like the colleges and eranes.

¹³ Mr. H. Thompkins' pamphlet on the *Friendly Societies of Antiquity*. London, 1867.

the histories and printed records of our existence and of our important transactions are slowly becoming a possible thing; and such records may possibly save us from oblivion; but the true and thorough historiographer of the labor movements of the world has a broad and attractive field—not yet all laid open—in the study, and interpretation of the multitudes of reliefs, anaglyphs, and other queer paleographs upon slabs, urns, amphoræ and such objects of those by-gone ages; a work which falls to the lot of the archæologist to develop and complete. The truth is, the history of labor has been neglected; and there is reason to believe that very nearly all of that which in this more propitious age is attracting profound consideration by the wise and benevolent, has been gone over and tried, amid the vicissitudes of wars and other antagonisms of the outside competitive world, more than two thousand years ago.

But the fact that their non-competitive plan failed of general adoption need not be adduced as an argument against them. They seem to have been very successful so far as they were intended to apply. They were trade unions for the most part among the mechanics and laboring people; and so far as their societies concerned them, they succeeded. It had not become particularly a broad question. When, however, Christ took up the principle of community of interests involved in their tenets, and organized his system of advocacy, there immediately arose upon it a world-wide culture and an opposition; because this threatened the overthrow of the competism which has always been the basis of both social and political economy.

That the communes, called the *eranoi* in Greece, the Grecian Archipelago, Asia Minor and Egypt, in the Greek tongue, and the *collegia*, *sodalicia* or *coetus* in the Latin, were the chief cause and originators of Christendom, we can, after mature reflection, entertain little doubt.

Already faint glimpses of proof are extant that the principle or thesis of our modern community of interests, “no excellence without unity in labor,” and that “endless toil in collecting good, both by experiment and observation,” which is now giving preponderance to Aristotle’s philosophy over that of Plato, is significantly crowding Christianity out from the impractical self-denying school of St. Jerome, back into its primeval socialism, or non-competism, in the

defense of which Jesus, Nestor, and a thousand others have suffered.

Fortunately for us, the ancient trade unions were in the habit not only of writing their minutes and preserving them in their own archives, in each state where they existed but many of the great events were further inscribed either in alto, demi or basso-relievo; and many times this was done on marble or good blue or sand-stone, which has withstood all the erosions of time.

In some places, as at the Piræus the ancient seaport of Athens, in the Isle of Santorin, in Rhodes and in Asia Minor, the societies were very numerous. It is a well known fact that during the period of the existence of these nations, ranging about 58 years before Christ down to the destruction of the Alexandrian archives by Theophilus and St. Cyril, about A. D. 414, the laws against these poor people and their organizations were almost whimsically severe. M. Renan says of the Roman communes, that there was still less favor here given the disinherited classes than in other countries. During the Roman Republic, in the "affair of the Bacchanales," 186 years before Christ, the policy of Rome on the subject of these associations had first been proclaimed.¹⁴

It was the nature of the Roman people to cleave to fraternizing organizations, and especially to those of a religious character. This kind of association, however, was hateful to the patricians—the dispensers of the political power—who recognized the family and the state in actual force, as the correct social group. These patricians took the minutest precautions against allowing the plebians the scope of developing into a counter power. They had to be scrupulously authorized before they could become an association—probably by charter. They could not appoint a permanent president or *magister sacrorum*. The number of their members had to be limited. The meanest restrictions were enacted against their accumulating too large a fund for their commune. Similar peevishness continued against the disinherited classes during the existence of the Roman Empire. The archives of the law contained every imaginable provision for the repression of their growth.

¹⁴ So we find the great social wars or the rebellions of slaves, assisted by the unemployed original inhabitants, to have raged from about this same period.

M. Renan further asserts that the Syrians gathered into these societies inoculating them with opinions which the patricians vainly sought to destroy. The *Revue Archéologique* says that there was a "contest of opinions between the communes and the patricians," which is very natural; since the whole gist of the former was to do away with competition and the system of intermediary commission men depended upon, by the patricians, as a principle for their very existence.

The Greek societies are known by inscriptions now in the Archæological Museum at Athens, to have had the following officers:

1. Three presiding officers—of both sexes: (a) the president (*prostates*), male; and (b) the guardian in charge (*proeranistria*), female. They had also, (c) a president of finance (*archeranistes*).

2. A stewardess or housewife (*tamia*).

3. A manager or trustee; of whom, doubtless each *eranos* or union had more than one (*epimeletes*). There are evidences that the functions of this important office were divided among the men and women of the union.

4. The recording secretary or scribe who wrote the minutes for the archives (*grammateus*).

5. Lawyers (*sundikoi*), whose exclusive business was to watch and defend the society and its members, individually as well as collectively, against the persecution of the outside competitive world which was always too prone to enforce any one of the many repressive and intolerant laws and measures above referred to, against them.

6. The manager of religious rites (*hieropoios*).

7. Priest, one who attended to the religious ceremonies or rites (*hierokeryx*).

A glance at ancient mythology will show that a great many *isms*, creeds or denominations existed in hierarchical affairs; and that the power of each was nearly coequal so far as political and social status or respectability was concerned. All seem to have been shielded by the law of the land. So the communes took refuge under the favors of religious discipline, and are known to have been obliged to do so to keep themselves reconciled to their persecutors. By these tactics and by the smartness of their own lawyers, who gave their time to the labor of love, they kept the hos-

tile and restringent clauses of the law a "dead letter," in spite of the patricians and optimates. M. Renan and others declare that there were radical "differences of opinion" on the part of the unions all through those centuries. The truth is, that then, as now, their very existence was an organized socialistic state, though of a low order.

We find that some of the *eranoi* or Greek-speaking communities worshiped, and even dedicated themselves to one god with its peculiar litany, some to another. Here is a translation from the very slab or "stone tablet" referred to in the command of the decree, which strangely enough, has survived all the ages since the beginning of the third century before Christ. On looking it over, who shall doubt that this was a great and perhaps wealthy community, in every way respectable? It was dedicated to the mythical god, Jupiter, and chronicles the fact clearer than the recusant historian could have done upon papyrus, that it was an honorable and responsible body, and in nowise allied to the bawdy erotomania that inspired the orgies of earlier origin and that formed the subject matter of Anacreon's dithyrambics and the voluptuous bacchanalian ditties of Pindar. This translation is clipped *verbatim* from Mr. Henry Tompkin's pamphlet.¹⁵ "It has been proposed: seeing that Menis, son of Mnistheus, of Heraclea, is full of good will toward the thiasotes, and of zeal for the temple, that at present, being treasurer, appointed under the archontate of—— he has fulfilled that charge with zeal and honesty; that he has finished the portico and the front of the temple of Jupiter Lebraundos in a manner worthy of the god; that he has managed the common funds with honesty and justice, and that to all the thiasotes he has been irreproachable both before and after taking office as treasurer; that he has not hesitated to add his own money toward the expenses of the temple, showing thus, in an evident manner the good will that he has for the thiasotes, and that he has fulfilled the sacerdotal office in a manner worthy of the god. For all these things the thiasotes have decreed to award a vote of thanks (*eulogium*) to Menis, son of Mnistheus, of Heraclea; to crown him with a chaplet of foliage; to consecrate, in a part of the temple where it will be best seen, his likeness, painted on a

¹⁵ For the original See *Rev. Archæologique Paper* by M. Wescher.

piece of wood, according to law, in order to show to all those who wish to prove their zeal toward the temple what honors they may obtain, each one according to the good he may be able to do for the *thiasotes*; and to engrave this decree on a stone tablet, and to place it in the temple of the god."

We have proved in our own mind that the *thiasoi* whose members, the *thiasotes*, paraded in the open streets, "dancing in honor of the gods," were identical with the secret *eranoi* who met much oftener to enjoy their meals, convivia, discussions and social pleasures in common and to contrive for each other situations to work. The *eranoi* were much less known, though their purpose was far more significant.¹⁶ They met from two to four times a month to transact business and to discuss their "difference of opinion." It was here that the above mentioned officers felt the responsibility of their functions. The treasurer was of so much importance that he was called president of finance. Doubtless the male president (*prostrates*) was considered to outrank the female president (*proeranistia*), if indeed the aristocratic idea of ranks was permitted to enter the commune. The number and importance of the offices seem to have resembled those of the Patrons of Husbandry, or Knights of Labor.

We are unable, as yet, to determine exactly what class of women it was who shared the communistic proletarian societies of Greece and the Greek-speaking inhabitants under trade union laws during the power of the Greek philosophies, but are of opinion that they were of the two most respectable classes recognized by law. It is quite certain that their movements at Athens were watched by the Areopagus or court of Mars, whose jurisdiction was over criminal cases and public order and decency. The two classes were the wives of mechanics, their daughters, and the *aulitrides* who made their living by playing the flute. It is almost certain that the wonderful, coexistent class of women known as the *hetairai* also participated in these *Eranoi* as members. But to prove that the *aulitrides* frequented them we give a translation of a Greek

¹⁶ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai*, VIII. "Ἐρανοὶ δὲ εἰσὶν αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν σιμ. ἑλληνομένων εἰσαγωγαί, ἀπὸ τοῦ συνερανῆν καὶ συμφέρειν ἕκαστον" καλεῖται δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ ἔρανος αἱ θίασος καὶ οἱ συννιόντες ἔρανασταὶ καὶ συνθησιαστικοί.

inscription cut in marble, edged with bas-reliefs. It is of the Roman epoch and is from the Isle of Santorin in the Grecian Archipelago, not far from Nio. As Santorin was an agricultural country they might have been mostly cultivators. No matter how repressive and intolerant the laws, they could not disband. It is a slab first observed at Athens by the Archæologist M. Wescher, in which the *eranoi* fairly unveil their secrecy and come out in their own name. Before giving the rendering of the inscription, however, we beg to paint as we conceive it, a picture of ancient competitive life which formed the basis of Greek society. It ran to the extent of gambling; and the ethics of society may be said to have been fixed by law and public opinion at little higher than the gamblers' code. Society outside the *eranoi* and the *thiasoi* was a vast gambling hell; and the long existence of the associations, we can account for in no other way than that they in their secret recesses possessed a charmed circle. It was the infinite love that emanates from the infinite difference marked by the gulf yawning between competitive fraternal life.¹⁷ The poor Greek working people must have felt all this difference.

Let anyone imagine himself obliged to contemplate the fashionable logic of a gambling den: A number of people sit round a table, each with his pile of gold, the sum of which is the stake involved. There is skill there. There is also genuine talent. Brilliant aptitudes in one, in the choice of cards or dice; intuition in another, to catch and forestall a niggling thought and checkmate a winning deal; shrewdness in a third at the study of features and in the reading of their inadvertent language; and in a fourth, tact to swoop in the sum of the aces against the competitors. There is no mutual adaptation of these natural gifts to a common good. These are the non-productive adornments in the "code's" diplomacy. In the usages of the gambler opinion has fixed a sort of reckless general law that acts as each gambler's guide; and to obey this law is to conform to the ethics of a code which is the competitor's idea of duty. The duty of each,

¹⁷ Aristotle lived apparently in daily contact with these communes and seems to have been influenced by them . . . *ἐνίοι δὲ κοινωνιῶν δι' ἡδονιστὴν δοκοῦσι γίνεσθαι, διασωτῶν καὶ ἐρασιστῶν· αὐταὶ γὰρ θυσίας ἕνεκα καὶ συνουσίας.* *Ethics*, VIII. II

whether in the exigency of the winning, or of the losing game, is to behave with decency. Such are the ethics at the gambling stakes and each must conform.

The excitement of the competitive game goes on. The lookers-on forget self, home and duty in their admiration of the contestants' skill. Their variety of method, their quivering versatility, their genius, bold of one, delicate of another, exhilarate as they amaze. But when the one more skilled in gaming or more favored in fortuity, sweeps the stakes and stalks off in triumph with the gold of his helpless neighbors, there must come a reaction of feeling, though the rules of the gambling table require resignation. The defeated need not try to hide discomfiture. A hungry wife and children, blighted hopes, baffled plans and chagrin, beget despair. They are the conjurers of distrust, jealousy, vengeance, hate, suicide. Even the winner dies in misery; for a little selfish ecstasy adds nothing to the sum of a life's possibilities and joys. He is often the next victim in the shifting vicissitudes of the trade.

Now this is a fair picture of that hell which constituted ancient society. The household, the shambles of voluptuous commerce and of deal, the judiciary and the war-spirit were so many sheols of licensed competism reeking with a virus of the gambler's code and intolerant of this socialism of the poor. Unfortunately it is too exact a picture of the maudlin present; but the present we are not dealing with.

Society was a vast concern in which fashions, means and fine things were huckstered and raffled from hand to hand; and then as now, the working classes or proletariat were the sensitive target which every club of misguided genius bruised and imbruted.

The discovery, then, of unquestionable proof that there existed contemporaneously with this outside state of things an order of human association whose code of ethics, or whose accepted opinion of duty, one to another, was the antithesis of this; whose rule of home and labor was based deep in that love and mutual protection which afterwards became the doctrine of salvation as proclaimed by a greater teacher,¹⁸ is a triumph glorius and incalcula-

¹⁸ Plato, Aristotle and Socrates were all deeply touched by the brotherly love of the innumerable *erastis* whose works though humble were followed by them

ble to the struggling, disjointed love of the labor movement to-day. The fragment at Athens referred to is a piece of blue Hymettian marble with little border work. The inscription is in plain Attic Greek of the Aristotelian epoch, and its translation from the *Revue Archéologique*, is as follows:

“By a rulable and just administration of the common fund of money belonging to the community of *eranistai*, and having ever conducted himself with kindness and with honesty; and as he has righteously husbanded the funds successively paid by the *eranistai* themselves, as well as the annual subscription, according to the law of the *eranos*; and in view of the fact that in everything else he still continues to show integrity to the oath which he swore to the *eranistai*, therefore Hail Alcmeon!

“The community of the *eranistai* rejoice to praise Alcmeon, son of Theon, a stranger who has been naturalized—their president of finance (*archeranistes*); and do crown him with a chaplet of foliage because of his faithfulness and good will to them. They are moreover rejoiced and praise the trustees (*epimaletai*) and also the *hieropoioi* of Jupiter the Savior, and of Hercules, and of the Savior of the gods. And they crown each of them with the wreath of honor because of their virtue and their lively interest in the community of the *eranistai*.”

The stone is here broken, leaving us in the dark as to the exact date of this interesting relic. The principle however, upon which this *eranos* was conducted, accepting the signification given this word by lexicographers and writers of the adverse school, was communism—means taxed from a common membership for mutual support. This settled, we next ask: did such an experiment thrive? The above inscription is full of praises and rejoicing over its success. Then if it did succeed, and if in conjunction with it, it is made clear that the less secret jubilees of the *thiasoi* furnished means out of the same well-husbanded fund, for the sweet convivals, and the dance, to the famous music of the female flute-players, did not this “community of the *eranistai*” greatly augment for the “disinherited classes,” the means of happiness and virtue?

all. Lüders commenting, quotes Socrates from Xenophon, *Conversations VIII*. “Wir sind ja alle Thiasoten deses gottes.” This passage gives strong evidence that Socrates was a member of a commune.

These are important conjectures coming from the unwritten mists of the finest of the world's ages of antiquity. Let the ethnologist and the paleontologist divest themselves of bias, and with these new skeletons of ancient history remodel and reproduce an ethologic anatomy of these two great rivals for power—individualism and communal love. For if the desired means of happiness was procured through this one experiment of whose relics we have given a rendering, then it is evident by the many other similar inscriptions that a thousand such microcosms embellished the morals and gladdened the hearts of slaves and outcasts.

These microcosms of a far future society must not, however, be supposed to have been as sweeping or as pure in their radicalism as some that are developing at the present time; for it must be remembered that though the ignorance of the present age is averse to the implanting of a system which means introversion and revolution of competitive disassociation, yet we possess at least the boon of tolerance which was almost utterly denied the struggling poor of those times.

According to the best information to be had regarding inscriptions that are resuscitating the history of the ancient proletaries, the societies called the *eranoi* and the *thiasoi* were by no means confined to the Hellenic Peninsula and the Ionian and Grecian Archipelagoes. Similar societies are known to have existed both on the continent of Asia and of Africa. Mommsen, Orelli, Böckh and other archæologists, in their Latin works of *Descriptiones Reliquiarum*, have filled thousands of folio pages with sketches of all sorts of paleographs which are fac-similes of inscriptions, monograms, escutcheons and many kinds of hieroglyphic and anaglyphic gravery and embossing in stone and metal. These curious things are being dug up in different parts of Europe, Asia and Africa, wherever ancient history speaks of the doings of men.

Great numbers are described that have come from Dalmatia, the rivers and plains of Austria, Hungary and the Kranish provinces. They exist in countries once occupied by the Armenians, Phœnicians and Chaldeans; and as it is now becoming apparent that the most correct philosophies of the Alexandrians and Athenians were first

inspired by Indians of the east, it is possible that great revelations are yet forthcoming from the Hindoo school, of which the Sankhya Kapila was the inspiring oracle. But however this may be—whether Buddhism was, or was not the idiosyncrasy that germinated the every-growing schism among dialecticians of all succeeding ages, it matters little.

One thing is certain in our mind: that the societies of self-help among the proletaries have uniformly followed the grouping, self-teaching, peripatetic method of Aristotle and Kapila, while their competitive enemies and persecutors have followed the dreamy, non-practical Olympus-beclouded generalities of Plato. The communities always worked well under Numa, Solon, Jesus and Nestor, but always suffered under Lycurgus, Appius Claudius, Cæsar and Cyril. If the strange and newly unearthed library of Assurbanipal, who was emperor of the Assyrians a thousand years before Christ, is ever scanned in a non-prejudicial spirit, its ideographs and its history of their systems of nomenclature, computation and collection may be found suggestive of similar doings.

We have already said something concerning the rules and by-laws of the societies, which by the marble tablet whereon their records are graven, are known to have existed. As a general thing these decrees and regulations are made on the stones that still honor some of the officers. Although the evident object of each of these organizations was to enlarge the means of happiness of the members by providing liberties for them through the associative sphere of the collectivity, and may be said on this account to have been temporal in their objects, yet they all partook strongly of some religious faith inculcated at the services of the gods in the temples.

Some writers upon the subject are convinced that they resembled the old semi-religious guilds of trade in England. They also intimate that like the continental guilds for a similar object, connected with the Roman Catholic Church, they seem to have been under the patronage of a tutelary saint, and that under this tutelage they sometimes founded industrial, commercial and maritime corporations. Sometimes they made it a specialty to aid each other in acquiring a profession. Our own opinion is, that

they were a genuine type of the trade union.¹⁹ The evidences of this are many; and it is no argument against the position if they are found to have been religious.

The objections will be, that they opened their sessions with prayer, and that they admitted women in large numbers. But some of our own trade unions undergo forms similar to prayer and Bible reading. As to their having had women as members it only proves that they were trade unions of a higher, more long-lived and a more successful development than these of the present day; and this brings us to the sad reflection that with all the boast of modern trade unionists and all the good they are doing, and with all their philosophy and practical forcing of the true political economy upon governments, they still fail to equal the judgment of the trade unionists of Greece, who based their associations upon co-operation for peaceful, rather than co-operation for aggressive self help. Another resemblance to the trade unions is seen in their extreme secrecy.

“The meetings of these pre-Christian societies opened with prayer; after which came the general business. The place at which they were held was called the synod, or sometimes the Synagogue, and the assembly was absolutely secret—no stranger could be admitted, and a severe code maintained order thereat. They were held, it appears, in enclosed gardens surrounded with porticos, or piazzas or little arbors, in the middle of which the altar of sacrifice was erected. The officers made the candidates for membership submit to a sort of examination, and they had to certify that they were ‘holy, pious and good.’ There was in these little confraternities, during the two or three centuries that preceded the Christian era, a movement which was almost as varied as that which produced in the middle ages so many religious orders and so many sub-divisions of these orders. Very many have been counted in the single island of Rhodes, of which several bear the names of their founders or of their reformers. Several of these confraternities, especially that of Bacchus, had sublime and elevated doctrines; and endeavored with a good will to give to mankind some con-

¹⁹ The reasons for their being often religious and borrowing gods or tutelary deities are explained in our chapter on the Roman trade unions, q. v.

solution. If there still remained in the Greek world any love, any piety, any religious morality, it was owing to the liberty granted to such private religious doctrines. The doctrines competed in some measure with the official religion, the decline of which became more evident day by day."²⁰

But it must not be inferred because the *eranoï*, or Greek-speaking unions took the name of the particular god they venerated, that they were exclusively religious.

The archæologist, Hamilton, has produced fac-similes of inscriptions on slabs that were found on the shores of the Gulf of Symi. The translation of one runs thus:

"Alexander, of Cephalonia, has been honored with the gift of a crown of gold, and also Nisa, his virtuous wife, of Cos. This honor is given by the Adoniastes, Aphrodiastes and the Asclepiastes. Epaphrodite and his wife, by wish of the Heroistes and of the Aeaciastes, have also been honored with a golden crown."

These Adoniastes, Aphrodiastes, Asclepiastes, etc., were *eranoï*, whose union was, on account of the peculiar religious notions of the members and of the country, dedicated respectively to the gods Adonis, Aphrodite, Esculapia, etc. Another inscription taken from Ross's *Inscriptiones Græques*,²¹ is also very interesting as proof that these societies were usually dedicated to the popular gods of the mythic hierarchy of Mount Olympus.

It is valuable as a proof of the general position assumed, on account of its bold mention of union and confraternity thus showing that it belonged to the eranian and thiasian school of co-operation or trade unionism. It is from Rhodes, and is somewhat defaced. Here is the rendering as given in Mr. Tompkins' review: " * * * crowned with a crown of gold by the community of Jupiter Xenos, the Dionysiastes Chæremoniens, as well as by the Panatheniastes and the * * * * * crowned with a crown of gold by the Soteriastes (worshippers of the Soter, or Messiah, the confraternity of Jupiter Xenos, and that of Minerva Lindienne, followers of Caius, crowned with a crown of foliage by the community of Jupiter Atabyrien and the Agathodaemoniastes Philoniens, as well as by the community of Dionysiastes Chæremociens and by that of Appollo."

²⁰ Tompkins, *Friendly Societies of Antiquity*.

²¹ *Researches in Asia Minor*

This date "in the year 178" is supposed to mean the 178th year of the existence of this union. Here we have, in the midst of the lady members of this old and probably rich and respectable *eranos*, or union and at the public feast or monthly sociable in the enclosed garden that always distinguished the open *thiasoi* from the secret business meeting of the *eranoi*, a flute-player; in all probability one of the famous *auletrides* whose charms are celebrated by Alciphron, Athenæus and Theopompus; and of whom a writer in his work on prostitution, unconsciously intimates that they were abandons²² and would doubtless construe it so as to make this feast no nobler than the callipygian games, which though unfrequented by men must have been, of course, "scandalous." May not anything be scandalous when regarded in a censorious and uncharitable light. But this feast of the Communists described was nothing of the sort.

This invaluable memento is in good care and preservation in the museum at Athens. On the bas-relief are these suggestive figures: A god and a goddess in an enclosed garden. It is Cybele the Phrygian goddess who sits with her head crowned. In front of her crouches a lion? The god is Apollo in a flowing robe and in a standing attitude. He has a salver (*patera*) in one hand and a lyre in the other. There is a priestess or *proeanistria* standing, and a musician or *auletrid* is playing the flute.²³ A lamb for the feast is in the arms of a young man. Under this is the inscription of which the following is the translation.

"Stratonice, daughter of Menecrates, is crowned by the members, men and women, of this thiasos. In the year 178 she (Stratonice) was female president of the club (*proeranistria*), a crown of foliage is decreed her and a marble tablet ornamented with banderoles to honor her public proclamation in the assembly of Jupiter in honor of her virtue."

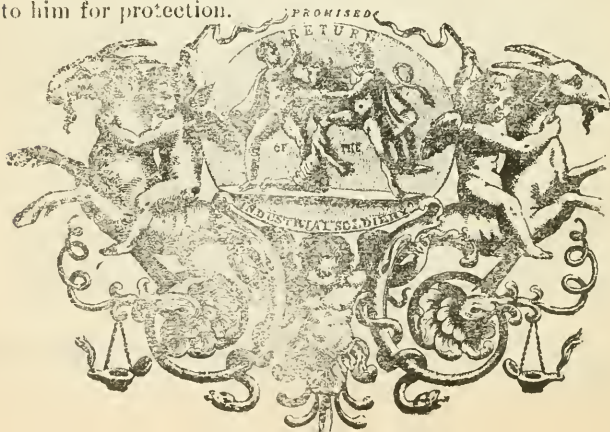
It is not only interesting but extremely useful as an example for the guidance of future society, that we be made acquainted with some of the inner and unrecorded life of antiquity. The same turbulent warlike millions swarmed the cities and thoroughfares then, as now. The same unorganized and inequitable methods of production and appor-

²² Säengers, *History of Prostitution*, p. 46.

²³ See also Tafel II. Lüders, *Die Dionysischen Künste*. Explanation of the plates, S. 10-11.

tionment. The same egoism and sacrifice of neighbor for aggrandizement of self, and the same intolerance and bigotry in prevailing faiths that inspire the competing Muscovite Russians against the Rural Solidarities, the Mennonities and the Dutchobors to day—the same selfishness that makes man hate man, and church hate church wherever we go. In this prodigious whirlpool of self-serving negativeness and ignorance—the painful, tiresome desert through which all proletarian humanity plods, it is gratifying to discover that a great counter element once existed with organizations based upon that community of equal interests which is fundamentally revolutionizing the policies of our own brilliant, but depraved and selfish century.

The specimen adduced was a festival of an *eranos*—it was the *thiasos* itself, and a glance at Liddell will satisfy the skeptic that it was a society of poor, persecuted people, who agreed to assess each other in common for their daily food and their monthly convivals; and the proof that these poor girls were sometimes members greatly intensifies the interest in them. Besides, it is a known fact that among these musical trades unionists were some of the most beautiful and intelligent people the world ever produced. It was not considered prostitution in those days to do what they did. The stern philosopher Zeno, hero of Stoicism, fell desperately in love with one; and if we are to believe Athenæus was ready to defend his love with the antics of a madman. This was after he had vainly insulted her because she came to him for protection.



CHAPTER XXII.

THE ANCIENT BANNER.

INCALCULABLY AGED FLAG OF LABOR.

THE OLD, Old Crimson Ensign—An Emblem of Peace and Good Will to Man—Strange Power of Human Habit—Descent of the Red Banner through Primitive Culture—White and Azure the Colors of Mythical Angels, Grandees and Aristocrats—Colors for the Lowly without Family, Souls or other Seraphic Attributes—How the Red Vexillum was Stolen from Labor—Tricks which Compromised Peace Tenets of the Flag—The Flag at the Dawn of Labor's Power—Testimony of Polybius—Of Livy—Of Plutarch—Causes of Working People's Affection for Red—The Emblem of Health and the Fruits of Toil—Ceres and Minerva their Protectresses and Mother-Goddesses Wore the Flaming Red—Emblem of Strength and Vitality—Archæology in Proof—Their Color First Borrowed from Crimson Sun-Beams—More Light and less Darkness—White and Pale Hues for the Priests—Origin of the Word "FLAG"—It is the Word-Root of "Flame" a Red Color—Proofs Quoted—Mediæval Banner in France and England—The Red of All Modern Flags Borrowed from that of the Ancient Unions—Disgraceful Ignorance of Modern Prejudice and Censure.

THE typical color of the great non-laboring classes in ancient times was white and azure blue; while that of the strictly laboring element was red. This phenomenon has come down to us by the power of habit, from high antiquity.¹

¹ Consult Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, (Vol. I pp. 70, sq. N. Y. 1888, *Survival*), for illustrations on the power of habit: "The saying that marriages in May are unlucky—believed so 18 centuries ago and more, see Ovid, *Festus*, V.—survives to this day in England, a striking example how an idea, the meaning of which has perished for ages, may continue to exist simply because it has existed. There are thousands of cases of this kind which have become, so to speak, land-

White, in heathen mythology, was thought to be emblematical of degree. It was the color used by the *gens* families and by the priesthood. Very often a beautiful azure of various shades accompanied the pure white. Following this habit of the optimates and their hierarchy, we still imagine white to be the color of the robes of angels, and still make it a holy color.² All people, ancient or modern, having a history and a priesthood with concomitant crafts, have regarded white as the adumbration of holiness, of purity, of aristocracy. It is the color which befits itself to superstition and to property; therefore the *gens* or the gentle, who do not work, who are unsoiled, who eat up the products of labor, who robe themselves in white and ascend throne, see, chancel, pulpit or patriarchal seat, and who talk of their "subjects" whom they spurn and absorb, are of all others most certain to flaunt the robes of white and azure and shining purple. These colors date from a dim era of antiquity, and like the etymon they were self-suggestive as the antithesis of sweat and toil and grime. They embellished and decked the bodies of the "washed," and could not go hand in hand with creatures smoked and smeared at the furnace and the anvil. Hence a contempt of labor.³ The idea of Plato which he copied from the Pagan religion and which Christianity unfortunately afterwards copied from him, under the name of Neo-Platonism was that of white robes, white wings, white banners—a mysterious power in the clouds, a home at Mount Olympus, and the vaulted dome of heaven—and myriads of slaves and menials in red, brown, dun and murk who were to plod without souls, liberties

marks in the course of culture." This author hereupon cites many instances showing the extreme age of our paltriest habits, some of which are really astonishing. One of the most striking instances which might have been enumerated by Mr. Tylor, along with the many that he here adduces, is the red banner, which for antiquity and pith of antecedent meaning has perhaps no rival in the tale of primitive culture. We have another remark illustrative of the power of habit and one which may be regarded as curious and far-fetched, made by Rogers, *Social Life in Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 6, in speaking of the giants and cave-dwellers of the stone period: "In popular superstition there still linger memories of the Neolithic age." This is really wonderful.

Revelations, vii. 9, 14. So *idem*, xix. 8: "And to her was granted that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white, for the fine linen is the righteousness of saints." So again xix. 14. "And the armies which were in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean."

² Gahl and Koser, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, tr. Hüffer, p. 485, speaking of the ancients says: "The usual color of the dress was originally white for the toga this was prescribed by law, only poor people, slaves and freedmen wore dresses of the natural brown or black colors." Red, a "color," was always considered finer than brown or black, though all were labor colors.

honors or rewards, in the degrading service of keeping them white, clean-washed and fat. The idea of Aristotle, the practical, was, that labor itself was pure, worthy, and the only thing which could possibly lead men to knowledge and good; yet even his great mind could not at that early day discern a method of ridding the world of slaves, although Socrates, a member of a commune that waved the red banner, had told them that manual labor was a virtue.⁴

Again, white was the color of the ancient aristocratic flag or military banner, both of the Romans and Greeks. This is distinctly told to us in an elaborate description of all the phases of the subject, by Polybius,⁵ who wrote just at the time when the greater slave rebellions were beginning fiercely to rage.

As long as the ancient military ranks remained undefiled by the presence of slaves and freedmen, or persons of lowly condition, the *semeion* or *vexillum*, that is, the flags and banners were white, azure and gray. But we find that curiously enough, the red *vexillum* comes temptingly into the Roman tent at the very time when the workingmen began to assume military and political importance. It was evidently introduced as a means for inspiring this class of soldiers to desperate acts of valor;⁶ because the red banner of the communes was so sacred to them that they would recklessly cast their lives into the jaws of death in the act of recapturing it from an enemy. Multitudes of instances are on record proving that the Roman generals cunningly managed to toss the *vexillum* or red banner, in some surreptitious manner over into the enemy's camp at a moment of onset, thereby enthusing the soldiers with a reckless oblivion of danger, as they crushed into it in desperate haste and determination to seize from the polluted fingers of the barbarian their endeared and cherished flag.⁷

⁴ For more on this great man's philosophy, see chapters iv. on the *Eleusinian Mysteries*, and xxiv. on the *Plans of the Ancient Benefactors*.

⁵ Polybius Megal, *Historia*, VII. c. 39, pp. 676-677, ed. Gronovii, Amstelodami, 1670: 'Ὡς ἀπάντων ὀρισμένων καὶ συνηθῶν ὄντων διασημάτων μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα σημαίαν ἐπέθαν μείαν μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἐν ᾧ δεῖ τόπω τῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σκηπὴν δοῦντεραν δὲ τὴ ἐπὶ τῆς προσθεισῆς πλουράς, τρίτον ἐπὶ μέσης τῆς γραμμῆς ἐφ' ἧς οἱ χιλιάρχοι τρεφουσιν τετράτην παρ' ὁποῦν τὰ στρατόπεδα. Καὶ ταυτὰς μὲν ποιοῦσσι φοινικὰς τε δὲ καὶ στρατηγῶ λουκίων. Τα δὲ ἐπὶ θιάτερα ποτὲ μὲν ψηλὰ δορατὰ πηγγύουσι, ποτὲ δὲ σημαίας ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων χρωμάτων.'

⁶ In earlier times the plebeian class were refused admission to armies as soldiers solely on the ground that military work is aristocratic. They finally overcome this prejudice to some extent.

⁷ Plutarch, Paulus Æmilius. "The Romans who engaged the phalanx, be-

The curiosity of the reader may by this time be aroused to understand what may have been the cause of this strange affection. We shall attempt to bring out, so far as authentic evidence can be had, the facts lying at the bottom of the ineffaceable love in the strictly proletarian class, for the beautiful and incomputably aged red banner; and in doing so, we may help the inquirer in the effort to discern the causes of this emblem having so successfully breasted the storms of adversity and time and come down to us embalmed in the same love and veneration that shrouded and shielded it in deep antiquity, when it knew and comforted men only as poor and lowly slaves.

In the heathen mythology two great and celebrated deities presided over labor—Minerva and Ceres. The Greek names of these celebrated and much adored mythic deities were Demeter for Ceres, goddess of agriculture and fruitfulness of the earth, and Athena for Minerva, goddess of manual labor and protectress of working women and workmen. These two great deities wore flaming red.⁸

Bacchus of the Romans and Dionysus were the same myths with Ceres and Athena; that is, they seem to have personified in the male what these goddesses did in the female; and their vesture, like that of the goddesses, was flaming red. So Apollo, who was none other than the sun, was allied to them in functions. The reason of this is, that both genders of these imaginary beings represented the ancient sun-worship. The brilliant, flaming light of the sun is

ing unable to break it. Salius, a Pellagian officer snatched the ensign of the company, and threw it among the enemy. Hereupon the Pellagians, rushed forward to recover it, for the Italians look upon it as a great crime and disgrace to abandon their standard. A dreadful conflict and slaughter on both sides ensued." Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, often speaks of incidents of this kind.

The state robe of Athena was generally of a flaming red. Abundance of evidence also shows the colors of these two patrons of labor to have been red. Red was also the color of Proserpine, the daughter of Demeter or Ceres: "his was not confined to Greece and Rome. The same myths wore red in Asia, Africa and even in Britain. See Hughes, *Horæ Britannicæ*. Vol. I. p 294, Lond. 1818: "The British *Ked* or *Ceridwen*, is in many respects the same character as the Ceres of the Greek mythology and the Isis of the Egyptians. * * * * "She was arrayed in a vesture of flaming silk; a strong wreath of ruddy gold was about the neck, wherein was set a precious pearl, and rows of coral; yellower was her hair than the blossoms of the broom; her skin was whiter than the foam of the wave; her hands and fingers were fairer than the opening buds of the water-lily, amid the small rippings of the fountain of waters; or the sight of the hawk after mewing, or the sight of the falcon of three mews: no brighter eyes than hers were seen; whiter was her bosom than the breast of the fair swan; redder her cheeks than the rose of the mountain; whoever saw her was filled with love; four white trefoils were seen to rise in her way wherever she came, and therefore was she named *Olwen* or the fair lady."

thought to have been the first object of awe and wonder before which primitive man bowed himself down in adoration. It was the great and magnificent orb of day that in spring warmed the first sprigs of vegetable life. To the grand monarch of the day, the ancient laboring man first gave homage for light and heat which caused the fruits of his planting to grow and ripen. As this wondrous being, always believed to be alive and rational, immense in bulk, exquisite in beauty, radiant with heat and life, rose out of the sea and skimmed over their heads, he shed forth his crimson flames upon their labor and his color was likened to the fluid that coursed in their veins. The Dionysus thus became the protective principle for the Greek-speaking and the Bacchus for the Latin-speaking world, on which the vast system of labor organizations we have described was founded, cultivated and perpetuated for thousands of years; and their natural color was red, or color refined.

This accounts for the high-born or optimate class represented in the priesthood, the military, the non-laboring element—in other words, the pretended pure, clean-washed and unsoiled—having a contempt for color and for labor that soiled; and it also accounts for all the low-born, represented in occupations of agriculture and mechanics like the laboring element, or the tainted, tarnished, sweat-begrimed, having a natural love of color, whose highest type is red.

It was a thing most natural that the emblems of Ceres should be of a red color. She was of herself a majesty of no inferior sort. The products of her care were wheat and other grain, the supply of which from the earth, furnished the red blood always known to be the animating and strength-giving fluid of life; although the exact action of blood from heart to lungs and thence through arteries, and its return through veins was a more recent discovery. It is thus very natural that we should find among the organizations which chose Ceres as their patron divinity, the strictest adherence to her coat of arms and her emblems and escutcheons, the same colors that she was known to prefer.

Accordingly the inscriptions contain representations of the ancient banner, so well known to have been carried at the innocent and legalized parades of the *thiasotes* and *orgiastes* in Greece, Palestine, Asia Minor and the islands, and by the *sodales* and *collegia* in almost every town, little or

large, in Italy.⁹ Even at Carthage and all along the coast of North Africa remains of these organizations are being found.

A powerful natural reason for their preferring this color was probably its beauty. The color red is known in optics to be the first one on the list. Then come orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo and violet.¹⁰ White is not a color. Azure is a hue. Red of a brilliant hue may be seen at a greater distance than any other color and it is of all gifts of nature one of the most beautiful and inspiring. Many have dubbed Ceres the tutelary patroness of the United States.¹¹ The flag adopted by the American Union is, scientifically considered, a very perfect one; the metaphorical meaning of the red which is placed in the stripes, being the same as that involved in the ancient, which has a wonderful history in the past of labor. If the modern republic has any divinity at all, it is Ceres, Rhea, Cybele, Isis, the protectress of the farmers, and Minerva the guardian of mechanics and inventions. The red means the stripes; not the revengeful, bloody red with the present meaning trumped up against it in some wilfully ignorant minds, covering with obloquy which present society, unable to disabuse itself of the ancient grudge and contempt of labor, still uses against the red flag, but the exact reverse—the stripes represent the blows which labor in her great conflict to free herself from enslavement, poverty and oppression, has received upon her back from the lash of aristocracy and brutal force. Unwittingly, perhaps, the United States adopted these stripes as a component part of its beautiful and suggestive national banner; and this act was a strictly scientific one; for it exactly conforms with the ancient symbol red, enormously used by Roman and Greek organizations expressive and significant of the scourge, the stripes and the lines of blood which

⁹ Consult chapter *xxi. supra*, also Lüders, *Die Dionysischen Künstler*; *Encyclopédie Tech.*

¹⁰ The *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in an exhaustive article on *Light*, (Vol. XIV. p. 582), reduces the primitive colors to three—red, green and violet. This makes red to be the monarch of colors, as the oak is the monarch of trees, the lion the monarch of quadrupeds, or man the monarch of mortals. A respectable authority for modern colors, the *Encyclopédie Technologique*, Tome I. Art. *Couleur*, *init.*, says: "Ces couleurs fondamentales sont: Le rouge, l'orangé, le jaune, le bleu, l'indigo et le violet." Here also the red is the first mentioned of all colors. The *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. VII. p. 495, says; "the red holds the highest position among all dyed colors."

¹¹ Carnegie, *Triumphant Democracy*, p. 180. "Ceres the prime divinity of the United States."

streaked the naked backs of the poor and lowly of ancient labor.¹²

We now proceed to give a history of the red emblem as used against labor by the rich and strong, for the seeming purpose of making capital out of the reverence and affection always clinging in the organizations, which from more ancient times they had inherited as the chosen color of their divinities, Ceres, Minerva, Saturn and perhaps Apollo.

In the first place it is necessary to enter into an analysis of the word "flag." A glance at a Latin dictionary will explain that flag is the root of the word "*flamma*"—a circumstance altogether extraordinary. Andrews for instance, defines *flamma* as follows: "Flamma, æ. (archaic genitive singular *flammai*, used by Lucretius, I. 726; 899; V. 1088) feminine (*flagma* from FLAG; whence *flagro* and *flagito*, Greek *phlegma*, from *phlégo*). A blazing fire, blaze, flame."

This is an aged word and has its real origin in the red beams of the sun which almost all men in primitive ages adored under the religion of the sun-worshippers. Without the slightest doubt this original flag was one of the names of the ancient banner which was red. Because it was red and carried by the secret organizations on which the ruling minority cast a taint, it never attained to enough popularity to be used by ancient writers, and consequently failed to come down to us in form of an emblem, or with the significance of a banner or flag, although it never lost its original meaning; and its many variations of form appear in history times without number. The innocent original changed in time to a multitude of instruments of torture. It got to be *flagitium*, a shameful act, then *flagrum* a whip, and as such was stuck in bundles (*fascies*), along with an axe and carried in threatening pomp by the august prætors to scourge slaves with. How could the old red flag differentiate into a whip?

It was simply the work of hate and prejudice. The organizations would never give up their red banners; they are carrying them still by the power of habit, although the be-

¹² Slaves and freedmen sometimes composed a part of the forces of armies in the time of Polybius. This author who wrote as early as B. C. 145, describes the arrangement in the camps, of both slaves and freedmen, as well as their duties: "Μετά δὲ τὴν στρατοπέδειαν συναθροισθέντες οἱ χιλιάρχους, τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πάντες ἐλευθέρους ὁμοῦ ἢ δούλους ὀρκίζουσι, καθ' ἕνα ποιοῦν μίαι τε ὄρκιον. Ὁ δὲ ὄρκος ἐστίν· μὴδὲν ἐκ τῆς παρέμβολῆς κλιψέειν· ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐμῆς τῆς τοῦτ' ἀνοσίγει ἐπὶ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις." Polybius, *Historia*, VI 31, *ital.*

lief in the power of the once omnipotent Ceres and Minerva has long since faded from the earth.¹³ The prejudice against their banner and the innumerable communes was based upon their supposed meanness, which is also fast being outgrown. This prejudice was also heightened¹⁴ by the fact that the organizations grew powerful, sometimes rich and influential, always preaching a cult opposed to the despotism of capital and often and especially in Italy, as we have seen, becoming a potent factor in politics, which was a crime against the aristocracy of ownership and military and political power held by the great *gens* families and their slave-based religion.

It is thus plainly seen that in ancient days, the red banner was an emblem among the labor societies, of blood-making, not of blood-letting; while among the grandees it was emblematical of blood-spilling and torture; never indicative of building up, either the human body or the body politic. The system upon which the ancient aristocracy rested was cruelly and ferociously competitive and its product was slavery while its instruments of creating as well as perpetuating this thankless institution were legalized lasciviousness of its lords, and whips and scourges dyed red in the blood of laborers whose backs streaked with crimson which flowed from the furrows made by thongs, that their own greatness and their victims' littleness might be more widely contrasted.¹⁵

Let us now turn to the working people and their flag. In the first place the primitive mind of man conceives a fondness for flaming colors, and red, which is the champion of tints, attracted their delight by its beauty. One may stretch the imagination to conceive that this fact originated its adoption by his protecting divinities; for he would naturally incline to fix their favorite colors in harmony with his own tastes or fancies. We have as a result, of the natural and innocent fancy of primitive mind for this beautiful ground-color, all the lowly estate of antiquity, fixing their institutions in blazoned red, and nailing virtue, peace, social-

¹³ See Bouillet, *Histoire des Communautés des Arts et des Métiers de l'Auvergne*, passim. Text and plates, representing the "bannières" as were used in middle ages.

¹⁴ Juvenal, *Satires*.

¹⁵ Lycurgus, whose slave system in Lacedemon we have described, laid down a rule by which slaves were whipped at night without having committed an offense after having worked all day. This punishment was to humiliate them for submissiveness next day. They must also crouch lest should they stand erect they be compared with men. See Plutarch *Lycurgus*.

ism, poverty and resignation, to their unobtrusive banner—a brilliant red. We find them, too, irrevocable in the belief that God, dressed in the crimson glories of the sun and in awful justice, threw light and warmth and glory upon the crops of their sowing and the mechanical products of their handicraft; while the power of habit—that second law of perpetuation of being—has transmitted, even to this day, an ineffaceable love in the poor, for those endeared and cherished emblems.¹⁶

The celebrated red *himation*¹⁷ and *chiton* were for a long time the principal article of clothing. The dancing girls and flute-players wore them during the voluptuous age of Athens. They were worn at the feasts of Dionysus by the communists of the thiasoi. Of this we have the positive evidence of numerous inscriptions, some of which, although engraved on stone, are very good pictures of the feasters returning from their march through the streets.

At Rome this love of the red banner among the plebeians was often turned to profit by the rich. After the overthrow of the Roman kings (B. C. 510), two officers little less in power than the kings themselves, were installed as supreme rulers in their place. These were the consuls. A great growth of the power of the laboring element, as we have shown in preceding chapters on Trade Unions, very gradually came into the world; and this new force immediately began to make incursions upon and against the consular authority. The red flag is involved in this quarrel. It had been the kings who upheld the unions; the consuls, who

¹⁶ Examples proving red to have been the primeval color among the servant class are being constantly discovered in the inscriptions. Dr. Schliemann, in *Tiryns*, pp. 303-307, gives Prof. Fabricius' descriptions of the "mighty bull," recently discovered in a wall-painting of that pre-Iliomic city. The animal, mostly red, is leaping and bounding at the games, while an acrobat upon his back is girding him in the dangerous scene. These actors, always of the slave race (see chap. xvii. *Amusements of Antiquity*, pp. 401-414), were tugging and sweating without pay, for masters, a thousand years before Christ. This scene is represented in Plate XIII. while fig. 142 gives another proof of the remarkable proclivity in days before Homer, for red. "Whilst the lower broad stripe is red, the ground of the ornament shows a bright red colour; the two strokes of the scale - like ornament are black, the little circles and lines within the scales, white. Very noteworthy is the simultaneous occurrence of two different shades of the red color."

¹⁷ Guhl and Koner. *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, p. 160, sqq. These garments are here minutely described. "Men also appear in these pictures with the cherry coloured chlamys and the red *himation*." But we remark that the same authors assure us in both their descriptions of the Greeks, and of the Romans, that colors were only for the common people. In course of time the *himation*, originally white and worn by the rich, became popular and took on the Asiatic hue.

from the very first, endeavored to suppress them. These magnates were the natural enemies of the working class; the kings their natural friends. This seeming phenomenon is a suggestive fact of history. The kings wanted and recognized their systematic, organized labor; the consuls, who were sure to be rich *grandees* of blood and family, were jealous as well as afraid of this new and growing power which the mild and favorable laws of the kings had made it possible for labor to develop under.

This was the origin of the greatest intestine contest Rome ever had. It was a death-grapple of lordship with labor, in which consular power aped the banner and color of communes,¹⁸ and even bent all energy to involve Rome in Great wars of conquest for the express object of wriggling out of the terrible plebeian grip.¹⁹

The patrician consuls fought the hated workingmen, according to Livy, with such an unabating determination for about five years (B. C. 375-370), as to cause a *solitudo magistratum*²⁰ or vacancy, in which there occurred what is now called an interregnum—neither the lords nor the people, holding the helm of power. This was under the plebeian, Licinius Stolo, author of the agrarian law, the most renowned statute of antiquity—a germ of the same contention which cost the Gracchi, Blossius and Clodius their lives, as champions for the poor in the memorable agrarian and labor turmoils, and finally brought Rome, with her Cicero and Cæsar to an ignominious end, because she purloined the ægis of laborers on whom she glutted herself while maintaining slavery as a fundament of her religion and government.

¹⁸ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition, Stoddart, Phil. Vol. VI. p. 279, describing the consuls: "A cloak with a scarlet border and an ivory staff were badges of their office." For more than 600 years thereafter the scarlet which darkened into purple became a state color. The consuls stole the red *vezillum* by a similar species of trick, from the communes—a blasphemy against the ancient peace-color of Ceres and Minerva the protecting divinities of laborers and the fruits of labor. The following modern criticism admits this: If the consuls "wished to subdue any outbreak of the plebeians, they feigned that some powerful enemy was marching against the city, and thus succeeded in obtaining extraordinary powers." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. VI. p. 280.

¹⁹ Speaking of those patrician consuls, the same author in *idem*, column 2, says: "Having once begun the struggle (against the plebeians), however, they maintained it for the space of 80 years, with a spirit and resolution which made even a foreign war desirable as a relief from internal contests."

²⁰ Livy, VI. 35, *fin.* "Haud irritæ cedere minis: comitia, præter ædillum tribunorumque plebis, nulla sunt habita. Licinius Sextusque, tribuni plebis re-
fecti, nullos curules magistratus creari passi sunt: eaque solitudo magistratum, et plebe reficiente duos tribunos, et his comitia tribunorum militum tollentibus, per quinquennium urbem tenuit." Such was the tremendous power of the out-
cast element that Rome lost her aristocratic hold for 5 whole years.

In this aristocratic consular arrangement, next after the consuls themselves, were many prætors, lieutenants of the consuls and lord mayors of the provincial cities. These with the Romans were also generally the grandes who dispensed military force.²¹ "The insignia of the prætor were those common to the higher Roman magistrates—the purple-edged robe (*toga prætexta*), and the ivory chair (*sella curulis*). In Rome he was attended by two lictors, in the provinces by six." The *curules* or ivory sedans, were from the state four and six horse chariots and represent extraordinary power.

An example of the power exercised by the prætor over the poor slave, is given by us in another page, where a brave man in Sicily, for killing a dangerous wild boar, so excited his lordship's jealousy, that, taking advantage of an ancient law prohibiting persons of lowly birth from the use of the javelin, he ordered the trembling man to be crucified upon the spot. These prætors made use of the red color of labor for the brutal purposes of war, and it looks seriously as though this was a sort of cunning ruse or dodge, played upon the credulous, whereby to curry favor with the already powerfully organized numbers of labor.

Next after the consuls and prætors in the military pageant came the lictors. They wore the blue and azure cloak when in the field, which was the *sagum caeruleum*, epithet of death, darkness, night. In this garb the lictor's fierce military characteristics were personified. The grand magistrate's attendant, he strutted at the pageant in line of march, with a bundle of rods in his hand and held on high the formidable axe of execution, that the people might understand the presence of a sublime power and bow their heads in respect. If a criminal or malefactor was caught, his duty was to whip him with the scourges and cleave his head from his body with the axe.²²

²¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XIX. p. 675

²² Livy, l. 26. "Poratius cui soror virgo, quæ desponsa in ex Curiatis fuerat, obvia ante portam Capenam fuit: cognitoque super humeros paludamento epensl, quod ipsa confecerat, solvit crines, et flebiliter nomine sponsum mortuum appellat. Mover feroci juveni animum comploratio sororis in victoria sua tantotique gaudio publico. Stricto itaque gladio, simul verbis increpans, transiit puellum: 'Abi hinc cum immaturo amore ad sponsum, inquit * * * I lictor colliga manus quæ paulo ante armate imperium populo Romano pepererunt' The same ferocious order was given the lictor by the father of Manlius. Livy, X liber VIII. cap. 7: "I. lictor deliga ad palum." A consul, prætor or other superior officers had the right to order a lictor to perform any execution.

But when there was peace and while they were in Rome, the lictors wore the toga, purple or purple-bordered, because the lictors must be of high-born stock; although the toga of the unions was red, brown or dark red. It corresponded in Italy to the *himation* in Greece; and was the color of the lowly class everywhere, representing peace, not war,²³ as seen in any Latin dictionary. This remarkable fact reveals itself more and more plainly as the arguments and material evidences upon which it is based, receive investigation. Full attention to the ancient communal inscriptions has not yet been given, partly on account of the fact that colors do not often survive even where they were painted on the tablets; but principally, because ensigns and emblems whose colors, being sacred were at all times universally conceded were never painted at all, but simply engraved on the stone or casting in the natural color of the material on which they were cut. But it must be borne in mind that the lictors who were required to be of the optimate class, wore only a purple-red, not the labor-red. This was a mixture of the genuine with the azure (*cæruleus*) or the white.

Thus color in ancient days, socially speaking, was a line of demarcation separating optimates from plebeians.²⁴ We have thus shown how in war the sagum and the vexil-

²³ See note —*supra*, on the red *himation*,

²⁴ See Guhl and Koner, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, pp. 485-6; "The usual colour of the dress was originally white (for the *toga* this was required by law): only poor people, slaves and freedmen wore dresses of the natural brown or black colour of the wool." "In imperial times, however, even men adopted dresses of scarlet etc." * * * "The bride wears a reddish violet *stola*, adorned with an embroidered *instita* of darker hue." These are the poorer class, as they seem to come under the general remark quoted, viz: that only poor people, slaves and freedmen wore colors. Then (page 486), occurs this remark: "The outside of Perseus' dress is reddish brown, the inside white," as if to coax with the great rising element, while taking care to keep "pure" within, in difference to this fabulous royal potentate, son of the great *cærulean* Zeus. Speaking of the toga of Italy, or the *himation* of Greece, the same authors, p. 486 remark, that "Looked at straight, the blood-red dress thus prepared had a blackish tint; looked at from underneath, it showed a bright red color." Thus the *toga* no matter by whom worn, was red when it represented peace—a fact which remains good for all antiquity; while the regular war-colors were azure and blue or white and azure-blue. So again *idem*, p. 168, speaking of the Greek robes and other articles of apparel, and the pictures whence the information is taken, says: "Men also appear in these pictures, with the cherry-coloured *chlamys* and the red *himation*;" and speaking of the *Μίτρα* or ancient turban, used also sometimes as a zone-belt, which was red, the same authors add: "The Oriental turban is undoubtedly a remnant of this custom." Here again we have an example of the power of habit, to transmit itself through indefinite periods of time. In another phrase, *idem*, p. 168, speaking of the plebeian class, is the expression: "The original colors, although (particular the reds) slightly altered by the burning process, may still be distinctly recognized."

lum in its original tints, were white, cærulean or azure and blue, in the field of war,²⁵ while the peace *toga* which was red and the *vevillum* when seen among the communes, were of a brilliant crimson. So also we have explained somewhat the manner in which in later ages of the republic the phenomenal love and reverence of the lowly class, so soon as they exhibited a political and military weight was taken advantage of and even adopted in sham in the Roman camp, seemingly to curry favor with this rising class. It now remains to further proceed in explanation of the Roman military pageant.

The next officers in rank after the lictor were sometimes the equites or knights on horseback; and their military pomp, when preceded by consuls, prætors and their lictors, as the latter bore aloft their prætorian bundles of whips and their hatchets and axes when going out of the gates to war, or returning in triumph from it, was a spectacle anything but flattering to the poor, to whose backs and necks the scourges and the axes were too often applied.

Another powerful argument substantiating the prevalence of red as an adopted color of the gods of industry, where peace and not war was intended, is seen in the typical goddess Pomona, another name perhaps for Ceres or Demeter, Isis, Cybele and other guardians of agricultural labor. She presided over the orchard fruits and the gardens, and her emblem, symbol or sign was a flaming red. This old Roman divinity had charge of fruit-orchards. In the deep forests she was adored by satyrs and other sylvan fairies.²⁶

Pomona stands out as an excellent corroboration to the argument that from the most ancient conceivable times red was the typical color for the symbols, emblems or banners of the strictly working people and shows furthermore, that to carry out the original idea of Pomona, a priest or priestess of a Pomona of to-day must be attired in a flaming red and must not represent strife; as her function is that of peace.²⁷ It was even forbidden on high penalty that her attendant servant or priest should look upon an

²⁵ Cicero. *In Pisonem*, 23: "Pogulæ lictoribus ad portam præsto fuerunt, quibus illi acceptis, sagula rejecerunt et catervam imperatori suo novam præbuerunt."

²⁶ Ovid. *Metamorphoses*, XIV. 623 seqq

²⁷ Guhl and Konor, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, p, 536

army: strife being to her a terrible sin. He must even turn his head from the sight of soldiers.

This divinity chose "from the plebs"²⁸ a priest called the *Flamen Pomonalis*. He was allowed to take a wife but could never be divorced from her; for that would be suggestive of strife. True to the typical color of the labor she represented, she was called *flaminica*, and she held in her hand a pruning knife, although this instrument is represented to have also been intended for sacrificing the lamb at the feasts of Pomona. She was robed in a *chiton* or *himation*, which in Rome was called a *toga*. It was made of wool, and was screened from the vulgar by a long veil, (*flammeum*), of a flaming red color or Phœnician glow,²⁹ typical of her plebeian estate. This *Flaminica* not only represented and presided over, but also performed, labor; for she busied herself in the toils of her husband, the flamen, in the work of the feasts and entertainments. The *collegia* were fond of celebrating by parading with flaming streamers and flags.

The worship of the sacred ibis has also something to do in this connection. It is mentioned in company with Pomona and was probably the sacred scarlet ibis, of the Egyptians, whose red colors have ever been unscientifically mixed or confounded with the flamingo. This bird, agreeably to its name, flamen, flaminica, flamingo was, especially all the wing part, of a fiery red (*phoenicopteros*). The imagination of the ancients pictured the red to be emblematic of love,³⁰ ardency and warmth; all of which were portrayed in the beams of the sun, and such impressions crystalized into a red color. But the aristocratic

²⁸ See Johnson's, *Universal Cyclopædia*, Vol. III. p. 1,328, Art. *Pomona*; Ovid. *Metamorphoses*, XIV. 623, says that she was courted by Pnemunus another divinity of the Italian forests and gained her by a trick. It is also stated that Pomona had a citadel or seat among sacred groves near Ostia called the *Pomonal* and that she had a vicergerent or *sacerdos*—a man or perhaps woman chosen from among the laboring element, who had to rank last and lowest of the 15 flames of Rome. From Varro, *Lingua Latina*, V. 15, 25: ". . . . flamines, quod in Latio, capite velato, erant semper ac caput cinctum habebant flo. flamines dicti"

²⁹ Consult *Flamineus*, sq. in any good Latin *Lexicon*; Guhl and Koner, p. 537
³⁰ So in Greek we have Ἐρωδιός for the heron presumably applied to both these birds the scarlet ibis and the flamingo sometimes adored for the scarlet or sacred ibis. But the Ἐρωδιός was a form of ἔρως signifying the flame of love. So *Ardea*, the Latin for heron the self-same bird, has its etymology in *ardeo* to burn and blaze. It may therefore be strongly suspected that Pomona and the flames had something to do with the temple at Ardea near Rome burned by Æneas, and from whose ashes, phoenix like, arose the wonderful red heron or phoenix. Nothing can gainsay this, for both *ardea* and φœνιξ are the flaming reds of Latin and Greek.

idea of the *ego* as known in the noble, opposed to the ignoble or plebeian, was always of an awe-striking or imposing hue, such as the white, azure, blue and gray.

Curiously enough the celebrated sacred scarlet ibis of the ancients is found more frequently in the Americas than on the Nile, which leads to a plausible conjecture that this heron was the flamingo, another red heron, migratory and common on the Nile. These well-known, gregarious red birds, "when feeding, or at rest, owing to their red plumage, have often been likened to a body of British soldiers."¹

It is thus shown that red was the crystalization of all dark hues, while white, in primitive notions, was a state, purified altogether from color; and thus the true aristocratic symbol. Labor's warm, serum-reddened currents of love and life and manly vigor, together with its vast affixture of paraphernalia, which from the mythical ages clustered around this central color, was always based upon the opposite of those formidable, repellent hues residing in the awe-inspiring idea of nobility.

Persons inclined to doubt may here conceive an objection based in the fact that there was, common among the optimates, an aristocratic or imperial purple and that this purple was not only of a reddish hue but also an august color; so costly and grand that it could not be permitted by law to be worn, except by great dignitaries.

The answer to this objection is, however, easily met. In very ancient times owing to the popularity of the communal cult, an enormous trade and manufacture of the Tyrian red and purple was carried on. That nobody but the great masses dealt in this trade is evident from the fact that after the rise of the proletarian power, Rome began a conquest ending only in the massacre, subjugation and enslavement of these millions who had sustained the trade. Rome, probably to curry favor with her "dangerous class" at home, and after she had reduced the world by conquest, passed a law making it a crime for anybody to use the red except the nobles. After this law went into force in Phœnicia the workingmen engaged in the great and wide-spread trade of dyeing, so completely lost their business, that even the secret of their ancient

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. IX, p. 250.

and beautiful hues was lost and it has never been recovered to this day.²² Now this all proves that, agreeably to our views previously expressed, the purple came in vogue with the power of the plebs, who had this beautiful color; since these great conquests abroad commenced less than 200 years before Christ. All agree with Polybius²³ who, himself one of the victims of these conquests, devotes pages to an account of the origin of Roman degeneracy. When Rome suppressed the manufacture of the hated red color of the organized communes she herself adroitly donned the purple of labor's goddess—"the brilliantly tinted garments" of the priests of Isis and Osiris, of Ceres and Demeter, of Pomona and her flaminica, for "a mantle of a Roman emperor." So that while it is easy to show that in later times, when Rome was tumbling into that great slave-holding period which brought degeneracy and death, she intriguingly filched the beautiful color, and after streaking it with the old aristocratic gray and adulterating it with blue or white or azure, she gave it to her lords and ladies; its makers with their aged-secret, she gave to the wild beasts of the gladiatorial games to be "butchered for a Roman holiday." But it is not easy to prove that the purple containing the red was used by the *imperatores* before the conquests. True, it is so mentioned; but it was not the red-purple—only the azure-blue which received this name.

It is not in the scheme of these arguments to attempt a polemic for or against the primitive notions of mankind in regard to the choice of colors. We find species of innocent consistency all through. As white was the essence or crystal of *discolor*, symbolizing purity, aristocracy—to *agathoteron*, the better part, while its nuances of beautiful blue, its silvered gray and azure, all pointed to the ethereal sky, lofty, forbidding and sublime, so red, among the divinities of a yielding or producing race, was the essence, or crystalization of all color, from the murky smut of earth to brown and dun, at last reaching the gorgeous

²² Consult *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. VII. p. 498.

²³ Polybius, in his *Histories*, distinctly states that the decline of the Roman honor and virtue began with these conquests. For modern opinion on the date of Roman decline see Bucher *Aufstände der Unfreien Arbeiter*, where numerous valuable quotations are made from Polybius, Athenæus and others will be found of much interest, shedding a new light upon the subject.

scarlet and the crimson coma of Apollo,³⁴ or the flaming *chiton*, *chlamys*, *himation* or *toga*, believed to be the trailing robes of Demeter and her red silk, flame-clad daughter Proserpine and all the other protecting goddesses of labor and its products. This consistency, in harmony with Plato on the one hand and Aristotle on the other, is borne out alike by science, and by trial of an immemorial duration.

The Christians when they afterwards came, adopted the red, wherever they planted among the communes; and in our next chapter we shall show this to have been the case at almost every instance, in their earlier career. So soon as priest-power showed itself the old white came back; and accordingly we find the white standard at Rome, while the red banner remains at Auvergne, Paris and London, with its *gules* in England and its *gueules* in France. Everything throwing light upon the subject, shows the same preference of mediæval guilds, for red among the poorer or working class who learned to adopt Christianity because unlike the old Paganism, it declared for the gradual emancipation of slaves. And they have never to this day, given up their pristime banner.

We have mentioned the extreme antiquity of the red color as applied to ensigns, symbols, signs and types of the plebeian classes. These curious facts came down to us through the industry-protecting priesthood when they appear in histories and geographies, and through inscriptions, when they appear as relics of the proletaries themselves. This priesthood which transmits the records of the red color is, so far as we have been able to ascertain, only that of Minerva, goddess of mechanical labor and laborers, and Ceres, goddess, or tutelary divinity who controlled agriculture.³⁵ These great mythical powers, implicitly believed in for so many ages, had different name in different countries; but preserved with a wonderful uniformity the same functions everywhere.

We carry the investigation to England, the ancient Britannia, now known through cumulative evidence of

³⁴ There has been found (see *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. II. Art. *Apollo*), a fine round bronze head of Apollo stamped on the silver coin of Clazomenæ, preserved in the British Museum. This venerable midget is a curiosity.

³⁵ See Gerhard, *Antike Denkmäler* with *Tafel*, CXX. 1, showing image of Cybele in her chariot with lions and two figures clad in the *toga*.

comparative history, to be as ancient as Greece or Egypt, and centuries older than Rome.

Exactly as in the case of Greece and Rome, the aristocratic and Druidical priests were clothed in white,³⁶ so likewise the Druids of the aristocratic religion, like the southern European, are found to have been the most cruel and bloodthirsty of the ancients, nurturing the practice of slavery and the sacrifice of human beings. In fact these abominable atrocities were found later by the Romans to so far surpass their own spirit of cruelty³⁷ that they sent Agricola to their fastness in the island of Mona with an army, who so completely destroyed them that they never again arose to become a great power. The account of the ferocity of this ancient aristocratic priest-power of the Druids, in their methods of human sacrifice is too shocking to be recounted.³⁸

But notwithstanding the fact that priests of the state religion of ancient England were clad in white, the common or popular faith was that of sun-worship. Apollo, with all his relationship by similarity of functions, to Ceres, on the one hand, and Minerva on the other, was a protector and patron of industry by reason of his being the sun himself. He blazed forth with wondrous beams of crimson over old England as well as Europe and Asia, and was early the myth of that land and its people.³⁹ Perhaps there were two sets of opinions, one opposing the other among the Druids.

This blazing Phœbus, with his transcendental effulgence had to be imitated in the symbols of human labor; and how to make the crimson dyes of his train of deities was no small matter. But here the land of the Britons comes

³⁶ Hughes, *Horæ Britannicæ*, Vol. I, p. 158: "The Druid priest wore a white robe, and the bard sky-blue but the Ovati, green. These different colours, were, the first, the emblem of purity and peace; the other, of truth, and the last, the verdent dress of nature, in the meads and woods." They sacrificed human beings and white bulls.

³⁷ Campbell, *Political Survey*, I. p. 525; III. p. 292; IV. pp. 475, 480. Wm. Camden, *Britannia, Druides*; Borlase, *Cornwall*.

³⁸ We refer the reader to Hughes, *Horæ Britannicæ*, Vol. I. pp. 232-250, who derives the facts contained in his dissertation, from Tacitus, *Annales*, XIV. cap. 29, for the Britons and Lucan, for the grove of sacrifice at Marseilles in Gaul.

³⁹ Consult *Idem*, p. 261. The Stonehenge Britons were sun-worshippers; that is, they deified the god of blaze. Minerva was their protectress of invention and manual labor. Stonehenge appears to have been an enormous temple, built of heavy rocks and fashioned in a semi-circle, having no roof. For a full description of Stonehenge, its structure and its surrounding influences, see *idem*, pp. 258-26.

in for a share of our observation; for it furnished the tin of which the dye was made. After the Phœnicians found the tin mines of Cornwall and the Scilly Isles (the *cassiterides*), red colors were mostly produced in Sidon and Tyre, their southern home.

Now, without enlarging upon this matter as touching the earlier use of the red colors of England and the origin of the British *gules*, let us look at the phenomenal manner in which the habit of red colors has clung to these people. Every one familiar with the heraldic symbols has observed the frequent mention of the *gules*.⁴⁰ This, during the mediæval age, was a favorite color with the common people.

It would be well to show, in company with the English guilds, those also of the French, who are derived from the ancient Gauls. The reason of this is, that the trade union system of the Romans, elsewhere elaborately described, struck into England about the same time that it was popular in Gaul; and as the unions used the banner at Rome, the practice extended to Britain and Gaul.

The Crispins, who founded the order of shoemakers at Soissons, are the first unions we know of in the north of France. The story of the brothers Crispin and Crispinius belongs to the bloody days of Diocletian⁴¹ whose terrible persecution of the early Christians added them as victims of martyrdom; and they have ever since been the tutelary divinities or patrons, guarding the shoemakers' art—an other example of the power of superstition to perpetuate itself through the generations. So the shoemakers took the red flag; for we have a beautiful illustration of the color of the shoemakers' flag in the province of Auvergne, given us by Bouillet, in which are massed numbers of banners that were used by many trade organizations during the middle ages down to their suppression in 1783.⁴²

⁴⁰ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XI p. 616, 9th edition, Art. *Heraldry*; Here, in a cut (fig. 3), in which 9 escutcheons are represented, 3 are of a red color, one being a genuine *gules*. The art of dyeing brilliant colors is very ancient. The chasuble or red mummy cloth found A. D. 1295 now in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, which is "*purpureo aliquantulum sanguineo.*" proves that the older Phœnix purple was blood red. *Cotnam's Annals*, Vol. XVIII. p. 817. The celebrated tin dyes of the Phœnicians owed much to Britain. Consult Hughes, *Home Britannica*, Vol. I p. 47. It colored the finest textiles a pure red. This was going on long before Abraham or the Trojan war; and Britain yielded the tin for the scarlet dyes.

⁴¹ Consult chapter xi. pp. 372-388, of our *History of the Ancient Trade Unions*.

⁴² *Histoire des Communautés des Arts et Métiers de l'Auvergne, Accompage* &c.

The *cordonniers* or shoemakers, of the middle ages and down to their suppression, were in all respects the same as in A. D. 280, when founded by St. Crispin and his brother, who are said to have stolen the leather or raw material in their zeal to make shoes for the poor. They even retain the same name. They held the same day of the same year (October 25th), for their feasts, parades and conventional jubilees, and carried the same red banner. This is the flag which the law of Theodosius excused on account of the men having been guilty of no wrong, and having always been "found peaceful, pious and upright."⁴³ The French called the flag or standard-bearer of these unions a *porte-bannière*, the Romans a *signifer*. These banner-bearers or more probably banner makers had a union by themselves; for a magistrate or president is found in an old inscription,⁴⁴ bearing words to that effect. Returning to the trustworthy member of the Legion of Honor and of the Institute, M. Bouillet, we find him presenting the red flag of the shoemakers of the middle ages and later, categorically somewhat as follows:

In Auvergne, city of Brioude with its antique social curiosities and its communal college, the shoemakers had their union amalgamated with the tanners, glove makers, furriers and cobblers.⁴⁵ Their banner, alike for these four trades, was all blood red, except a border of gold and a gilt fox's pelt hanging in the center. The staff was gilt and hung with beautiful tassels. An exquisite picture of this banner is given in plate 33, fig. 2.

In the old town of Ambert, department of Puy de Dôme, the shoemakers were amalgamated with the saddle

Bannières que portaient ces Communautés avant 1789. Par J. B. Bouillet, Paris, 1857.

⁴³ *Codex Theodosii*, Notul. Gothof. leg. 2, tit. vii. lib. XIV. *De Excusationibus Artificum*. "Signiferi, . . . qui scilicet signa, et in his deorum, ferebant in pompis, festis, ludicris gentilicis." etc.

⁴⁴ Muratorius, *Thesaurus Veterum Inscriptionum*, 25, 50; Granier *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières*, p. 823: "Vénérable corps des maîtres porte-bannières aux fêtes, et de leurs nombreux variétés, depuis les *signiferi*, qui sont le genre jusqu'aux *cantabrarii* qui sont l'espèce." Comp. Orell. *Inscriptionum Latinarum Collectio*, No. 4,282.

⁴⁵ Bouillet, *Communautés*, p. 109. describes the relations of the shoemakers with the cobblers as follows: "On comprendra facilement qu'il a du arriver de vives contestations entre les deux corps de métiers, de cordonniers et de savetiers; les uns achetaient des bottes ou des souliers vieux, les autres confectionnaient certains articles de leur état, hors des conditions prescrites par leur règlement, aussi les cours et tribunaux entendirent souvent leurs griefs pour ces faits et pour les visites des uns chez les autres."

and bridle makers.⁴⁶ Their ensign, shown in plate 12, fig. 1, was of the same shape as that of Brioude; about one-half of the surface of the canvass within the border was of a brilliant red color. The whole banner was red, blue and gold.

An exquisite red banner was that of the shoemakers of Clermont. In the center of a similarly escutcheon-shaped canvass is a shoe-knife with gilt handle and steel colored blade of nearly the same shape that we see to-day in any shoeshop. A gold border shiningly fringed the whole, except the top and like the others, the standard and tassels were gilt. All the canvass is a flaming red. It presents, indeed a beautiful exhibit of the old French *oriflamme* and the older, pre-Christian FLAG and *flamma* which we have described as the ensign hues of the workmen's goddesses, so familiar and so endeared to the Latin lowly race.⁴⁷

The ancient city of Nemetum and seat of the Cæsars, *Augustonemetum*, which was one of the early Christian centers (A. D. 250), became the Clermont-Ferrand of the present day. Here the *collegia* and communes of the early Christians long ago planted and always maintained themselves even through the persecutions of Diocletian and Maximian. No place seems to have more warmly cultivated the ancient, or rejected the innovations of modern life, than Clermont. The foregoing description of the shoemakers of Clermont is given by Bouillet.⁴⁸ Momm- sen, in his history of Rome, makes this volcanic and ster-

⁴⁶ Idem, p. 110, and plate 12 fig. 1. "Leur bannières portait :

"Tiercé en pal : à bordure de gueules, à un couteau à pied d'argent, emmanché d'or etc. et en 3 d'or, à une bride de cheval de gueules."

⁴⁷ It may be well here to quote some of the definition of the English *gules*. French *gueules*, Latin, *gulae* because though somewhat rare, they appear in ancient and mediæval heraldry; Stormouth, *English Dictionary*: GULES, noun, pl. -al, pronounced *gultz*. [French *gueules*, red or sanguine in blazon—from *gueule*, mouth, the throat], in heraldry, a term denoting red, represented in engravings in upright lines."

Worcester, *English Dictionary* (Unabridged), defines it thus: GULES, (*gultz* - n. Fr. *gueules*. - L. *gula* the throat; or the Ar. *gula*, a rose, Fairholt—"Corruption of *gueules*, red Fr. which is probably from the Pers. *guhl*, a rose."

Webster, *English Dictionary*, (Unabridged): "GULES, (*gultz*), n. [Fr. *gueules*, from Lat. *gula*, red (lined skin). (Her.) A red color intended, perhaps, to represent courage, animation or ardor, and indicated in engraved figures of escutcheons and the like, by straight perpendicular lines."

⁴⁸ Bouillet, *Communes d'Auvergne*, plate 11, fig. 3. On p. 110, is the description as follows: "A Clermont: De *gueules*, à un tranchet à lame d'argent émanché d'or."

ile region of Auvergne an example in proof that the introduction of modern innovations would result in the place becoming uninhabitable,⁴⁹ although it has withstood many misfortunes, natural and ecclesiastical, and is yet a populous and thriving region. Here, where ancient customs have so tenaciously clung, we find them near the close of the last century, still with their flaming red banner; and no amount of prejudice could change the working people from its use at the feasts and parades, just as they were doing in the days of Socrates or Tiberius Gracchus.

One banner was a flaming red without a spot or blemish of any other color except in the center, where stood the Virgin Mary, dressed in silver gray, holding in her arms the naked infant. It symbolizes the peaceful handicraft of the shoemakers, carders, weavers and several others. This central picture of the Madonna or Notre Dame, holding the new-born child, as represented on the plate, is artistic; and standing upon a background of gorgeous red, presents with its gold fringes, its slender staff and its tassels, an admirable piece of art.⁵⁰ Among the various unions amalgamated under this banner were the masons; thus showing the red banner to have been an emblem of that trade.

We do not pretend to say that all the shoemakers of the mediæval ages used the red flag. Notable exceptions are given in plates 9, fig. 2, of the city of Maringues, and plate 11, fig. 4, of Riom, but nearly all of those given retain this color. Out of the eight shoemakers' unions represented on the plates no less than five sported the red color, some of them retaining the peace-hues of the divinities unalloyed by anything except the device of the craft, generally placed in the center of the canvass.

In England we likewise find the *gules* upon thousands of escutcheons from as early as Constantine the Great. It is there yet. The habit of holding up the red as a

⁴⁹ *History of Rome*, (Eng. trans.), Vol. I, p. 62, quotes Dureau de la Malle, *Economie Politique des Romains*, II, p. 226. In this passage it is mentioned that such sights as a woman yoked or harnessed by the side of a cow, are still of common occurrence.

⁵⁰ See plate 12, fig. 2, of Bouillet, *Histoire des Communautés des Arts et Métiers*. The description of the plate is on pages 110-111, as follows: "À Montferrand, les cordonniers, réunis aux cardeurs, aux tisserands, aux marchands revendeurs aux hôteliers, aux maçons, etc., portaient une bannière: De gueules, à Notre Dame d'argent, couronnée d'or."

symbol of some tutelary divinity—nobody knows what because everybody has forgotten—clings to the British Isles with a stubborn tenacity to this day. How comes it that the military coat is red? That French soldiers in parade look like a prairie on fire? That in blazonry the standards, and in shipping, the streamers, pennons, jacks and merchant-standards,⁶¹ especially those representing peace, so many are of this color? The reasons for it are two-fold. First, they are the most conspicuous and beautiful and consequently the best. As proof of this we find in America and elsewhere the blood-red storm signals, in Switzerland the red arms, in Denmark, Great Britain, Norway, Turkey, Morocco, Peru, Chili, Bolivia and many other countries, the red merchants flags and ensigns; red occupying almost the entire surface of the canvass. So also, the British jack.

In the next place, these were the colors originally employed to represent the same object in ancient times when, in the imagination of men, red was believed to be holy like the gorgeous streams of light from the rising or setting sun, which shaped itself on the simple, primeval mind, into an omnipotent being with human form, like Apollo and Ceres, who were believed to be guardians of labor and its products. If then, it is the best, is still used because best, and if, after a trial of an æon of time it be found that the lowly class thus symbolized by it, judged rightly ten thousand years ago, and have preserved it in their unions and hearts through this long period. can there be any consistency in a paltry, time-serving-prejudice or its tricks and intolerant schemes against it? We leave this question to science.

We are told by antiquarians that when the Romans settled Kent, called by them *Cantiopolis*, large numbers of the trade unionists came from Italy and there established themselves; and engaging with the natives in the arts of brass and woodwork, taught them the use of the turning lathe and other machinery. So we find this section the chosen nucleus of several trade unions at this day; and right here and in London an hour's walk up the Thames

⁶¹ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. IX pp. 241-245 Art. *Flag*. Let the reader open a late edition of Webster or Worcester's Unabridged *Dictionary* to the word *flag*, and his eye will meet as it were, a flame of fire.

is where the typical British *gules* is found in greatest abundance; for the same phenomenon of transmission makes London the bed-rock of modern socialism. Previously to the introduction of the mechanic arts this territory was a wilderness; and the people lived in tents, hovels, huts and caves, in the rudest state, almost without clothes or houses. Romans taught and helped them to construct habitations, married with them and mixed, as is now becoming known, planting among them all their home habits and customs.⁵² Many of these Romans on their long journey through Gaul to Britain, lingered on the way; and those were the workingmen who planted the flag in such places as Auvergne; for Romans were in England 55 years before Christ. We will therefore suppose that if they planted it in Auvergne they did so in Kent, and having less positive evidence from the latter we allow ourselves to draw comparisons by what we positively know of the former, which was a way-station of the Italian emigrants.

As we have spoken of carpenters, let us take this trade in evidence. Drawing from Bouillet who has so faithfully worked this territory, we find the red banner to have been used by them as follows: Carpenters with patron Saint Joseph and with day of celebrations, the 19th of March, (March was the natal month of Ceres, Minerva and Apollo).⁵³

Taking all the principal trades we might suppose to have been introduced into Kent and London at the same time that they existed in Auvergne, we find that in the latter place, the bakers' annual feast days were in the spring of the year, corresponding to the festival days of Ceres, goddess of grain-growing, and Dionysus and the other labor gods. Here we have in Bouillet's portrayal of the trades

⁵² Comp. E. H. Rogers' correct and able statement in McNell's *Labor Problem of to-day*, p. 335, drawing from Coote, *Romans of Britain*. "Rome held possession of the island more than 400 years, and it was never abandoned by those descended from the Romans." Mr. Rogers speaks of the mechanics who early emigrated to Massachusetts, as the "Men of Kent."

⁵³ *Histoire des Communautés des Arts et Métiers d' Auvergne*, pp. 80-83: "On peut faire une étude très curieuse du rôle que joua la charpenterie militaire, dans la seconde expédition de Pépin-le-Bref, en 761, contre Galfre, duc d'Aquitaine. Au siège qu'il fit subir à la ville de Clermont, profitant de l'expérience des Lombards, il fit dresser contre les murs de formidables béliers, des poutres énormes qui, mises en mouvement par des leviers et des cordages et roulant sur des cylindres, par l'impulsion que leur donnaient les charpentiers et leurs habiles ouvriers, heurtaient de leur front de fer les murailles et les mettaient en pièces. On peut le voir encore dans d'autres sièges que soutinrent Clermont et Montferrand en 1121 et 1126."

unions of Auvergne, six banners in red out of eleven mentioned for the bakers, and the six red flags were for the towns of Ambert, Brioude, Issoire and Thiers, where the flag was all red except the central device; and Riom and Saint-Flour, where they painted a part only of its surface in red.

Turning to Depping,⁶⁴ and Shepheard who wrote a curious statement on guild laws in 1650, at London, we find that there were unions in both London and Paris during the same period, or from the time of Constantine the Great; and if so, the habits of the people of Auvergne must have been about the same as those of the Parisians and Londoners because France was the territory of the overland emigration from Italy. The red banner appears to have been colored after the tutelary divinities or patron saints whose feast days still corresponded with those of the proto-divinities, tenaciously conserved through the ages, from the myths by the power of habit.

But we may follow this interesting subject farther, taking the various other trades together. Beginning with towns that adopted a banner as their device for arts and trades in general, we find at Langheac, the flag half red; Chaudesaigues, half red; Pont du Chateau, half red; Vic, Vic-le-Comte and Saint Germain, largely red; while many of the trades residing in these towns had all red for their banner.

In Mont-Ferrand, the carders, masons, weavers, small dealers and tavern keepers had blood red. In Aurillac and Riom, the saddle and bridle makers, confectioners, cheese handlers, locksmiths, shoemakers, cutlers and silk workers all had red and a number a bright fiery color all over except the device.

At Thiers, the marble cutters, glaziers and cutters had all red. At Ambert, besides the shoemakers, already mentioned, the saddle and bridle makers and weavers had a red banner, or one with more or less red on it.

Clermont de Cournières and Saint Germain-Lembron had total red except central device. So Saint Germain, the celebrated industrial suburb of Paris named, as it ap-

⁶⁴ G. B. Depping. *Règlement sur les Arts et Métiers de Paris*, this author quotes a state regulation covering the same period, which is curious as showing the honesty of freedmen from tricks such as characterize the present competitive system, causing much adulteration of manufactures.

pears from this more aged labor-hive of southwest France, still clings to, and fights for, its ideal red as a tutelary or patron color.

The tutelary banner of Pierrefort, had the top red far enough down to cover more than one third of its surface, the rest having several common colors but no white.

At Clermont-Ferrand the joiners had a red plane, and the marble-cutters other similar red objects for a device, while at Brioude, shoemakers, tavern keepers, tanners, glove makers, furriers and cobblers, had each all flaming red, and their parades, which used to be celebrated on the 11th of November, must have been a sightly spectacle indeed, all through the middle ages. They were devout Christians although their worship had differentiated in course of time from that of Minerva whose feast day was the same time of the year, whose colors were the same, and whose cult had only changed from that of a tutelary heathen divinity, to that of a Christian patron.

The banner of the painters of Montaigut was entirely of a blazing red. Hatters and glaziers of Saint Flour had their banner red at the top; and the hatters, saddlers, tanners, butchers and tavern keepers of Issoire had a great red ring like the sun's corona. Surgeons and apothecaries, so well-known to have been classed among the plebs in former times, had all red banners in Aurillac. The tanners, glove makers and curriers of this place also flamed in the same color.⁵⁵

Abundance of other evidence might be here brought forward; for the immense field of Europe is scarcely yet entered upon.

If any one should still contend that the red flag or the red color was warlike and antagonistical to life and its peaceful pursuits and labors, let him further observe the fact that in those lands where the communes left their traces most plentifully on their inscriptions, will be found the red banner to this day. Modern Turkey occupies one of these localities. And what is the merchant standard of modern Turkey? A blood red color tinges every shred of the canvass except an exiguous star and a tiny crescent

⁵⁵ See *Index and plates* of Bouillet, *Histoire des Communautés des Artes et Métiers de L'Auvergne*, where still more material may be found to confirm these statements.

moon, the wife of the flaming Apollo! Certainly no warfare is symbolized in the peaceful standard of a merchant vessel.

Morocco, Algiers and Tunis, the north coast of Africa, once occupied by the Carthagenians and other colonies of Phœnicians, still have a flag which is totally red. When the origin of this habit is traced, it will be revealed that Baal, the great divinity of the Phœnicians, whose attributes were the same as Ceres, whose colors were red, whose home was that of the inventive and ingenious dyers, and who was the tutelary divinity or patron of labor, was the huge sun-god that inspired the color by his glowing beams.

The northern coast of Africa was colonized by the Punic race whose name both in Greek and Latin is the every day word for red. Both Turkey, which succeeded to Græco-Phœnician domination in Asia, and Morocco, Tunis and Algiers, which succeeded to Carthagenian rule and influence, still retain for this peace-color the red in its altogether unadulterated state.

Spain, the ancient Iberia, a colony of Phœnicia which also planted the red banner in the land of Viriathus, conveyed this habit to Peru, where we still find the banner and merchant standard all red, except a white stripe through the middle. In Egypt the peace-standard is blood red with the exception of a crescent of the moon.

Great Britain, likewise a colony of Phœnicia so ancient that the records descend to us only in the tin tincture furnished by her mines, of which the red dyes were made, preserves to this day an otherwise unaccountable habit of displaying the red *gules*, and her merchant standard is all red except a corner and even this is partly red. The Romans who later settled Britain only confirmed the same habit; since the labor communes of Rome had borrowed their tutelary divinities from Asia.

Thus Phœnicia whose æons of antiquity make her the proto-nursery of man along with central Asia, is alike, the home of Baal "the sun-god, conceived as the male principal of life and reproduction in nature,"⁶⁶ and the mother of almost all the colonies where sunbeams paint the future flags and banners of the myriads of toil whose com-

⁶⁶ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. III. p. 152.

munal culture was one of peace, equality and good will to man.

Very much more evidence might be adduced in proof of the red banner having descended to the working family of man, as a legacy from ancient usages religions and beliefs; and showing that while memory and use have traditionally adhered, the superstitious reasons for much, have long been forgotten, though the economical reasons have remained. We submit these curious points to further study by antiquaries with the remark that the most striking feature of these phenomena is, that feast-days of the middle ages correspond for the peculiar crafts, very nearly with those of the same crafts and same divinities in the remotest antiquity of which we have been able to trace traditional and palæographic records.

We have constantly found the red banner to have predominated only in paths of peace; and never outside that domain except when the peculiar and well-known attachment of the lowly to it, was taken advantage of, do we find it in war. So it was used and so it careered in the early colonies of the United States. The early flag, true to the traditions of the past, was of a blazing red color in Massachusetts,⁶¹ in New York, and probably in every one of the thirteen original states. It was the flag used by General Washington at the onset. When the war of the revolution broke out it was a beautiful red, with the old merchantman's ensign of the union jack—a peace-token—and men of peace suddenly found themselves compelled, in the absence of a war-flag, to float the red ensign amid the clank and din of cruel strife. It was the flag of Lexington, of Bunker Hill, of Ticonderoga; and in its center shone the patriotic motto "Liberty and union." A glance at the newspapers of those days best reveals these data. But those men were struggling for the right of free labor like the men of old. These facts rather stultify the prevailing notions against the old red banner.

⁶¹ See *American Cyclopædia*, 1883, Vol. VII., pp. 250-251: "In the beginning of the revolution a variety of flags was displayed in the revolted colonies. The 'union flags' mentioned so frequently in the newspapers of 1774 were the ordinary English red ensigns bearing the union jack." The flag "displayed by Putnam on July 18th (following the battle of Bunker Hill), was red, with 'Qui transtulit sustinet' on one side and on the other: 'An appeal to Heaven.'"

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE TRUE MESSIAH.

FOUNDERS OF GREAT INSTITUTIONS COMPARED

HOW THE REAL MESSIAH found Things at His Advent on Earth—
Palestine—Syria—Rhodes and the Islands—Suffering Con-
dition of Labor—Seeds of the Revolution already Sown—
Further Analysis of the Conditions—The *Eranoi* and *Thiasoi*
—*Orgeons* and *Essenes*—Falsehoods regarding the *Bacchantes*.

AFTER 417 years, from the strike of the 20,000 miners and artisans at the Laurian mines in Greece, and 70 years from the last strike-war—that of the gladiators under Spartacus in Italy—there arose an orator out of the laboring class, who in Judea in an open air meeting, probably before a great assemblage, told the world that resistance to evil by means of bloody uprisings, was fraught with failure. Undoubtedly having in mind those terrible scenes we have pictured in these chapters, this foremost of orators and teachers proclaimed at the mass meeting these words:

“Ye have heard that it hath been said (by them of old time), an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you that ye resist not evil but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn him the other also.”¹ Strange words! Inapplicable to this seething world. They were intended for some microcosm; some perfected state—the realized heaven on earth. In the competitive world to-day, Christian as it pretends to be, the old fighting eye for eye and tooth for tooth prevails, ever will pre-

¹ *Matthew*, V. 38-39.

vail; to talk otherwise is absurd except in the deep pene-
tralia where that heaven is realized.

By taking these strange words in the light of true so-
cial science and reasoning upon their meaning from the
point of view in which these pages are written, we may
perhaps understand their import. Otherwise the task
is difficult. Nations continue to demand an eye for an
eye. Communities do the same. Even families, despite
their consanguine ties, cannot but continue to enslave
and often destroy each other. Individuals stand over-
against each other in mocking and bitter competition.
The shrewdest or most favored survive while the majori-
ties languish and fail.

Jesus when he said these words was in the act of creat-
ing an association; and that association actually contin-
ued for 300 years practicing the precepts of its founder.
It was no new thing. It had existed for centuries before;
it existed then. What he did was to bring out into the
open world that which had so long been secret.

It was at a moment when such doctrines were compre-
hensible to the masses. Notions of the Messiah existed
everywhere and the deep religious tinge was indispen-
sable. The irascible world had many a tilt with the ter-
rible monster of competition whose religion had been
deeply based upon human slavery and the grasp for acqui-
sition was still so strong that although the principle of
equality and hence of emancipation of labor from its de-
gradation, has never even to this day been relinquished,
it did not obtain for many ages. Through this great
movement a ponderous, revolutionary blow certainly fell
upon the old competitive system. But that blow though
ultimately fatal, did not kill the monster on the spot. He
still lingers and is to-day struggling in a temporary hope
and exultation although nearly 2,000 years have elapsed
since the word went forth against him.

It cannot be considered in any other light than that
the revolutionary events treated in foregoing chapters,
followed by the enormous wave of reform of the early
Christians, produced a tremendous syncope or swoon;
that an atrophy supervened; and that they benumbed the
whole social organism of the great Indo-European race.
The dark ages into which our race sank, after the adop-

tion of Christianity and its ratification and legalization by Constantine must ever be considered a phenomenon under any other reasoning than that this task it undertook was too prodigious for its powers. Æons of time were necessary to accomplish so vast a revolution. To overwhelm the great aristocratic Pagan religion with its array of traditions; to engulf and annihilate its obstinate cult; to emancipate the two-thirds majority on whose ill-paid labor it had feasted, glutted itself and grown monstrous in bulk and arrogance, was a task so profound that although actually undertaken, it caused a reaction, rolling up moral and intellectual billows so high that the ages and the nations were swept into a terrible jargon of dogmas tyrannies and bloody, inquisitorial intolerance which destroyed the virility of the race for more than a thousand years. And even now, after so many centuries, the end of the convulsions is far off, though hopefully approaching.

All struggles embracing deep principles are attended by qualms, swoons and upheavals. The numberless combatants who fell back in the swooning period that settled upon the human race after the Council of Nice with its mongrel Christianity, its idolatry, priestcraft and despotism, are emerging with higher hopes and broader views; their armor, the mechanics of their own invention, reduplicated by their own labor, wielded by their own hands and brain and their manhood cleared of doubts and superstitions—those deadly misgivings of the ancients. No one to-day asks more than Jesus did; for equal liberty, universal freedom and common ownership, with his sublime love and inter-care are quite enough. Squadrons innumerable thus armed and outfitted are, in our bright, regenerate century, returning to the conflict against the aged, competitive and long successful enemy of equal advantages and equal care. The conflict in this second coming may be long, hopefully in our own land bloodless, because fought with arguments, organization, diplomacy and law.

We have sketched several of the most renowned governments and ideal governments of the ancients. They all, having their foundation upon competition and its natural partiality, turned against the laboring people on whom

they fed. They failed and came to naught. What there was in them of good could not obtain because they insulted and disrespected labor and degraded the working people on whom they existed from day to day. Nature tolerated some of them for a fair trial but they have disappeared and are no more. Jesus came and advocated another form based upon equality and brotherhood.

But before further considering the form established by the lowly workingman let us look honestly and squarely at the condition in which he found things.

All Asia Minor was the scene of labor organizations, Canaan by no means excepted. The Phœnicians who boasted an antiquity of 30,000 years,² occupied the land of Canaan on the Mediterranean Sea, in which country Jesus lived and passed the greater part of his life. These Canaanites appear before the researches of modern archaeologists and historians to have been among the first who possessed labor organizations. In giving a sketch of several ancient forms of government, we have simply described the competitive system, ancient and modern. Even the plans of Lycurgus and Numa failed altogether of affecting the revolution by which we mean the complete change from the old Pagan central idea of slavery to one of social and economic equality. There was no socialism beyond that of the family, in the government instituted in the idea of common ownership, communal intercourse, common tables and impartial distribution of land, as arranged by Lycurgus and afterwards shadowed by Plato and Aristotle. Every idea of true socialism was utterly neutralized by their hostility to laborers. The gymnastics which took the place of physical energy supplied by well regulated labor, and no better for the bodily health and development, was less natural, more straining and far less satisfactory.

In point of true national economy, government and labor cannot remain separate. By the governments mentioned, labor was disgraced, the laborer denied instruction, enslaved. Who then, were the citizens? Who the people? An oligarchy consisting of one-third of the population. An imperious, oligarchy of landlords. The condition of Ireland or England, wherever worst overrun and

² Africanus, *In Syncellus*, p. 31.

monopolized by landlords to-day, is better. Again, so far as the family socialism is concerned it was still more pernicious; for it was hypocritically an acquiescence in the ancient aristocracy existing among the highest class, everywhere in the right of the first-born son. Lycurgus recognized this arch aristocracy in forbidding kings and a few select individuals from indulging in the voluptuous interchange of loves. As in the traditional Pagan family, the king like the *paterfamilias*, was the breeder of kings. The mass of the people were left without sacred or holy honors. By people we mean the citizens and favored owners, or rather the protected, recognized and favored of the state. What then, shall be said of the workers? Summing it all up, these governments were exactly what they turned out to be—the quintessence of competitive forms, breeding disunion and corruption, thus coaxing on their own dissolution.

But seeds of the true revolution were, from the earliest antiquity inherent in the labor organizations, which during these abortive efforts of aristocratic lawgivers and teachers, quietly existed in the midst of them. Had there existed only a few of these societies there would be no need here of pressing our subject. It would be allowed to slumber forever unmentioned. But they were innumerable. Comparative palæography indeed finds a new theme amongst them for the dignity of the labor problem; for it casts a fresh and charming color into the hitherto dry reading of annals.

But the fact that they were so numerous as to exist in thousands and perhaps millions and that their existence covered unknown ages of time, is far less significant than the fact that they all seem to have possessed the kernel, not of the dishonest and hypocritical, but of the honest and real socialism, such as Jesus and the early Christians struggled to plant as the ultimate plan for all men to follow. They were all certainly alike in helping each other, in respecting and honoring labor and laborers, in co-operating for mutual aid, in a perfectly democratic form of religion though they were, in their credulous simplicity, constantly borrowing from the great grandees, their tutelary deities or patron saints. Whatever or wherever their tutelary god, one thing is universally ob-

served—an uncompromising belief in, and a practical devotion to, the rougher forms of brotherhood. They had lived the revolution for unnumbered generations before Jesus came to sweep it, by one magnetic and amazingly omnipotent stroke, out of its modest secrecy into the open blaze of maddened, gnashing public opinion and fling it upon the warring tempests of the aged competitive system, the foundation rock of paganism.

It is a significant fact that Jesus should appear to the world in Phœnicia or Canaan which was at that time the wreck of the greatest nation of freebooters, buccaneers and kidnappers the world has ever known. From the earliest record these people were marauders and their world-wide successes legalized their daring and made them powerful pirates by sea and brigands by land.

But there was an inner history of these people which the pen of chroniclers has left unsketched. Great numbers of persons from all parts of the known world were kidnapped by their cruising corsairs, brought to the Phœnician shores and sold to the wealthy for slaves. These slaves, shortly before the advent of Christ, formed over two-thirds of the population. They were maltreated, made to do menial work, forced to till the lands, especially detailed to perform all the severe bodily toil in and out of the cities, their handsomest youths were made eunuchs and apportioned to the service of the ladies of high estate, and their young girls, disallowed an education and brought up in slavery and dirt, yielded not only to labor but became susceptible to the offers of the unprincipled and voluptuous among the rich. The condition of the ancient Phœnician slaves was indeed a degraded one. In nearly all the towns of Canaan or Phœnicia, Syria and Asia Minor, as well as in the islands, slaves were the rule; the free working people³ the exception. The cruel taint which blasted the toiler extended its devil-fingers beyond Greece over the Ægean sea and pointed at the Asiatic workman as a mark for its curse.⁴

In Egypt,⁵ Greece,⁶ Rome, Judea,⁷ Syria,⁸ Syracuse

³ Drumann, *Arbeiter und Communisten*, p. 24. "In Epidamnos gab es keine Handwerker als die öffentlichen Sklaven. Das Handwerk ist daher verrufen und verachtet u, in manchen Städten den Bürgern verboten."

⁴ Plato, *Econ.*, 4 and 6.

⁵ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, book II. Chap. v. 3.

and Spain the ignominious punishment of the cross was inflicted only on felons and working people, often for the most trivial, or merely imagined, or trumped up offences, while the arch criminals of "family" were allowed the noble *supplicium*. This state of things had come to such a pass since the conquest of the countries above mentioned that the utmost misery prevailed everywhere. The land was grasped by speculating Romans of court favor, who were at that time not only numerous but extremely enterprising. Being of the privileged or citizen stock they siezed the beautiful farms formerly worked by the industrious inhabitants, but now under the yoke of voracious conquerors, and assumed them to be their own. Instead of free labor, slaves performed the work.

But labor had been in sackcloth and ashes⁹ for many ages, and it required no additional weight to make it bad enough.¹⁰ Even Gellius who wrote laws to decide their fate, seems to speak with contempt of labor as though it were some noxious reptile to be hurled from his pen in disgust.¹¹ It is almost amusing to read over the qucer whimsicalities of our ancestors whose *opera quae supersunt* often project expressions of petulency and of irritability in view of some necessary but to them, ignominious mention of a class of people on whose toil they depended for their very existence from day to day. Cicero, sneeringly said, when describing his enemy Clodius, ranking him with those laboring men, that he was "without credit, without hope, without home, without goods."¹² This in

⁹ Guhl and Koner, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, p. 518. "In cruce[m] figere.

⁷ Cf. *Inscription*, recently found at Naples containing the death warrant of Jesus.

⁸ Bücher, *Aufstände der Unfreien Arbeiter*, S. 69, and elsewhere.

⁹ Vide Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 73. Also Dionysius, B. C. 476 made it lowly enough; Livy, X. 31. "Quinam sit ille, quem non pigeat longinquitatis bellorum scribendo legendoque, quae gerentes non fatigaverunt."

¹⁰ Pliny, *Natural History*, IX. 25; II. 28.

¹¹ Quod genus Græcii ἀχθόφορος vocant, latine bajulos appellamus." Gellius 5, 3, §. 2.

¹² *Pro Marco Coelio*, 32. "Quare oro obtestorve vos, iudices, ut qua in civitate paucis his diebus Sextus Clodius absolutus sit, quem vos per biennium aut ministrum seditionis, aut ducem vidistis: qui aedes sacras, qui census populi Romani, qui memoriam publicam suis manibus incendit hominem sine re, sine fide, sine spe, sine sede, sine fortunis, ore, lingua, manu, vita omni inquinatum: qui Catuli monumentum afflixit meam domum diruit, mei fratris incendit." Cicero here had not the magnanimity to give Clodius credit for voluntarily casting aside his noble family and his wealth. Cicero, when he said that Clodius had no family, well knew that he was a brother of Appianus Claudius, that he was one of the very most powerful representatives of the great *gens* "Claudia"—the same stock which afterwards produced emperors. We find little in the family to

his haughty mind was sufficient to damn them to oblivion. Occasionally there rose a character, so sympathetic and exalted, even in immoral Rome, as to be able to dispel this almost universal contempt and to give expression to the grandest and most truthful sentiments. Of such was the excellent Tiberius Gracchus, who a hundred and forty years before Christ was born, declared that "wild game have holes; and for everything there is some shelter, some retreat; but the poor who struggle and die for Italy, though they have air and light, have nothing more. Houseless and homeless they wander with their wives and little ones. Those military gentlemen lie, who admonish soldiers against permitting workingmen's graves and sacred things to be desecrated by enemies; for not one has a family altar of his own; not one among all these Romans a burial place. The poor must struggle and die for the blustering drunkenness and the corrupted wealthy called nobility whom their labors create and sustain."¹³ We have hitherto made reference to Mommsen who constantly bewails the paucity of mention by great authors, of the poor and lowly;¹⁴ but Mommsen is not the only savant who in rummaging among the musty relics, after such rare gems in vain, sends up his moan of regret. Dr. Drumann repeats the same thing and in blunter and terser terms. "One searches in vain for satisfactory intelligence," regarding the producing class.¹⁵

Such are the difficulties the historian of the ancient lowly has to encounter; and were it not for the tell-tale inscriptions and the musty old rescripts of law, the task could never be performed. But while the most valuable records of bold writers have been left us in fragments and the more time-serving historians have shrugged themselves into silence fearing to face the storms of public opinion, the workers themselves were carving their own history in lines of amazing legibility for the far future students of ethnology and social science.

praise; for he was descended from the same *gens* with Appianus Claudius; but if he turned into a friend of the unions, restored them, fought Cicero on these grounds, and if he comes down to us as their champion and martyr, then the whole labor movement must acknowledge it.

¹³ Flutarch, *Tiberus Gracchus*.

¹⁴ *De Collegiis et Sodalicis Romanorum*, p. 41. "Quoniam exiguum tantum notitiam earum ad nos pervenisse admodum dolendum est."

¹⁵ *Arbeiter und Communisten in Grtechenland und Rom*, S. 15, 5, "Befriedigende Nachrichten sucht man vergebens."

We now turn to the labors of Jesus whom, in order to be consistent with our study of sociology, we must presume to have been what some of the great commentators and even some of the encyclopædists now consider him, an Essene or at any rate, a member of one of the great orders of secret associations so numerous in his day. Lest this announcement appear untenable in the minds of many, we present our proof in consistent detail; inviting further investigation on the part of critics, in rebuttal. Certainly, no harm can accrue from an honest comparison of facts as applied to lessons in anthropology. In proceeding to do this difficult task we must acquaint our readers with things as we find them and reason, like the physicist, from the premises.

We have already stated that there existed along the Mediterranean great numbers of palæographs mostly unearthed within the present century. There is still a dispute as to what they represented. That they are stone slabs, often handsomely graved in *relievo*, commemorating social societies, all archæologists are agreed. But until lately it has not occurred to their learned expounders that they were genuine *labor societies*. This however, is the fact.

But while these innumerable palæographs are really the work of labor organizations and economic advantages to manual toil being then, as now, the incentive, because labor then, as now, was the members' only capital or means of support, yet this labor, on account of the taint and disgrace as well as the ruffianly attacks it had in those days to submit to, was for many ages the cause of the societies and their inscriptions; and the thing that lies constantly concealed. But the more popular and trivial issues, like the palliatory flattery of idol worship, the vain-boasting of prophets, the popular flute music, dances, processions, and burial ceremonies, covered up the view of labor; a palliative which secured their permission by law, to exist in Palestine and elsewhere.

The common name of all the ancient societies of these regions, is *koinon*, and the most important of them, according to Lüders,¹⁶ are the *synodoi* or synods. Then especially among the Canaanites are found the traders, also known as

¹⁶ Lüders, *Die Dionysischen Götter*, p. 12

synodoi plethoi and *sybiosis philia*. But of course in the widest sense the general name of phratry stood uppermost; since whatever applied to it means "union."

But the name under which the most of them are known in the inscriptions is *eranos* and *thiasos*, a description of which we have already given. The *eranos*, in the Greek was a labor or trade union. From the Greek, all the social societies of the Ægean sea, Syria, Phœnicia and Asia Minor borrowed this name. The same explanation applies to the *thiasos*. This was an association for common enjoyment, and is consequently considered by the modern archaeologists as a branch of the *dionysia* or the *bacchantes*. But there is great misapprehension regarding the province and functions of the celebrated god Bacchus. While people of our day associate him with wine and drunkenness the great Numa Pompilius provided for the working people once a year at the Saturnalian festivals of the harvests,¹⁷ and during his wise and much honored reign they were encouraged to indulge in festal recreations. The Saturnalia was a great harvest festival. Relaxation, merry-making and even wine conviviality were so far indulged in as to almost sink, pending its duration, the inequalities of rich and poor. Being in December, it was to the ancient Romans, what Christmas is to the Christians.

Now, considered as identified with the manners of the labor organizations, there is a similarity touching the *saturnalia* sanctioned by Numa. Tullus Hostilius and even the emperors, and the *bacchanalia* which were breathing moments of the secret labor societies. But the *bacchanalia* were common in all countries and the *bacchantes* had their feast at any time during the year. The true cause of their disreputable taint is not that the feasters drank wine. All drank wine, when they were able to pay for it; it was a healthy beverage. The obloquy comes entirely from their being all lowly working people. They were attacked in a ferocious and brutal manner and threatened with extinction because they dared to have an evening dance once a month.

Unorganized, the ancient workingmen were powerless to enjoy even this; but the force of co-operation or confraternity bore its fruits; and by it they could enjoy their convivals

¹⁷ Plutarch, *Lycurgus and Numa Compared*.

The *thiasos*¹⁸ was this community gathering, which in their marches and dances used to wear beautiful wreaths¹⁹ and sport red flags and banners. Tracing these societies farther and clearing them of moral mud and slime with which vilifiers of the ancient quill have so bespattered them that the word *bacchanal* appears in our vocabularies like a synonym of sottishness, we have a decent, well ordered association or union of poor people who work for their living; such as existed all over the country about where Jesus lived. Böckh, cites an inscription of one found at Tyre about 20 miles from Nazareth and after deciphering its epigraph, arrives at the conclusion that although it was a *thiasos*, it was not a wine bibbing institution at all.²⁰

From Phrygia among the celebrated Phrygian slaves there comes a stone slab which Lüders, in his excellent work, "The skilled mechanic of the *bacchanal*," has lucidly described. We translate one of his descriptions.²⁰

"Above the lettering appears a general picture of the scene. On the right sits a goddess in a long *chiton* (flowing robe), holding a large shell in the right hand. In the left she holds a *tympanum*, the bottom resting upon her knee which, together with a *modius* upon her head, represents her as the goddess *Cybele*. Near here sits the lion which is known to be the favorite animal of the Phrygian goddess. Besides the goddess, also robed in a long flowing *chiton*, stands a man holding a *cithara* on the left arm. Over the altar erected on his right he holds also a shell. A tree shades the altar. A girl leads in a lamb for the sacrifice upon the altar, and another is playing the flute. An aged female figure is finally represented at the extremity of the room in the attitude of worship. Beneath this holy personification is represented another scene, presenting a symposium of 10 persons. With the left arm on the lap, they sit on their pillows eating and drinking, and in front of them

¹⁸ "Θιάσος, ὅσπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ πίνειν συναγωγή." Phot. 82.

¹⁹ "Polybius erzählt (XX. 6), dass diese Kränzchen in Bööten in grosser Blüthe gewesen seien." (Lüders, *Die Dionysischen Künstler*, S. 11). Cf. Droysen, *Hellenismus*, II, 83, f.

²⁰ Böckh, *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*. No. 2271. "Thiasos non bacchicus est."

²¹ Lüders, *Die Dionysischen Künstler*, S. 9, Tafel II.

²² The word "zechen" here used for drinking by the learned philologist, might have been well enough for the date at which it was written: but it is entirely unjust now; for it perpetuates the insults upon the poor. This word is evidently meant to convey to us the idea that they were eating and "tipping."

on one side, flute players while the time with music, and on the other side waiters are busy bringing the viands of the table and wine for the members. Two batons stand leaning against the wall on the right, on whose pointed ends, as we may safely surmise, the bread is toasted and the meat broiled. The inscription reads that the *thiasotes*, male and female, are in the act of honoring Stratonica their priestess with wreaths; and this for honest service she has rendered their saints or deities, Apollo and Cybele.

Such were the eranists and thiasotes. To our mind, reasoning from the now provable fact that these societies were numerous in the land of Canaan in the days of Christ, it is quite certain that he was a member of an *eranos*, or of some other secret association like an Eleusinian brotherhood; as by his time, these had assumed a cult²² which was both practical and religious. His religion was monotheistic but he could not have been more devout.

But we have promised to thread the *eranoi* farther, that there may remain no doubt regarding their influence or their age and numbers. Having stripped the bacchic *thiasos* of its traditional terrors, we come to inquire, with Lüders,

whereas the solemnity of the particular occasion forbids any such rendering to the inscription. The real cause of the fling is the innocent lexicographer; not the faithful epigraphist. "Thiasotal" is made to mean *revellers* or *tipplers*. It means no such thing. The lexicographers are obliged to give definitions such as the sense implied in the historian's account, suggests. Where the fault, if any, resides, is at the door of the historian who throughout the literature of antiquity has signalized himself as the toadying accomplice of the aristocracy.

While therefore, we profoundly respect the careful philologist who, years ago gave us these treasured scraps, yet, from a standpoint of sociology, future archaeologists must come to judge of the meaning of words from their self-evident premises. Indeed, the direct discovery of Böckh, whose authority stands pre-eminent, is that "*thiasos* is not bacchic," "*Thiasos non bacchicus est.*" He makes this plain declaration, evidently not from the common definition at all; but because, on studying his inscription, he sees by its general appearance that though confessedly a *thiasos* it is far too serious to be a band of tipplers.

²² Eusebius says boldly, quoting Philo (see chap. xviii.), that these Essenes or Therapeutæ were very numerous in all parts of the world. *Eccles. lib. II, cap. 17*. Much more may be learned from Philo Judæus, *De Vita Contemplativa* and *Quod Omnis Probus Liber*, 12; Lightfoot, *The Epistle of St. Paul; Colossians and Philemon*. This last author's stricture against the essenes being the order to which the early Christians belonged, brings even more proof of our theory that *Essene*, *Essenot*, is only a phase of *eranoi*, suitably changed to fit the Judean dialect, of the Greek, and that also it took on phases to conform with the Mosal code in Palestine and Egypt. A careful reading of Dr. Lightfoot's *Essenes, idem*, p. 347, sqq. may serve to convince many of this analogy. "While the Pharisees were the sect, the Essenes were the order," (p. 354). We say however, that while the *thiasot* were the sect the *eranoi* were the order. Lightfoot (same pages), speaks of their tenets being "of foreign origin." This is still further proof. The grammatical structure, and how changed, is clearly seen on page 355. *Εσσαίος, Εσσηνός* resemble *θιασος, θιασηνός*. Again, they were baptists. This they got from the venerable custom among the unions, of the constant use of the baths.

more about the *Dionysischen Kuenstler*, or Bacchic skilled workmen. The Dionysia at Athens were of four sorts, but not necessarily connected with these social communes. In that country, in early times, the Dionysia were feasts, or autumnal jubilees at the vintage. They were amusements at which the boys and girls hopped and caroused. Sometimes they danced upon sacks or *ollas* filled with water, or climbed the greased pole, or jumped and climbed on bowlders smeared with oil which by their slipping and awkwardness caused great merriment. Undoubtedly the farmers at a bee of this kind sometimes drank wine to excess. The second Dionysia were feasts of the wine presses. It was almost exactly equivalent to our Thanksgiving; fully as religious but less sedate and reverential. It was a series of banquets and festivities at which the meats and dainties were paid for from the public purse. Then there were drinking festivities called *antheseria* at which in the spring of the year the citizens gathered and indulged in enjoyments. But we are not quite certain whether the working part of the population were allowed to attend; since citizens in Athens, as elsewhere, in the Hellenic peninsula and, in fact, wherever Greek was spoken, were regarded as above labor. Lastly, the great *Dionysia* held mostly within the city. They consisted principally of theatrical entertainments at the cost of the state. These again were aristocratical and had little to do with workingmen's organizations.

The *antheseria* in the month of February and the great *Dionysia* held in *Elaphebolion*, month of March, strikingly resembled the Eleusinian Mysteries, to the description of which we have devoted a chapter. They had secret sacrifices at which the wife of the *archon* was symbolically married to Bacchus, the celebrated god of plenty. It is quite probable that the poor working people and the slaves, in their longings to rise to enjoyment and esteem, aped these great aristocratic orgies of the citizens, which sometimes were performed—especially at Eleusis—with a display of magnificence only equalled by their mysterious secrecy and their religious pomp. Thus, the labor unions had nothing in common with those orgies and must not be mixed up with them.

In 1864, there appeared an article in the *Revue Archéologique*, on the *eranoi* and *thiasoi* of the inscriptions. The

theme maintained that these unions tended towards a cult, and that the result of their humble existence for a period of many ages was an upward and civilizing tendency. The writer, M. Wescher, an archæologist who had devoted much time to deciphering the meaning of relics so curious, took the ground similar to that maintained in these chapters, although he does not pre-suppose that the unionists had anything to do with labor. This is the strongest of all the phenomena which beset the pen of scholars. Granier de Cassagnac wrote his history of the ancient laboring men from that point of view; and although his exceedingly scientific and rare penetration was for 30 years talked down by the savants of Germany and France, they are now maintained by greater ones who acknowledged that they were taught by him. Such was also the fate of M. Wescher, who ventured to suggest that the *eranoi*, very nearly identical with the Roman *collegia* or trade unions of which Granier had made his magnificent exposé, were something more than mere religious sects; for we find M. P. Foucart denying the truth of M. Wescher's remarks²⁴ and in his preface, expressing his sensation of pleasure at imagining himself able to disprove Wescher's hypothesis.²⁵ One would suppose that any discovery that they were labor societies would be hailed with pleasure by the most critical; but the contrary is hurled in his old friend's face with scorn.

We feel an interest lively enough in the little polemic of Foucart and Wescher to reproduce an example: Wescher examines the fraternal character of the Associations²⁶ in these words: "Now is it not natural that, at an epoch of inquietude and of religious agitation like that of the great Alexandrian school, the number of these societies should be considerable? Ought we to be astonished that many men and women abandoned the official religion which had long proved itself ineffectual to free culture, arid to the development of spontaneous, fraternal goodness such as responds to the innermost aspirations of the heart? The Greek soil must be considered the veritable cradle of this religious movement. It will redound to the inextinguishable honor of Greece for having planted such examples in

²⁴ *Associations Religieuses chez les Grecs*, pp. 139-153.

²⁵ *Idem*, Preface, p. 14. "Une certaine satisfaction et une certaine confiance."

²⁶ *Revue Archéologique*, 1865, II. pp. 220 and 227.

the world, before the appearance of Christianity." M. Wescher continues: "The common fund of the societies was devoted to mutual assistance and assurance, destined to furnish advances to members in need,"²⁷ to provide for them in cases of sickness and defray the expenses of a decent burial."²⁸ Farther along he says: "The members were a mutual community, one with another; the well-to-do paid, the indigent received, in rotatory form, as the case happened. Poverty was no motive of exclusion." This last declaration is stoutly met by M. Foucart who says it is based solely upon an expression of Rangabé. In point of fact this communistic mutuality is the only definition ever attached to either the Greek words *eranos* or Latin *collegium*! He further quotes from Theophrastus,²⁹ a passage in rebuttal which substantially acknowledges not only, that the *eranoi* were mutual sharers, but also that the celebrated successor to Plato knew all about them. Not discomfited with this inconsistency he drags up the case of one Læocrates, an Athenian, who being about to move to Megara sells his house and his slaves, charging one of his friends with the task of paying and settling up with his creditors, money he owes and to straighten accounts with his *eranos*. It does not follow from this, that this rich man was even a member, any more than was Augustus Cæsar a member of the many *collegia* at Rome which he patronized under the well known name of *Collegia Domus Augustalis*.³⁰

The whole of the matter is, that these were poor working people's societies for mutual aid. They corresponded very closely indeed to our trade unions. They had existed from immemorial times as trade and labor societies for mutual support and were almost identical with the Roman *collegia* on which we have devoted a chapter, and regarding which evidences in inscriptions and otherwise, are overwhelming. Those poor people did not work all day at wearying drudgery and then labor at night in their unions merely for religion's sake as M. Foucart imagines.³¹ They

²⁷ Here Wescher himself is unable to understand that the fund was for members out of employment, which places labor at the bottom of their organization.

²⁸ *Revue Archéologique*, *idem*, p. 226.

²⁹ Theophrastus, *Ethikoi Karakteres*, 17.

³⁰ Mommsen, *De Collegiis et Sodalicitis Romanorum*, Cap. V., *De Collegiis Utis sub Imperatoribus*. The emperor Augustus was of course, not a member of the trade unions but he befriended, protected and patronized some of their labors while a great many of them he suppressed.

had to combine as the men are now combining, to take measures regarding the best advantage at which they might on the morrow, exchange the only goods they possessed—their labor—for their daily bread. Even slaves, when allowed, sometimes joined, to better their condition.

So much for the *eranoi*. The *thiasoi* were, as we have described them, simply clubs of the *eranoi* who arranged and conducted the little banquets and social amenities which throughout antiquity seem to have made life worth living. These *thiasoi* corresponded to the *sodalicia* of the Romans.

We have, however, in our description of the Roman trade unions, shown that owing to the severely restrictive and censorious laws, the unions, toward the commencement of the Christian era were compelled to assume a strongly religious and pious aspect in order to prevent being suppressed by these rigors, after the servile wars. Precisely the same in Greece, Asia Minor, Palestine and the Islands of the Ægean Sea; because all these provinces from about B. C. 200 had become Roman territory by conquest. Any law touching them at Rome in the Latin tongue was as rigorous against them in Greece, Asia Minor or Canaan in the Greek or Hebrew. These are the points which the learned Foucart seems to have forgotten. He is an expert as an epigraphist but lacks the aptitude of the comparative sociologist. The keen perception of Mommsen detected and cleared up the mystery in his laws on the Roman trade unions.²¹

These are things which seem strongly to support our argument that a spontaneous, genuine secret movement pervaded the Greek, Latin and Hebrew-speaking countries far and wide at this particular epoch of the advent of Christ. The unity and brotherhood shown to have existed among the secret societies is almost touching. The more the upper stratum of society was distracted by the consequences of the competitive system having failed, on a trial of thousands of generations, the more completely did the brotherly love system of the labor unions grow into usefulness, through accord and mutual support.

There is an example of this seen at the Piræus. The Phrygians were considered barbarians by Greeks and Romans. Their patron goddess was Cybele. Lüders reports

²¹ *Assoc. Relig. Chex. Les Grecs., passim.* One comparison of them with the *collegia* of the Romans M. Foucart finds this error clearly proved.

²² *De Collegiis et Sodaliciis Romanorum. Passim.*

that in the Piræus alone, such was the harmony among the *orgeons* and *thiasoi*, who represented, apparently without the least jealousy or dispute, many nationalities there, that the Phrygians had an especial temple standing close by the great temple of the goddess Metroon, where she was worshiped by the members of a society whose members called themselves *orgeones* and *thiasotes* on the inscription.

It reads that the decrees 15 and 19 provide that strangers be admitted to the society. One of the officers is himself a stranger. In the list of officers, one is a tutelary soter, or savior from Træzen, and one, Cephalion, from Heraclia. So also women officiated in responsible functions in the same society.⁴³ At the Piræus was the *thiasos* embracing the cult of Serapis; of Zeus Labraundos, Metroon and Cybele; of Heroistes, Demos Collyte, Apollo, Nymph Lycia and others. Some of the inscriptions bear date of B. C. 324.⁴⁴ The fact of their having lived in their quiet fraternal way so many ages organizing, living in common, teaching as they went, and constantly inculcating the spirit of fraternity as it were, underground, while overhead in the great competitive world, kings, nobles, money-changers, and politicians were fighting and dashing each other against the competitory rocks of the Pagan aristocracy, is of itself, strong evidence that they were the real planters of a future state which could not obtain in the open world without a revolution.

Our maxim that the greater the organization of the laboring poor into a brotherhood for common help the higher will be the pitch of human enlightenment, certainly holds good so far as it was able to proceed in ancient times. Its corollary; the higher the enlightenment the more complete the extinction of social and economical grades, cannot be demonstrated until the associative energy expressed in the premises has been carried far enough against the competitive system to reach a majority. When this comes to pass the conclusion will be reached that the intensity of human enlightenment can be tested and measured by the *quantity* of social organization of this hitherto degraded stratum of society.

The whole story looks as if the offering of ignominy, of Bethlehem, foresaw these three great truths 20 centuries

⁴³ Lüders, *Die Dionysischen Künstler*. pp. 14, 15.

⁴⁴ *Idem*, p. 16.

ahead, when he boldly took up the unionist's, culture of a dozen deities, their social methods, their fraternal, interacting love, their meek, silent humility and secret work, brought them grandly forth from their obscurity, proclaimed with an irresistible eloquence and pathos the absolute equality of man and succeeded before the quarrelsome competitive system, its toadies and obsequious devotees, could bring him, like all the rest to the gibbet, in unifying all their gods into one god and forcing the vast movement upward into view and final adoption by the world. The failure of royalty and empire which at his time began to be seen in the states of Greece, Italy and western Asia, proved his words that "a house divided against itself cannot stand;"⁵⁵ and this celebrated apothegm from his lips is now being used, perhaps more than any other by the labor organizations of the 19th century. Mutual fraternity and arbitration of difficulties without resort to violence or other overt, unchristian acts is proved by unions of trades to be everywhere productive of the most satisfactory results.

The lines between the followers of the movement and its opponents were definitely and very distinctly drawn. He that is not for us is against us.⁵⁶ This again has become a common maxim among the trade and labor societies of modern times; so much so, that the investigation of the character of applicants for membership is found necessary before admission.

The law of Solon had provided for the free organization of burial societies among the Athenian poor. He called them *homotaphoi*. There were the communists who enjoyed their meals at a common table. The law and the language knew them as *sussitoi*. These also were numerous in Palestine and elsewhere along the coast of the Mediterranean. But it is certain that they were labor unions; for Lüders,⁵⁷ speaking in general terms says that the brotherhood who partook with each other at the common table did this as a moral custom and that the custom was common throughout the ancient world; and in the larger societies received an especial character. There were even societies of privateers, of Phœnician or Canaan-

⁵⁵ *Luke*, XI. 17; *Mathew*, XII. 25; *Mark*, III. 25.

⁵⁶ *Mathew*, xii. 30; *Mark*, ix. 40.

⁵⁷ *Dionysch, Künstler*, S. 4, 5. "Ausser diesen kleineren, ausschliesslich privaten Zwecken dienenden Genossenschaften gab es Schiffer- und Handelsvereine."

ite origin of course; for these were the most formidable of ancient brigands and freebooters. But Solon also permitted such secret organization at Athens.³⁸

Lüders expressly states that there existed universally an organization called by the Greeks *deipna apo symboles*. It was an *eranos* or labor union; and "stretched from high antiquity into the second half of the 4th century of our era, when at the Council of Laodicea it was forbidden."³⁹ Our statement that the *eranoi* and *thiasoi* were in reality one and the same thing,⁴⁰ the *eranos* being the labor or business part of the administration, and the *thiasos* that part attending to the entertainments, is fully confirmed by Lüders,⁴¹ who expressly says their identity as well as functions were mixed; and necessarily, since the *eranos* not only paid the expenses of its own business with the members, attending to the procurement of situations for members out of employment and to the burial and other expenses, but also helped pay the costs of the convivialities.

Thus, the self-evident fact that the *eranoi* and the *thiasoi* which were one and the same everywhere, being made apparent, we come to the further proof of their existence in great numbers in Asia Minor, Palestine and Syria. Lüders remarks that from the Hellenic peninsula the organizations there planted, spread into the islands and Asia Minor where their relics are found still more numerous than in Greece.⁴² Still it is well known that at the Piræus or seaport of Athens, at Eleusis and many other places, including the Laurian silver mines in Attica they must also have flourished in large numbers; although their tendency to cultivate the principle of universal brotherhood was frowned upon by the outside world.

We must introduce here the quite singular but perfectly natural fact that wherever the unions were thoroughly established and, so to speak, nested together, the Christian church was sure to first plant itself. Thus Pergamus, the seat of the great uprising of workingmen under Aristoni-

³⁸ Vide Böckh, *Staatshaushalt*, I, 762. Lobeck, *Aglaoph*, p. 306.

³⁹ Lüders, *Dionysch. Künstler*, S. 7.

⁴⁰ Consult p. 455, chapter xxi.

⁴¹ *Dionysch. Künst.*, S. 7. "Beide Arten von eranos scheinen schon in sehr früher Zeit mit den thiasoten Vereinen vermischt worden zu sein.

⁴² *Die Dionysischen Künstler*, S. 13.

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cus in B. C. 133-129," became the mellow ground wherein the early Christians planted and on which they reared one of their most celebrated churches. The laboring people were in trouble at the time of this uprising—one of the bloodiest on record. They possessed organizations throughout the country which they were enjoying in apparent peace, when they were startled by that paltrous act of Attalus IV. deeding at his death, the whole kingdom to the Romans. Fearing lest they be seized by the hated Romans and reduced to slavery, they unanimously joined the pretender. But there were inscriptions showing that the Pergamenian working people were enjoying a thrifty organization dating from high antiquity down to the coming of the Messiah.

Cappadocia which did not fall into Roman hands until A. D. 17, was also one of the early posts of the Christians. The first epistle of St. Peter bears this name. Here too the labor brotherhoods had a strong foothold. This is rendered certain by the recent discovery of several of their slabs and monuments bearing inscriptions. Laodicia was also a stronghold of both the unions and the early Christians. This place, together with Ephesus and Hieropolis, is where were founded the seven Apocalyptic churches.⁴³ The early church found mellow soil among the brotherhoods of the *eranoi* and *thiasoi*.

Apamea near Antioch, the birthplace of Eunus, instigator of the greatest of all the slave uprisings, was also the cradle of one of the early churches.⁴⁴ We have, in our account of this great strike shown that Eunus and his men seemed both to be deeply imbued with the everywhere present idea of the Messiah, who was to redeem the world, and also thoroughly acquainted with the methods of secret organization. His knowledge of the auspices, and plan of organization were really at the base of his success. These things, added to inscriptions found in the vicinity of labor unions of an antiquity coeval with this great servile war, show very plainly why Christianity took root so readily in those regions of Asia.

⁴³ See chap. x. p. 242. *Aristonicus*, giving a full sketch of the event.

⁴⁴ St. Paul, *Colossians*, IV. 15, alludes to it where he asks that his letter be shown to the brethren in the church of Laodicia.

⁴⁵ *Revelations*, i. 11. John here also speaks of the church of Pergamus as one of the seven.

Rhodes was also one of the places where Christianity established itself, although its successes there have been sad. But of all spots in the world Rhodes seems to have been one of the most prolific in those queer inscriptions indicating a great labor organization in ancient times. They existed in great numbers on this island.⁴⁶ The abundance of these inscriptions found in Rhodes and at Piræus, have attracted much attention from the archæologists of late. The fact is, the societies being mostly eranoi or labor unions and enjoying in common brotherhood, the scanty proceeds of their toil, had for many ages, prepared the ground for the new plant; consequently it was found mellow and in readiness for the greater Messiah when at last he really arrived.

But one of the most interesting centers of the early church was Apamea, the birthplace of Eunus, the great slave-king of Sicily, Athenion, hero of the second Sicilian strike-war, and Saint Paul the most famous of the apostles of Jesus. This city, not far from Nazareth, was a hive of free labor organizations until stricken by the Roman conquest. It gave birth to three of the most wonderful characters of the history of the lowly and being warmed up in the old cult of the communes, easily became the seat of an early Christian church.

Another significant fact may here be mentioned that Plato takes Socrates down to the Piræus among the communal fraternities of the working people where he and his friends remained for days, as it were, in this socialistic atmosphere. They there discussed and drew up the whole of Plato's most celebrated work—the Republic. Socrates was himself a member and this may account for Plato's notion.⁴⁷

Summing up the mass, we find five great revolutionary

⁴⁶ See Lüders, *Die Dionysischen Künstler*, S. 37*42 and elsewhere. Foucart, *Les Associations Religieuses chez les Grecs*, chap. xii. "Les associations religieuses n'étaient pas moins nombreuses qu'au Pirée." They were worshippers of numerous deities. M. Wescher in *the Revue Archéologique*, 1864, tome II. p. 473, says he collected a list of 19 inscriptions representing as many organizations in the island of Rhodes.

⁴⁷ Plato, *Republic*, I. 1, Socrates says: "Yesterday I went down to the Piræus along with Glaukon, Ariston's son, to worship the divinity and attend the festival." This tutelary patroness was Artemis, sister to Apollo, central figure of the sun-worship (see chapter on *Red Banner*). She ranked with the group of labor protectresses, Cybele, Ceres, Minerva, under whom so many organizations were founded.

characters, aside from kings and men in absolute power, like Lycurgus, Numa and Solon. These five men represent the labor of five active lives devoted to the improvement of human conditions on a large scale. They are Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Spartacus and Jesus.

Socrates and Jesus, the first and the last, seem like an incarnation of two great goodnesses in one. The analogy from beginning to end is wonderful. Both were sons of humble mechanics—one a marble-cutter, the other a carpenter. Both were surrounded by communes of the secret *eranoi*, and probably both were members. Both preached quietly to their disciples, occasionally addressing open-air mass meetings. Both were betrayed by the perfidy of their own pretended converts and suffered death on the plea of corrupting the morals which the ethics of the same Pagan faith had fostered and grown, out of the hideous philosophy of human slavery. The result to the human race, of these parallel lives and martyrdoms has been altogether incalculable.

Plato, the admirer of Socrates, dared not follow his master.

Aristotle, borrowing from Anaxagoras and Kapila, laid the foundation of human improvement, with great precision, upon the scientific ground-work of mechanics. His ideas, restored by Bacon, are those which the world is now following.

Spartacus, the greatest representative of the purely irascible, the most sublime character and type of the lower philosophy of resistance, who careered on the ground of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," last, and just anterior to the great carpenter, was a shepherd, humble and without ambitions, but because implicated with an age of injustice wherein "opportunity makes the man," magnetized, split asunder, almost conquered the world, which in his day was Rome.

Jesus, who before coming to proper age, is said to have studied diligently, seems to have shaped his life-course from the results of lessons gained by these predecessors. He accepted the acceptable and sternly refused that which bore no promise of contributing to the establishment of a heaven on earth. He gained his great triumph over slavery by adjusting the three moral impulses of Plato

and the dialecticians—irascibility, concupiscence, sympathy. He soothed the jarring bitterness of the first by coaxing concupiscence from its ancient realm and bringing it down to "*want*;" and married them together by the tie of sympathy, the impulse most matured by the social unions; and there formed the stronghold of his doctrine from beginning to end.

Plato, the ancient mouth-piece of them all, as he is resurrected in Neo-Platonism, after a test of 7,000 generations, must be placed, by those engaged in the labor problem of to-day, as an extraordinary tissue of harmony and absurdity. He wanted the better (or *individual*), to overcome the multitude (or *worse*).⁴⁸

The experience of these 7,000 generations since Plato, forces the now living family of mankind to pronounce an opposite opinion. It is the masses who are "beautiful," (as Plato used that word); while the individual proves himself constantly to be the lying, bribe-taking, merchantable "*sell-out*" and under-dealer; ready as a rule, under the competitive system, for any trade, seditiously corrupt, planning schemes of jobbery; and he has actually to be watched by the honest masses.

Plato wanted slaves. His slave system, large already, during his life-time was small compared with its hugeness after his philosophy was promulgated and its influence extended to the Roman conquests. Before his time, slaves were the children of the citizens. Soon after him, Rome in her enormous conquests, turned the vast populations of that age into rebellious slaves, and the world became almost depopulated. This master not only wanted degraded slaves, but he laid down laws for them, consigning them to death by torture for unpremeditated homicide while the master was allowed, if he murdered a slave, to be tried by his friends, acquitted and no stigma inflicted upon his name; and Plato lays down a law to that effect.⁴⁹

The entire enlightenment of our modern age repudiates

⁴⁸ Laws, I. 3, 4, Bekker, Lond. ed.

⁴⁹ Laws, IX. 9. More on Plato's views of Slavery will be found as follows: Breeding mean with mean and best with best, *Republic*, V. S. Great fear of slave uprising in consequence of the system, acknowledged, IX. 5, *Id.*: "Abject race;" *Statesmen*, 46: Necessary to possess slaves *Laws*, VI. 19: Agricultural slaves, *Laws*, VII. 13: For homicide the slave must invariably die; preferably by torture, *Laws*, IX. 9; Such punishment must be "clean," *ie*, vengeance, *Laws*, XI. 2, 10, *fn.*

this as unfairness, relegating the slave system to a realm of low barbarity. On human slavery, the subsequent world has emphatically pronounced against Plato's views; and the little investigating mites of Aristotle, and the working elements of Jesus, are banishing it from the earth.

Plato wanted war.⁶⁰ He laid many plans and laws upon his theory of external strife, wishing only education and mutuality within. Neo-Platonism took it up, and in blasphemous contradiction to the teacher, endorsed it, and actually engrafted this Pagan precept into the mild and peaceful system of Jesus.

Things have not turned out to substantiate these counsels of the great philosopher. Wars the people had; and the wars killed a million slaves. Eunus, Athenion and Spartacus resented by warring back; and when the world, devastated by combined horrors of war and slavery, got time to breathe and recruit, another slave-war struck mankind even in our civil rebellion, with the final result to fix the conviction that the peace plan of Jesus was correct.

Plato wanted it understood and implicitly believed that all things spring from the most high, the mythical and invisible inhabitants of *Ouranos*; and that men derived existence, and were watched over from those heights in the vaulted dome of heaven, the Olympian abodes—whence an endless chain of priestcraft.

Neo-Platonism engrafted these absurdities into a Christian dogma.

Modern common sense, backed by science, with its innumerable tools proving the true laws of nature, finds the facts to be the exact reverse of the Platonic dogma, and is wheeling us back to the physicisism of Aristotle, that it is the little things and the little men and women who perform all works, who produce all that is produced; that it is not the great, conjured to be so in the elastic imagination, who accomplish anything, but the infinitesimals that do it all.

⁶⁰ *Republic*, vii. viii. Polemarch is made to say that justice consists in doing good to friends and evil to enemies. Socrates however, in an ironical sally of moral reasoning demolishes Polemarch's logic wheeling him unto the great thesis of Jesus which now proves to be the idea that alone can prevail: See *Matthew*, v. 43, 44, 24; *John*, xv. 17. *First Epistle of John*, ii. 10, 11. The anti-war teachings of Jesus are actively forcing these horrors from the earth just as chattel slavery has been forced out of existence and wages slavery is fast following.

Jesus, if we read him rightly, appears to have been less a Platonist than an Aristotelian and when he comes to be preached in our pulpits from labor points of view, there will be found hundreds of texts whose meanings, long smothered, will furnish substance enough to solve the problem.⁵¹

Emancipation came from Christianity.⁵² The great principle of mutual love among all men was the really original idea and practical work of Jesus. He taught a new doctrine—a peaceful plan of salvation.

Spartacus, who represented the old method of alleviation from suffering, based upon the irascible principle with its wars and bloodshed, was, beyond all cavil, the highest type of that culture. He was evidently informed on the great wars of Viriathus, Eunus, Athenion and perhaps Drimakos. But in both opportunity and military aptitude Spartacus surpassed them all. He lost. But after the million crucifixions of his own and a few generations preceding him, and the enormous lessons which his own and his predecessors' blows had administered to cruel, concupiscent Rome, who shall have the temerity to say that these blows, crucifixions, bloody scenes and awful lessons did not go far, very far, toward shaping the convictions of Jesus, who but continued the great conflict with his milder leadership?

Modern progress, which has almost outgrown chattel slavery, still seems quite undecided in regard to the plan of Spartacus; and might even yet swing back upon it, were it not for the stern, inexorable hold which Jesus maintains in the wreck of his tortured, priest-ridden temples—and this hold is the hope of the future; for his plan applies with wonderful harmony to the investigations and experiments of Aristotle.

Plato wanted the unequivocal mingling of religion and politics.⁵³

⁵¹ There are many expressions recorded in the *New Testament* which are vague in meaning and must remain so until better understood. After this they may be used by ministers of the gospel, in the labor movement.

⁵² Compare Canon Lightfoot, *On the Colossians* p. 321; Böckh, *Die Lauri chen Silberbergwerke*. Hundreds of the most candid authors acknowledge that it was the Christian cult which finally fought down this terrible institution. In going, paganism had also to go. But as we study the origin and course of events we must acknowledge that the blow against slavery had been struck before the advent of Christ. He it was, who killed slavery by tempering the spirit of human kindness.

Modern statesmen, notwithstanding the almost desperate struggles of priest-power to hold firm this Pagan grip, are now steadily disestablishing state and church; and the verdict of enlightenment both in the realm of science and sociology, is to cast overboard, as worthless and pernicious, this old idea of Plato and let religion and politics each take their course alone. Jesus not only separated church from state by admonishing the typical money-changers, but he said: "Render unto Cæsar" etc. The Cæsar here referred to, was the mild Augustus, whose reign was, in political respects, a model, and a glory to Rome.

Plato wanted an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.⁸³ He encouraged hatreds even in his "city of the Blessed," and trained an army of both women and men to the science of fierce contention.

"Resist not evil," the law of the mechanic of Nazareth, has so far supplanted these savage doctrines, that already the trade unions and other social and labor organizations in many countries, are discussing and planning to resist against men of Plato's class, on grounds that they themselves are forced to become innocent victims of a hateful idea which pits them, like Spartacus and the gladiators, against their fellow men, who have given them no cause for offense.

Yet all things considered, the world cannot afford to belittle Plato, the father of idealism; even though many of his time-serving thoughts are passing away. His mind was too great for his age and his weaknesses were but subterfuges which saved him to a good old age while bolder men were martyred in comparative youth.

But Aristotle who began with microscopic things, whose mind, a consension of Kapila, of Anaxagoras, of Empedocles, of Parmenides, of Zeno, of Plato himself, is, as the world grows old and wise, and as light gleams in upon intelligence, beaming more brilliantly with each decade; and this great man's thoughts are laying bare the incrustated truth and leading to the final, perfected philosophy. Aristotle's is the mind which draws ever nearer as

⁸³ *Laws*, book VI. cap. 7, Bekk. It was always so in the ancient code. Neo-Platonism and the Nicene Decrees afterward succeeded in getting this old Pagan thing back into the Christian church where it still remains, in some countries.

⁸⁴ Plato, *Justice*, 5; *Republic*, *passim*; *Laws*, in many places.

the ages waft him farther away among the satellites of an awful forever.

Jesus, who planted among the communes and laborers all that was good and pure, but whose beautiful works have been almost banished by the proud old paganism still adhering in his temples, departed only to return; for these growing squadrons of the modern mites foretell that he is fleeing back to assume command of a great army of unreconciled but longing intelligences, which the ancient working people quickened, and which the suns of two thousand years have mellowed for the harvest.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE FINAL REVIEW.

ANCIENT PLANS OF "BLESSED" GOVERNMENT.

WHY THE FACTS were Suppressed and the Books Mangled—Did our Era rise out of the Great Labor Struggles—An Astonishing Probability Unmasked—Plans and Plans of the Distant Past—Lycurgus—Reverential Criticism—His Fundamental Error—The Citizens were the Nobles—Public Lands, Meals, Schools and Games—The Grotto of Taygetus—"Hell Paved with Infants' Bones"—A Model Young Gentleman—His Introduction to the Ladies—An Earthquake believed to have been the Spartans' Punishment for Cruelty to the Working People—The Poor and Lowly were called "Slave Souls"—The Great Aristotle's Curse—Lucian's Choice of a Trade—Even Plutarch Lampoons Them—Kings Planting Poisons with which to Destroy Them—Prophets and Messiahs—Eunus the Prophet of Antioch—His Plan of Salvation—No Quarters—Wholesale Extinction of the Wealthy—What Succeeding Ages Learned from the Outcome of this Ordeal of Carnage—Plans of the Anarchists Taught Needful Lessons on Future Political Economy—Drimakos—His Home of Run-away Angels in the Skies—How his Plan Worked—Desperate Plan of Aristonicus in Asia Minor which offers the Toilers the Beatitude of being "Citizens of the Sun"—Sad Outcome—Innocent Plan of Spartacus—His Ideal "Salvation" was his Emancipation Proclamation and Armed Power to Enforce It—He Wanted to Go Home to the Green Hills of His Boyhood—All these Plan-Makers were Messiahs and Prophets—"The Kings Kill the Prophets"—The Great Messiah at Last—Long-Smothered Authors Dragged forth—Their own Utterances Quoted in the Living Tongue—Numerous Excerpts from their Books—Men Growing Wise in Their Understanding—The Vastness of the Revolution from the Pagan Cult which Denied the Majority Both Soul and Liberty, threw the Race into Bewilderment of Two Thousand Years of Trial

and Doubt—Plans of the Founders of Government Reviewed—Resemblance of Socrates and Jesus—Parallellisms Drawn—One Agitates by Simile the other, Allegory—Proof that they were Both Great Orators—Their Eloquence—Teaching Precepts that are just Becoming Applicable—The Intellectual Stagnation in after Ages a Natural Consequence upon a Revolution that Overturned the Great Pagan Cult—The Mohammedan Rescue—London's Socialism from Same Old Plant—What two Men Did in Twenty-five Centuries—Pagan Selfishness Exhibited in Prayers—Very Ancient Prayers of Our Germano-Aryan Mothers and Fathers—Specimens Quoted—Prayer of Alcestis—Of Other honest Pagans—All Based upon Self and Family—Prayer of Socrates to Pan for More Wisdom and Humility—Prayer of Juvenal for the Poor Slave's Deliverance—Finally, after many Centuries, the Dying Prayer Begged the Pan of Socrates or Universal Father for Universal Cancellation, to fit the World for a New Era—The Relation of the Jews to the Labor Movement—The Romans, Mad at the Spread of the Christian Doctrines of Universal Equality, Take Vengeance in the Slaughter of the Jews—Progress of Ancient Invention—The Labor-saving Reaper—Conclusion.

IN LOOKING thoughtfully over the evidences given in the preceding chapters, especially those detailing ancient plans of relief, through the irascible or war spirit which, though it wrought prodigious good, did not prevail, and those of the communal or co-sympathetic spirit which is the successful one, we cannot forbear an expression of our conviction that the phenomenal movement of which Judea afterwards became the theatre, rested upon and emerged from, the vast and altogether misunderstood and underrated communes; an underground civilization whose culture Socrates was not a stranger to, and whose influence, social, numerical and moral, has, until exposed in these pages, lain almost utterly unknown, buried as they were, amid the horrors which befel Christianity through the political trade of Constantine the Great. This man succeeded in turning the movement when it was three hundred years old into a Pagan faith hedged about with iron-bound creeds and enforced by the inexorable despotism which characterized the military and the priest-power of the ancient Pagan rule.

It will be asked why these important facts we have set forth have been so persistently kept concealed. The answer to this must be, that information was not the policy

of priest-power. To acknowledge that the poor and humiliated laborers of the world had, through centuries of organization in secret, and centuries of resistance and persecution, at last overcome the proud old religion so far as to boldly martial a champion and bring their unique culture of human equality into recognition, so as to build up a new era, would destroy the aged prestige of the priesthood. This is the only theory furnishing a solution for the studied deception that has mutilated the books. Plato wanted distinction as to members of his communal state. He wanted priest-power and its concomitant, slavery. As the new era came with its practical putting into effect of the socialism of Plato, but applying it to everybody *without* distinction, thus emancipating Plato's slaves,¹ lifting up the freedmen and doing good to *all*, paganism was stabbed. Its aged priest-power then arose and, in revenge, killed Jesus, the last Messiah who in the philosophy and tradition of the poor and suffering, had been their hope and promise from immemorial antiquity. Having killed him it set to work to destroy his plan which he planted among the communes, "the vineyard of the Lord." The weapons used were assassination, dungeons, worse slavery than before—Neo-Platonism. But the great work of emancipation had made too much progress to be cut short by any power on earth.

We ask our readers to indulge us in this closing chapter, in a general review of the whole scene, covering the the various plans of great men, their trial and their consequences upon the subsequent human race.

¹ See Dr. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistle to Philemon*, pp. 321-2: "With this wide-spread institution" (meaning slavery,) "Christianity found itself in conflict. How was the evil to be met? Slavery was interwoven into the texture of society; and to prohibit slavery was to tear society into shreds. Nothing less than a servile war with its certain horrors and doubtful issues must have been the consequence. Such a mode of operations was altogether alien to the spirit of the Gospel. 'The New Testament,' it has been truly said, 'is not concerned with any political or social institutions; for political and social institutions belong to particular nations and particular phases of society.' 'Nothing marks the divine character of the Gospel more than its perfect freedom from any appeal to the spirit of political revolution.' It belongs to all time; and therefore instead of attacking special abuses it lays down universal principles which shall undermine the evil.

"Hence the Gospel never directly attacks slavery as an institution. . . . In fact, he (Paul) tells him to do very much more than emancipate his slave. Similar also is his language elsewhere. Writing to the Corinthians, he declares the absolute equality of the freeman and the slave in the sight of God." *First Corinthians*, vii. 21.

Under a careful and thorough investigation of the evidence it will henceforth be found in order for students of sociology to place the origin of this wonderful era in which we are living, where it properly belongs. It is in order to come forth boldly with a new advocacy; an advocacy of the fact that the Christianity on which the present institutions rest and which, as we divest it of its mediæval excrescences century by century, is leading to the final and correct solution of the economic problem, is primarily that which emerged from the great, but little-known because throttled and unheard-of labor movements of the ancients—their numberless Messiahs, their persecutions and crucifixions, their plaintive “still small voice” groaning above the grime and din of lash-driven labor in sun and storm, in mines, dungeons, gladiatorial havoc, their sad but bravely-fought “eye-for-eye and tooth-for-tooth” policy, and finally their majestic, long-suffering, but all-conquering “father forgive them” policy wrought in the crucible of a thousand traditions, communes, blood-wringing rebellions, derascinating cyclones of retributive vengeance already explained, which had been previously experienced by the forefathers of this great era-making representative of the ancient lowly.

To those who are appalled by these sentiments, preferring to coax with a superstitious faith still lingering on the background of a struggling, on-coming fact-period, and still, like Arnobius, troubled with doubts and predictions regarding the sacredness of the conception and birth of this great founder, we must simply say that the labor movement, especially that phase of it dealing with the economic questions of the humble majorities, *is, and must come to be regarded, as the most sacred of all questions;* and its solution or non-solution involves a release of mankind from sin, or their compulsory and perpetual submergence under sin. The enormous sin of our era is its apostasy from the early economic plan laid down at its beginning and for three hundred and fourteen years carried out under persecutions, on the economic basis; and its substitution under emperors and prelate-politicians, by the very most unscientific plan conceivable—that of the ancient faith, which deceived and degraded the *chattel and wretch of old, and still deceives and degrades the*

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victims of wage-vassalage the world over. This sin ruled, raged and devastated for over a thousand years through ignorance and dogma and cheat and inquisition, such as characterize the dreary annals of the dark ages and now looms up portentously in view; for we behold millions of men again organized, more determined, wiser by their experience, better equipped for the fray. And this huge sin, of apostasy we hope, will be discerned by the student of these pages to be freighted with a virus the more malignant as he observes that preacher and priest are still tenaciously hugging the slave-locked policy of Plato the immortal aristocrat, while backsliding farther and farther away from the sweet and loving brotherhood of the *thiasotes* and the *eranoi* of Socrates and of Jesus. They still cling to an old policy which was the meanest upon the Pagan schedule—that of the competitive system, with its economic slaves. Although in another form and blasphemously under another name it was a return to paganism, yet we shall attempt to show in this review that the apostasy from the original policy could never succeed in eliminating the bold ground-principles of equality which was ever the prodigious, the immovable, blood-bought rock-reef, on which those drifting strugglers founded and built this era. Despite the protracted spasms of the moribund beast² to wriggle back into its breathing element, these ground principles clung; they still cling; are now steadily developing a polity and men are, in some places, beginning to reap their fruits.

It must by no means be inferred, because the rebellions of the ancient working people failed in establishing the desired end that they were not a useful factor or that their efforts were lost. They failed because their military force was less than that of their enemies. They succeeded because through their defeat, furnishing necessary and indispensable experience, the world was taught that it must adopt another method—that of reason, diplomacy, arbitration, peace. Never was there a time when the world was drifting into these so rapidly as now. Two thousand years may seem a long time to impatient, fleeting man; but in the destinies of peoples and of nations, their slow

development through creeping differentiation by trial and experiment, it is but a scroll.

The review, then, which we propose to make in this chapter, is that of man in the broadest sense; covering the entire stretch, from a time when he was but an animal—the weaker driven by the stronger—through the long period of family-breeding when the father, destitute of sympathy, enslaved, often killed his children in building up the established *gens* aristocracy of paganism; the rebellion of the children who multiplied, struck back, and built up counter organizations in self-defense, fought and resisted the paternal injustice based in the monarchical idea, and in their turn, after countless ages of trial by systems rebellious, systems patriarchal, systems predatory and systems communal, finally hit the system of inter-communal love, forgiveness, brotherhood, peace and ballot-democracy, which, though it has had an open trial of only 2,000 years—a short period compared with the duration of the others—has already brought him out upon the plane of acknowledged equality, in the supplanting of violence by arbitration, of aristocracy by democracy, of competition to some extent, by socialism. We shall show that all of these blessings were sought by the great and good men: Lycurgus, Numa, Solon, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle—even the condemned Eunus, Athenion, Spartacus—and finally Jesus, who is yet on trial. If we severely criticize Lycurgus, let it be done under an almost reverential respect; for he could not conceive of a state without slaves; if Plato, be it uppermost in our minds that he was unimpeachably pure; if we dare to reflect against Aristotle, let it be with homage, as if approaching the sepulchre of the mighty; for this great founder of technical science is the model from which the world still builds, and he even dared foretell a society in which there might be no slavery. Had these lawgivers been perfect their works would have been cut off by the same martyrdom that was suffered by the bolder Socrates and Jesus.

In making this review it is neither possible nor necessary to attempt any chronological system. This has been done strictly in the preceding chapters. We promise only a critical comparison of different systems and hope to deal fairly with all, giving the doings, sayings, prayers, struggles and models of each one, as his particular plan; and we likewise

may find it to our profit to compare these with the plans and the men and their movements and demands of to-day, in order to amplify the comparison and honestly find out which of the ancient methods the modern age is following. One extremely important fact must be held uppermost to view: the leaders who form the subjects of these pages had each a very clearly defined plan. Even Spartacus was not without hope of emancipating the slaves of Italy and the rest of the world.

It is scarcely necessary, after our elaborate presentation of the history of the lowly and their ancient works, to premise in this review, that the whole array of deeds and plans of relief shows an undeniable harmony with, and corroboration of the modern theory of development upon the largest scale, and from a cold and secular, rather than an imaginative and religious or superstitious point of view.

Our history, true to its original scheme, covers only the great Aryan family and we shall let the Bible, the Zend and other Oriental records tell of its cruelties among the Semitic and other branches, referring to them only as collateral evidence.

Although many plans of law-making were tried during the great era covered by manumission, yet we have no history until we come to Lycurgus, and must consequently devote our first remarks to him and his wonderful and on the whole beneficent work.

Of the three classes of citizens in the system of Lycurgus the first was the governing, the second the police or military, and the third the burgher or business class³—that which Saint Simon denominates the *bourgeoisie*. The mechanics and farmers were considered mean and unworthy. To the agricultural laborers, was given the task of producing, at what is now considered "starvation wages," that which the citizens used for their daily nourishment and comfort; yet so ungrateful were the arrangements deliberately established by this lawgiver, that to be a good farmer, a skilled mechanic, an inventor, a discoverer of the new in nature, was to be a most degraded and abject mortal, denied all citizenship and hopelessly doomed by "imperishable laws."⁴

No humane person of our age can peruse these accounts given by Zenophon, Plutarch and others, without feelings

³Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 7, 17.

⁴Idem, *passim*.

of sorrow if not of anger. The progress and purity of human society may safely be said to have suffered a disaster in this inhuman feature of the otherwise generous Lycurgan law. It was self-defeating, contradictory and inconsistent with the principle intended by the lawgiver himself. Lycurgus the most ancient of the three great lawgivers of antiquity belonging to the Aryan stock, seeing the feuds and other inter-destructive effects of the competitive system at his time raging with great fierceness among the *gens* families, drew up a system of laws and got them adopted so as to go into practical operation. It was a system embracing the revolution from the competitive to the socialistic methods. It was based in the idea so quaintly and wonderfully developed nearly a thousand years afterwards by another inspired lawgiver—the workingman of Nazareth. Its very fundament was social love, forgiveness, tolerance, instruction. Lycurgus was attacked by the optimate party who rebelled against his equal distribution of nationalized lands, his nationalization of other property, his common table, his compulsory education of all alike, his athletic trainings, in fine, his extinction of property and of the competitive system so far as all internal policy of his people was concerned. One young man once pursued him and with a missile tore out one of his eyes. He turned about and faced his irate pursuer with the eye that had offended plucked out, and his face bleeding with the wound. The argument was eloquent and effective. The maddened mob of rich men were overcome and Lycurgus was allowed to go on with his work, unmolested.⁶ His system of socialism was more detailed than has ever since been aspired to by any class except an occasional small community; for he added thereto a community of men and women which instead of being a complex method was a system of compulsory marriage, with a law permitting the finest and most beautiful to borrow and mutually inter-employ each other in cases of likings or of compatibility.⁶ This was the Lycurgan law of mutual acquiescence, and it obtained to an enormous extent for over a thousand years and was made a strong and scathing point in favor of Christianity by Tertullian in defending the early Christians from attacks of the intolerant Pagans.⁶ Tertul-

⁶ Plutarch, *Lycurgus*.

⁶ *Idem, Lycurgus and Numa compared.*

lian in this celebrated apology gives us invaluable proofs of the purity of the Christians, and shows that they had repudiated it.⁷

But these strange features were well intended by the great lawgiver. It was not to promote voluptuousness, but to cultivate a principle—and scientifically enough—of human stock-breeding. At any rate, it was a feature greatly recommended among the ancients, and it lay at the base of the celebrated race-culture which made Spartans the most splendid men so far as stature, health and beauty are concerned, the world ever produced, and gave to the nation that mental and physical vigor which enabled it to overcome the mighty prowess of the Athenians and to finally transplant a branch of these curious features into the whole Hellenic peninsula, I'hoenicia, Asia Minor and Sicily. The openly established object of this branch of the law Plutarch declares to have been the ownership of children by the state—not by the parents⁸—which is a step much in advance of anything ever advocated by any purely labor movement of modern days. But these enjoyments and privileges were only to be participated in by the citizens, the state police or military element and the burghers. The strictly working people were left out.

How Lycurgus, capable of coolly devoting a life-time, mostly in privations and hardships and without reward, to what he considered the redemption of the human race, could at the same time institute for those on whom he knowingly depended for his bread and every other element of existence as well as that of the people for whose happiness he lived, and consign the working people to the terrible fate left them by that law, is a problem that must startle puzzle-guessers among students of modern sociology. Only one method can possibly be pursued to unravel this mystery—the utterly demoralized and false estimate of the value of labor.

In this saddest feature of the law of Lycurgus we are brought back to our account of the Helots or slaves, in another chapter,⁹ where figures the story of the assassination by a trained band of young Spartans, of 2,000 innocent prize winners of the Helot or laboring stock. It

⁷ Tertullian, *Apology*, XXXIX.

⁸ Plutarch, *Lycurgus*.

⁹ Chapter iv., page 109 sq.; also pp. 97—102, of this work.

is not maintained that Lycurgus was the originator of the slave system. We find it spoken of in the books of Homer which are thought to cover a period commencing at least 300 years earlier; and we are entirely satisfied of the correctness of Granier's declaration that slavery existed even many thousand years previously to Homer.¹⁰ Lycurgus only perpetuated the miseries of the working majority by fastening the odium already existing, upon slaves and legalizing their burdens.

No citizen, under Lycurgus, could be a laboring man so far as to personally perform the work of production or of distribution. By his "free citizen" he did not mean any person who was obliged to work for a living. To be a soldier was respectable. But the soldier produces nothing. He destroys. So also does the governing class. These the Spartan lawgiver made very numerous. The modern movement of labor all over civilization is struggling to diminish their numbers, not to increase them. Lycurgus also, among his favored class, allowed many of the trading or business men; although practically, if his communistic theory obtained, they could not have prospered because the state operated the evolutions of business with the labor of its slaves which was conducted or managed by the governing class. Nobody really owned anything in his theory, if perfected. All citizens were, however, rich in their "collective" wealth.

Coming to Lycurgus as a factor in the history of labor, we find his arrangement regarding working people to have been barbarous and horrible. The latter constituted two-thirds of the entire population. Yet so mean were they supposed to be that they could not be legally counted in the census as men, or in other words, human beings. The true population of the city of Sparta consisted of citizens. They were divided into three classes: the ruling class, the military or protecting class, and the business men. The whole three covered one-third of the existing population. All the others were working people, who, as slaves or artisan freedmen, were obliged to live in an abject condition, feeding on the poorest food;¹¹ go-

¹⁰ Granier de Cassagnac, "Histoire des Classes Ouvrières," Chap. iii.

¹¹ For food of slaves, see Homer, "Odyssey," XIX., v., 414-416; Horace, "Ars Poetica" ("Ad Pisonem"), V., 249; Pliny, "Natural History," XVIII., XXIX. In addition to these consult "Index" of this volume.

ing almost, often quite, naked; living in caves, the meanest of huts, or in the open air, sometimes at the verge of starvation; if slaves, whipped every day to be reminded of their cringing humility; horribly brutalized with clubs whenever they dared stretch themselves at full height, lest they be taken to ape the human stature and the attitudes of manhood;¹² chained to the side of mules and oxen to draw loads like beasts of burden; waylaid by the trained assassins of state, equipped with daggers, and murdered for mere wanton sport, on a pretext that they were dangerous;¹³ forced to work fourteen to eighteen hours preparing food and clothing for the citizens, who expressed their gratitude by kicks and terms of loathing and contempt—such was the practical effect of the celebrated and of all others, most renowned law of Lycurgus. Such, through numberless ages have been the sufferings from that cruel competition that is based upon ownership by a privileged few.

The legislation of Lycurgus upon which Plato, making Socrates responsible, principally formed his ideal state, may be summed up about as follows: The whole kingdom was divided into 39,000 lots for the optimates, who were the heaven-born or the divine class, related to the gods¹⁴—nothing for the earth-born class who possessed neither family nor soul. A branch of education given the young gentlemen was the teaching them how to murder the earth-born or working people, with daggers, as we have already related, by slyly crawling upon them while they were at work.¹⁵ Another branch was that of the gymnastic games, shared by both sexes and according to Plutarch, in a dirty and utterly nude condition, together; with an object, as that great biographer declares, of toning and moralizing the passions. The optimates were never allowed to work except in the aristocratic pursuit of war. Commerce with other nations was disallowed. No money

¹² Plutarch. "Lycurgus;" Grandier, "Hist.," Chap. v.

¹³ Thucydides, "De Bello Peloponnesiaco," IV., 80; V., 34.

¹⁴ For the ancient idea of divine rights, see "Roman Law," in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," Vol. XX., pp. 688-692. It was the same in Greece.

¹⁵ Consult Drumann, "Arbeiter und Communisten in Griechenland und Rom," S. 130-134. Whatever may have been Plato's own notions, his partiality to the plan of Lycurgus, which Dr. Drumann, author of the great history of Rome, admits, it is certain that he could not accept that lawgiver's plan as perfect. On the contrary he is believed by this author and many others to have borrowed considerably from the Pythagorean brotherhoods.

was permitted except that made of iron—a hundred and fifty dollars' worth of it being a cart-load. The people of citizen blood ate at the common table, waited upon by slaves. What became of it?

Sparta, in B. C. about 600, had 39,000 parcels or small holdings for all in the kingdom. In B. C. 360 there were only 2,000. In B. C. 290 the outside speculators and land grabbers had all but 1,000. At the time of Agis IV., B. C. 240, there were only 700 or really, but 100—as the holdings of 600 were annihilated by debts—and this great scheme of political economy of Lycurgus was gone.¹⁶

The historian, to flatter the vain theory of divine right is loud in bringing Lycurgus to us, as having descended from the gods to mortals, not only as a link in the royal lineage under Eurysteneid stock, but even as a distant relative of Hercules. Thus the Pagan religion is substantially pandered to and the monocratic idea established. A prince of almost unlimited powers by family prestige, he in youth became regent by inheritance, of the Spartans. But he was both a wise and good prince; and considering the age, much is to be overlooked. When the true heir was born Lycurgus named him Charilaus, and although he had an offer to take the crown himself he refused, preferring to be an adviser. Thus one of the first acts of Lycurgus was to establish a kingdom, after having himself reigned eight months. His next great edict created a powerful senate or council of the old and wise—a body seldom elected even to this day; and a recent expression to abolish them has gained popularity among labor organizations.¹⁷

These senators, twenty-eight in number, some representing the Spartans or Dorians, some the Laconians or Periceci, formed another class and another institution, soon causing concomitant class enmities that fanned the final ruin. The senatorial government proved a failure. Afterwards they had to create the Ephori.¹⁸ These tyrants were five in number and their function was to keep

¹⁶ Drumann, "Arbeiter und Communisten in Griechenland und Rom," S. 130-134; Bücher, "Anstände der unfreien Arbeiter," S. 86; Plutarch, "Lycurgus."

¹⁷ The senate is thus seen to be an aged institution. Being seldom of the plebeian stock it has earned a bad record, as against itself; and is consequently still regarded by that element with distrust.

¹⁸ Xenophon, "De Republica Lacedæmonia," says Lycurgus himself created the ephori.

peace between the two kings and twenty-eight senators. Thus Lycurgus fastened upon the Peloponnesus the two kings, twenty-eight senators, five peace-makers, but gave them no house of commons—three institutions.

His fourth celebrated measure was the apportionment of the 39,000 lots. The size of each lot was sufficiently large to yield eighty-two bushels of wheat as a yearly average, besides other produce sufficient for the families.

A fifth measure struck at common ownership of all movable goods and chattels. To do this it was found necessary to institute the famous iron money. It was wrought in the blacksmith's forge and stamped in the government dies. The result was, nobody would steal such a huge and ponderous thing. Foreign countries could not trade and commerce stopped. An ox cart-load of the Spartan money was equal only to a few dollars. The gewgaws of fashion were self-banished, luxury ceased and primitive simplicity revived. These innovations could obtain, so long as the overawing magnetism and command of Lycurgus was there to persuade by bland patriarchal smiles or austere commands, prevailing through suavity, intimidation and reverence. But before the majestic tread of human enlightenment already in Athens and knocking at the very portals of these haughty Spartans themselves, such simplicity was, in the terms of the shrewd Aristotle, simply "childish." It was ridiculous from within and without. It flourished for a time and perished, leaving a stigma which time has failed to efface and a denunciation so profound as to have forever prevented its resuscitation.

The sixth institution of Lycurgus was his public tables. It presents a sweet and touching reminiscence to us, still struggling in the awful vortex of competing interests. It seems indeed beautiful to look back and see our ancient fathers and mothers of whom we may feel justly proud, sitting on their rough stools around a great oaken or deal table loaded with good things from a common oven, every slice of the hot, steaming cutlets of veal or mutton and every savory morsel, recognized as the public property. The citizens were public property; the houses, tables and stools, the public property.

But who are those nude, suffering, half-starved, crouch-

ing forms noiselessly gliding to and fro, bringing these delicious fruits of labor to the happy partakers? They are the waiters, the cooks, the working people and their little ones—all under the curse of the Spartan law. This is what the magnanimous communistic rule of Lycurgus never provided for except to damn Plutarch informs us that at the public tables these people were all obliged by law to eat together, and in common. Although they had homes the law forbade them taking their meals there lest with the labor of the skilled butchers and cooks, they should fatten like voracious animals and become corrupt, sensual and dissolute.”

This arrangement resembled the co-operative kitchens of our own times, only established upon a vast scale by government and universally enforced by the law and police of the land. Its principal object was to level the hitherto existing conditions of wealth and poverty in which Lycurgus had found his people; and according to the best account, the plan worked well, with the one exception that the healthful exercise of the citizens in labor was entirely left out, all work of every kind belonging to the economic class being performed by freedmen and slaves. Thus labor, so sacred to the prosperity of modern lands, was disgraceful in this “region of the blessed.”

When a newly born babe on examination was found to be strong and without corporeal blemish, an order was published to have it educated by and at the cost of the state. It then received, if of the Dorian stock, one of the 9,000, or if of the Laconian, one of the 30,000 parcels of land. But should it prove weakly, malformed, marked or unseemly, the horrid death warrant was signed and the poor little innocent was pitched down a cavernous pit called “Apothetae,” from a crag of the Mount Taygetus; and dashed to a jelly upon the rocks. So stern were mothers in their obedience to this law that they washed their little ones with wine instead of water; because this strong ablution best tested their innate powers. If the babe proved too weak to outgrow this treatment, it was ruthlessly thrown into the rock-lined maw of this Taygetan grotto. Surely, under the dispensation of Lycurgus “hell was paved with infants’ bones.”

” Plutarch, “Lycurgus.”

A child when saved was educated. At seven years of age it was martialled into a species of military company and brought up under the rigors of obedience as under military discipline. The hair was cropped short, the body kept dirty, and all play was in a state of perfect nakedness. The children slept on beds made of reed tops which, without knives, they were obliged to gather for themselves. They were required to go barefoot at all seasons of the year. At the age of fifteen to twenty they had military manœuvres or sham battles. They were also required to perform such military duty as making soldiers' campaign outfits. The material for this they were required to steal. They were taught to crawl into the gardens and steal the melons and other fruits; if caught they were mercilessly flogged for the fault of being found out. The act itself was not a crime—logically too—for all things being common and there being no ownership, it followed that there was absolutely no incentive to steal, any more than a man has to steal his own property. Let the critic be cautious about reflecting against Lycurgus for this, as one is apt to do through the medium of a competitive or ownership system such as this in which he exists and from which stand-point he judges. The old law-giver certainly had the best of us on this score. But one is still at a loss to analyze his motives for teaching youngsters to steal. This he did, however, and methodically.*

We now have the Spartan young gentleman before us, in perfect health, inured to excessive hardships, perfect of form, perfectly naked, unwashed, an adept at stealing—the glory of the great Lycurgus. In this most perfect condition he is introduced to the ladies—those celebrated Spartan maidens.

This brings us to the next ordinance of Lycurgus—that of the calisthenics and games. It must not be forgotten that we are treating only of citizens, or the privileged class. They were a species of nobles and being born with the blood and lineage of aristocracy they disdained to work for their living. All ordinary labor was performed by helots or slaves. But Lycurgus, although he, like Plato and Aristotle, disdained labor, well knew its necessity as a bodily exercise. Thus in lieu of labor he instituted

* Plutarch, "Lycurgus."

his gymnasium. Good, hearty, honest labor in these modern days, with the ancient taint effaced and thus made respectable, is quite sufficient exercise; and consequently the gymnasium has fallen into disuse. But with Lyncurgus labor was a disgrace; and the demand of nature for exercise was supplied by the calisthenic games.

Lyncurgus, therefore, ordered that not only the young men but also the maidens should be vigorously exercised at the dances, games and races. Every girl was a professional tumbler; and the extent to which they carried their acrobatic sports may be judged from Plutarch's positive statement that the young maidens performed them in presence of the ephori (the judges of excellence in symmetrical beauty of body and of limb as well as of their winning powers), and before the admiring people in that innocent raiment, which we are told, decked the bodies of Adam and of Eve in the garden of Eden.²¹

"Lyncurgus commanded the maidens to exercise their forms running, wrestling, quoit-pitching and hurling darts, with an object to make themselves vigorous so that their children might afterwards be strong. To assuage the natural tenderness of their sex, he taught them the habit of being seen in company with their young male companions and together dance and sing at the festivals. At these they practiced raillery and intellectual sparring, criticizing each other's propriety of behavior which in the young men excited useful emulations, while their sallies and satires often made them smart; since the kings, the senate and citizens were present. So far as the disrobed appearance of the virgins was concerned it was thought nothing of, because the utmost decorum prevailed It even inculcates a simplicity in manners and an ambition to present the finest contour of the body."²²

Marriage was compulsory in the Spartan state; but of its details we refrain from the particulars, with the remark that the closest critic, however much our modern habits have varied from those of our forefathers, certainly

²¹ Dr. Drumann, as if unable to comprehend how this could be possible, cites a story told by Herodotus "Euterpe., viii. But on examination we find that there is no argument here presented rebutting Plutarch. Besides, this story refers to the habits of persons of royal degree, whereas our account treats only of common estate.

²² Plutarch, "Lyncurgus;" also "Lyncurgus and Numa Compared."

cannot boast of any improved virtue, if purity of intention and strict obedience to law are the basis of virtue. But Lycurgus was probably the only practical stirpiculturist who ever enforced the scientific theory. The law of Moses may be honorably regarded as an exception from this remark.²³ The Spartan lawgiver had been a great traveler and there appears no conclusive evidence rebutting the possibility that he borrowed much of it from the law of Moses instituted four or five hundred years before. The law of Lycurgus like the ideal republic of Plato required marriage. But the connubial tie once fastened, the community idea struck all the married couples of the military classes and they were at perfect liberty to borrow and lend each other according to the passions and caprices of the married lovers. This system of hymeneal reciprocity which never gave offense, was sanctioned by law and was certainly recommended by physicians and judges who attended to the business of replenishing the state with excellent offspring. Indeed, though the law of Lycurgus was never written, it is very probable from the accounts of the ancient authors themselves, that this reciprocal interchange of marital passions was arbitrarily required.²⁴ If so, the apparent discrepancy in Plato's republic which Aristotle criticizes, is made clear and logical. But it certainly makes a sham of marriage; and presents about as great an apparent absurdity as teaching the young to steal when their goods had no value, being owned and enjoyed in common.

It has already been our sad duty to sketch the last finishing touch of this far-famed government of Lycurgus in our chapter on the Eleusinian Mysteries. We have there recorded the assassination of those 2,000 workingmen. Perhaps what we now say in description of the system of Spartan government may unriddle the subtle philosophy which lurked at the bottom of that and of innumerable other mysteries and shocking murders which blot the pages of Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Diodorus, Plutarch and all who have attempted to perpetuate a knowledge of the deeds of this extraordinary people.

²³ Bible, "Leviticus," xix., xx., xxi.

²⁴ Not only Plutarch, Plato and Aristotle, but also Tertullian, ("Apology" XXXIX.), confirm this statement.

The laboring class of that day were Greeks. Some of them were the sons and daughters of the Lacedæmonian citizens; some were Helots, descendants of a great tribe previously taken as prisoners of war and reduced to slavery. The remainder were slaves purchased from the Phœnicians. These poor creatures did all the drudgery, prepared their food and performed all those offices for them which they were too proud to do for themselves. Great strikes occurred, as related by Ælian,²⁵ and the inhumanity of these arrogant slaveholders when the reaction came, self-accused them; for taking advantage of a destructive earthquake in B. C. 467, the poor creatures revolted or engaged in a strike of great proportions; and probably, as in the strikes of Eunus of Enna²⁶ and of Spartacus at Rome, they wreaked redress through the fury of armed force first joining the Messenians. At any rate, amid the earthquake and the strike more than 20,000 Spartans perished, and the survivors for a long period of time held a self-accusing superstition that the calamity was their punishment for their cruelty to the working class.

Thus, for the plan of Lycurgus, we have the following synopsis: Planted, according to Herodotus, B. C. about 990; according to Thucydides, 830; equality recognized; communism of goods and children; kings maintained; labor disgraced; taint of labor, and the working population damned.

Results as follows: The secret Cryptia; constant fear of the dangerous outcasts; final downfall of the system after a trial of 500 years.

Of the plant of Numa Pompilius we have already sufficiently spoken.²⁷ This system began something like B. C. 690; a non-warfare kingdom; labor recognized; workmen highly esteemed; trade unionism established by law; nomenclature of their organizations made by Numa himself; the members of the unions employed by the state; peace, tranquility and great prosperity of Rome for 43 years, or until Numa's death and after that event, wars; but the unions now turn their energies to the manufacture of the implements of war greatly facilitating the Ro-

²⁵ Ælian, "Historia Varia," l.

²⁶ See supra, Chapter VI.

²⁷ Consult "Index" to this volume; points on Numa Pompilius.

man arms; so the state continues, and encourages the unions for over 500 years.

Among the ancient Indo-Europeans there were from the time of Aristotle, 331-322 B. C. two distinct lines of reasoning; those of Aristotle and those of Plato. We are not at all unaware that neither of these great men was the originator of the doctrine he taught; for both are known to have borrowed for their celebrated states, from others more ancient and less known. But for our purpose we must recognize them as they are recognized by the world.

Plato believed that all good came from a supernatural source. Every thing good was, as it were, handed down from on high. This pleased the manipulators of the priestcraft of his age; for it sanctioned their mysticism. It permitted and continued the lordly power of the gods whose abodes were high on the Olympian thrones. Power was seated in heaven, the vaulted firmament, the "ouranos." The manipulators of this power were the great immortals such as Jupiter and other celestials—all the great gods and goddesses whose names and fame have come down to us enshrined in classic majesty and mystified in a vesture of inimitable, captivating beauty. The marvels of that ancient political religion are made more awfully supernal by this great and good teacher having lived and labored. Nor must we spurn Plato's views because our age has outgrown them. In the bigotry and empiricism to which many ardent and honest persons cleave,²⁸ they are apt to treat with unforgiving frowns, his earnest belief in practices which we, in having tried, have found impracticable, sometimes abominable. We translate expressly for these pages from Plato's *Gorgias*, what he makes Socrates say about workmen: "There exists a two-fold employment; it creates food, beverages, clothes and such other things as the body needs. We get such things from shop-keepers and from country folks and they have them prepared for them by the cook, baker, weaver, shoemaker and tanner. But the healing art and the knowledge of gymnastics necessarily preside over many of these trades because they foretell what the body wants. The working people, therefore, are slavish and unworthy to associate with free peo-

²⁸ Dr. Bucher. "Aufstande der unfreien Arbeiter," S. 132, pointedly puts it as: "Wust von Halbwisserei und Phrasenthum."

ple."²⁹ In another of Plato's writings is the remark that the laboring population, who produce what the body requires are, notwithstanding their servility "indispensable; and for this reason, they must be admitted into the republic."³⁰

Again, Plato acknowledges that workingmen and women who understand these mysteries of art "know what others do not know. They are educated so far as their peculiar art requires. They know how to build houses, ships, and to do other work and in consequence, must sometimes be admitted into the assembly meetings even though the Athenians laugh when ignorant people take the floor to explain."³¹ In matters of the state where such is needed, this right of explanation is given to every one. Now these workingmen, "demiourgoi," because they know the mysteries of their art, like the poets, imagine they know everything, being clever at their mechanic arts. But they are sadly wanting in manners, mostly, of course, from lack of leisure time without which a good education is impossible. All they learn is what their calling requires; for knowledge of its intrinsic self they have no appreciation, it having no charm for them."³² They busy themselves with mathematics only so far as it has practical contact with their business—not to enjoy a pleasure in the knowledge of the nature of numbers. In themselves they have not the power to strive for higher things, for mechanical craftsmanship brutifies them. The business man, "chrematistikos," declares that pleasure in honors and learning is valueless in comparison with money-getting.³³ Ambition for honors considers the pleasure of amassing lucre to be mean, and also ambition for learning if it fail to produce honors. Vapors and tricks bring the philosopher no such pleasure and joy as the knowledge of truth.³⁴ Be the smiths, carpenters, shoemakers ever so skilled in their work as artificers, the most of them are but slave-souls not able to comprehend what is good and just.³⁵ Lofty-heartedness and

²⁹ Plato, "Gorgias," 155, 517-518.

³⁰ Idem, "Republic," 369-372.

³¹ "Apology of Socrates," 22.

³² Plato, "Protagoras," 319. Consult Xenophon, "Memorabilia of Socrates," II., 7.

³³ Xenophon, "Public Economics of Athens," IV., 6.

³⁴ Plato, "Republic," IX., 581.

³⁵ Compare Xenophon, "Memorabilia," IV., ii., 22.

heartedness and nobleness of impulse are in vain to be sought for among them. It is quite another thing, this learning a trade and educating an honest man.

We elsewhere show by producing his own words what Cicero thought of the poor working people. His contempt for them is still greater.

Aristotle in most respects is in perfect accord with Plato in this kind of talk against the working people. Here is what he thinks:

Humanity must be divided into several classes: citizen cultivators, and artisans, busied with the arts necessary to the welfare of the state. These two great classes are acknowledged to come first; not from the respect he entertains for them, but probably on account of the fact well known in Aristotle's time, that they were very numerous everywhere.

Then comes, as the third class, the dealers. These are designated to be the shop-keepers and merchants.

The day laborers or wage-earners constitute the fourth class. They have some slight independence, being no longer slaves, but freedmen.

Soldiers constitute the fifth class. They do the fighting; and agreeably to the nature of ancient civilization this fighting material that obtains nourishment without producing, is what modern enlightenment begins to recognize as plunderers and robbers.

The sixth class is that of the judges.

The seventh class undertakes the duties of the practical work of the state. It consists of rich men.

To the eighth belong the optimates or men of blood of still higher quality, such as hail from an exalted family or race, as a "gens"—gentlemen or aristocrats, born of God with that supernal gift, the immortal soul. These, according to this teacher of Alexander the Great, were fitted to be the advising statesmen. They are the finishing class, coming highest above all.

"Many times several of these different callings can be united into one; but occupations uniting poor and rich into one person cannot be allowed."⁸⁰

The artisans and skilled mechanics whom Aristotle de-

⁸⁰ Aristotle, "Politics," IV., ii., 11-15.

nominates "technitai," or "banausoi technitai," are next to the slaves in lowliness and meanness. Aristotle makes their existence a sort of servitude. But some writers think that this philosopher places them a little more distant or farther from abject servitude than the slaves; for they are beyond the reach of the lash, except in aggravated cases. The difference is that the slave proper serves the collective individual or state, while the artisan serves the person who employs him; and thus the inference is that the ideal political state of Aristotle gets the labor of skilled workmen by contract, or in a second-hand fashion.⁵⁷

Aristotle says that in former times the skilled artisans, or the class embracing all mechanics, were slaves; and even at his day (B. C. 330), there were skilled slaves in many of the Greek states.⁵⁸ This statement is valuable, as it shows the immense progress of abolition; and if we take notice of his other equally important hint, that all sorts of precautions had to be resorted to for preventing those dangerous revolts, and couple this with the fact that there were great anti-slave organizations, as shown by the numerous inscriptions still extant, and which have been described in our previous chapters, we may better understand the importance of history written from a social standpoint.

Aristotle teaches that inasmuch as the largest part of the working class must be allotted to attend to agriculture and the flocks, their life inuring them to out-of-door employments, they were for the ideal state best fitted for the muscular work of warfare. Their spiritual and bodily powers naturally develop more than those of persons engaged in business of the market or of the city who press among the crowds.⁵⁹

Aristotle thinks that for his perfect government it is advisable to have slaves work as agricultural laborers; and especially those who have no yearnings for a home they have been deprived of, and so no foremost desires. Such laborers would be more useful, and would have no incentives to revolt.⁶⁰

Aristotle makes the execution of work, for the artisans

⁵⁷ Aristotle, "Politics," III., iii., § 3.

⁵⁸ Idem, III., ii., § 9.

⁶⁰ Idem, "Politics," VII., ix., § 9.

⁵⁹ Id., VI., ii., § 6-7.

⁶¹ Id., iv., § 3.

to be that which bruises the body worst; the task set for slaves, to be that which the body is in greatest need of; and for the most ignoble, that in which the least amount of intellectual force is required." This is exactly what would most effectively belittle a man and develop beastliness within him.

The farmers, mechanics and day laborers cannot be dispensed with; but the management of warfare and the giving advice and legal counsel belong strictly to the citizen class who do not work. The laboring class coming under the categories mentioned cannot become either office-holders or priests." They must not be admitted to hold office; for in well regulated communities they are not citizens as they have no duty of citizenship to fulfill and their incapable condition prevents it, the same as in children, slaves, free communers under protection, and strangers."

This philosopher further degrades the despised workers by his opinion that labor stupefies and deteriorates both mind and body. It creates roughness and makes people hoyden "phortikoi," or uncouth, depriving them of their dignity. Neither the good statesman nor the good citizen can tolerate labor."

Labor also leaves no time for public business. Only land-owners and well-to-do people who are citizens can rejoice in leisure time."

If the optimates or better people wish to remain faithful to their destiny and their dignity they learn nothing of skill for the sake of earning from it, neither do they learn music superabundantly, as sometimes is the case now where people engage in emulous contest in it for the profits accruing from out-doing one another; they only learn it so far as necessary to enjoy its delicious melody and rhythm." This most detestable clause in Aristotle's politics has long since crumbled away before christianity's well tried precept. "The laborer is worthy of his hire"⁴⁷—one of our bulwarks of democratical government.

Aristotle's oligarchy emphatically forbids work people the right of citizenship, especially the day wage earners.

⁴³ Id., "Pol.," VII., viii., § 6; III., iii., 2,

⁴⁴ Id., III., iii., 2, 7.

⁴⁵ Id., "Pol.," III., iii., 9.

⁴⁶ Id., VII., viii., 5, 8.

⁴⁷ Id., "Pol.," VIII., vi., 4.

⁴⁸ New Testament, "Luke," x., 7.

Where a skilled artisan attains to wealth he may, in the ideal state, become a citizen.⁴⁸ Under the Pagan régime this narrow and contemptuous ruling is thought fit for an oligarchy based on optimates and slaves.

Theophrastus who, after Aristotle's withdrawal, succeeded to the Lyceum, described the wage-earning class as domestics or slaves at large—that of “people who shamelessly drive taverns and brothels. They are also known as mercenaries and hucksters who live on the gains of gambling, lottery-booths and cook-shops, gulping up the dishonorable winnings and letting their own mothers starve.”⁴⁹

Demosthenes, still considered high authority in many things, is not much milder. He railed at Æschines because he was the son of a sausage man in very poor circumstances.⁵⁰

Demosthenes like Cicero despised the lowly. “He who carries on low and despicable business must not be expected to exhibit deeds of moral quality; for men are always in reality, in thought and in deed, what their calling in life designates. This is a logical necessity.”⁵¹

Lucian the satyrist of the second century of our era, who spoke and wrote the best classic Greek although of Samosata 350 miles to the north of Nazareth, was poor and undertook to learn sculpture. Breaking a partly finished slab of marble and getting soundly punished for it, he left his master and went home where he dreamed out his ideal of the relative merits of art and science. The dream was, that two young females, one called Art and the other Learning, were in love with a certain young man. Each sought to win him by the comparative merit of her trade. Art, as Lucian portrays it, appears before him clad in the dirty overalls of the workingman, specked with marble-dust, hands calloused with hard work. She promised him a good income, a strong healthy physique, and reminded him of the glory of Phidias, Polycletus and other great masters.

Science on the other hand, advanced the argument:

⁴⁸ Aristotle, “Politics,” III., II., 8; III., 3.

⁴⁹ Theophrastus, “Ethical Characters,” vi., B. C. about 280.

⁵⁰ Diogenes Laertes, II., 7; I.

Demosthenes, “Olynth., Orationes Atticæ,” T., 4.

“As a sculptor thou art but an artisan, without celebrity, of mean low mental status; one only of a vast mass of humanity. Shouldst thou become a Phidias or a Polycletus and build for the world wonderful and admirable productions, then indeed would every one admire thy art; but no reasonable creature desires thy part; for however cunning thou mayest become, thou thyself art forever doomed to remain only a mere laborer.”⁵² This ancient taint received its death blow under the rules of Jesus; so much so that no such contempt attaches to Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci or Michael Angelo. Work, from the very first has been not only honorable, but correctly considered, a means of measuring honor and worth. Thus a complete revolution.

Plutarch, styled the honorable, just and fair critic of human character and its dealings with the ethics of men, is equally severe against the laboring class. He writes, about A.D. 75-80: “Virtuous dealings only allure imitations, morally considered; quite different with other, and often more material things, for these we may admire without desiring to ourselves do similarly. On the contrary we despise the authors of works we are delighted with. People love unguents and purple raiment but perfumers and dyers are considered to be mean handicraftsmen, nothing more. Antisthenes the cynic most wisely said, when they were applauding Ismenias for the delicious tones of his flute: ‘very fine music’ said the philosopher. ‘He belongs to the meaner sort, otherwise he could not play so finely.’

“Philip of Macedon reproached his son Alexander who learned to play the cithara at a neighboring inn, with the words: “Art thou not ashamed to play so well? Honor enough for the muses when a king dignifies them by becoming their audience. But whoever degrades himself by making it a mean, low business betrays his indifference toward the beautiful and good. No young man with preferred natural gifts wishes, under the eye of Jupiter in Pisa, or of Heres in Argos, to become a Phidias or a Polycletus; nor an Anacreon, Philemon or Archilochus because delighted by their poetry. It follows not that we should treasure him whose works do excite our

⁵² Lucian, “Somnium, 6-9.

admiration and joy"⁵³ We have here given our own rendering. The sense is so imperfectly brought out by any translation that we are unable to use it.⁵⁴ Though the labor product was admired, the creator of it was despised. To us moderns this is almost incomprehensible. Quite so, except we recognize the gradual inroads upon the ancient family blood, and its ultimate uprooting, through the resistance to the insult by labor itself, backed by the new régime.

Again, Plutarch, writing on education, cares nothing for any one but the rich ; the remainder might as well be resigned to their fate which had not favored them.⁵⁵

The brother-in-law of Phocion, that is, brother of his first wife, Cephisotodus by name, lived by his art as sculptor, and the family were not considered first citizens of the city. Phocion was one of the very few generals of ancient times who rose from the ranks. His own father was a pestle-maker by trade.⁵⁶ Yet he himself always had an openly expressed contempt for the working people.

Alexander was initiated into the study of natural history by Aristotle. He was of opinion that he could perform useful services at healing; and actually performed healing acts in his empire.⁵⁷ The news that the father of Eumenes had for a profession that of flute-playing at funerals in the Thracian Cheronesus by which to make a living for himself and family, was trumped up by the Macedonian dignitaries who were loth to permit Grecians in their territory, Eumenes being a stranger. The father was a respectable man ; at any rate he was a table-mate of Philip the king.⁵⁸ But the whole affair shows the contempt that was universally felt against labor. Agathocles, Tyrant of Syracuse, began his career as a potter in the middle of the fourth century before Christ. In commemoration of his former calling he used to put earthen pots and jugs beside golden ones.⁵⁹ But the native pride of the Greeks seldom permitted them to humiliate them-

⁵³ Plutarch, *Pericles*, 1-3.

⁵⁴ For much that is valuable on the whimsical contempt felt by the ancient aristocrats against labor, see Drnmann's magnificent researches, in *Arbeiter und Communisten in Griechenland und Rom, passim*.

⁵⁵ Plutarch, *De Puerum Educatione*, 11.

⁵⁶ *Id.*, *Phocion*, 4 and 19.

⁵⁷ *Id.* *Alexander*, 8.

⁵⁸ Cornelius Nepos, *Eumenes*, 1; *Elían*, 1; Plutarch, *Eumenes*.

⁵⁹ Plutarch, *Apothegms, reg. et imp.*; Athenæus, *Deipnosophista* 11, 15; Polybius, *Histories*, 12, 15; 16, 35.

selves in this manner, or to pull men up out of the dark pits of disgrace, like that of labor, to a place of recognized honor.

But notwithstanding all the influence of the taint there were strong men who, knowing within their hearts that labor was honorable, dared to be brave. Thus in the third century before Christ it was not expected of Cleanthes the follower of Zeno in the Stoa, that he should seek to conceal the night-work on which, at his trade, he earned his living to strengthen him for delivering his lectures before the Areopagi or in the more private school-work connected with his useful life.⁶⁰

Iphicrates was a low-born man; according to some the son of a shoemaker. When Harmodius whose kinsman Pisistratides the hipparch, treated Iphicrates with contumely on account of it, the latter replied: "My race begins with me, thine ceases with thee."⁶¹ This is another scintillation giving light to the dark chasms of contempt into which honest industry was sunk.

Attalus III., whose crazy tricks caused a great deal of unnecessary persecution of the slaves and freedmen of Pergamos and vicinity over which he reigned, seems to have had the labor question uppermost in his brain. He was the last of the Pergamenian monarchs. There appears reason to conjecture that he feared an insurrection of the slaves, which caused him to bargain away to the Romans his inheritance; presumably to get their protection from his dreaded enemies at home. He was in the habit of putting to torture his suspects; and to perfect his art in cruelty became a practical gardener, taking lessons in the chemistry of gardening in order to produce his own poisons with which to kill numbers of imaginary foes. With these poisonous plants he practiced and toyed until his death. Immediately after that event a great insurrection broke out for the succession, in which the slaves and free organized workmen sided with the pretender, a *banau*s or laborer and an illegitimate, against the legitimate successor. This was the Aristonicus whose great slave rebellion—one of the hugest of ancient times—we have already described in our chapter on ancient

⁶⁰ Diogenes Laertes, l. 6.

⁶¹ Aristotle, *Historic*, l. 7, *Æsop*, *Æsop*, *Do Nobilitate*, cap. 21.

slave rebellions.⁶² Diocletian planted upon grounds of his private estate at Salona, poisonous and other noxious plants. For what exact purpose we are not properly informed. But he wrote a work on horticulture. We make these remarks to remind our readers of the rapidly onward marching strides of Christianity and the social revolution already in Diocletian's time beginning to be felt.

When a boy, Alexander who was swift at the races, was asked if he would match himself with the competitors. "Yes" he retorted: "I would had I kings to race with." Plutarch relates this story as an illustration of the conqueror's virtues.⁶³ The facts are that at the races the fleetest men were matched sometimes irrespective of birth or trade; but the future conqueror of the world was too proud to humble himself by setting a democratic example. We may remark that little progress has since been made by way of extinguishing this foolish pride.

In the manufactories, *ergasteria*, most of the ancient workmen were slaves, and the states of Greece sometimes, especially in war in which the poor creatures had no patriotic interest, lost heavily by their running away to find work, more liberty and better fare. During the Peloponnesian war 20,000 slaves decamped from Attica where they were, as property of the state, at work making the machinery clothing and equipments of that celebrated and prolonged conflict. But whither? Directly over to the Spartan garrison at Decelea, the armories of the deadly and jealous enemies of Athenians who were hilt to hilt in the fierce fray for the hegemony of the Hellenic Peninsula! Here the 20,000 workmen wheeled their brawn and brain into arms and munitions which undoubtedly decided the great struggle against the Athenians.⁶⁴

The orator Lysias owned a shield factory, *aspidopegeion*, in which he had 120 slaves, property of the estate, and probably in company with his brother Polemarch. Thirty of the slaves fell upon and murdered Polemarch for his money. Slaves were very dangerous in ancient days.⁶⁵

If the student of sociology is at a loss to understand the causes of Demosthenes' slurs at Æschines, and the bitter-

⁶² Bücher, *Aufstände der unfreien Arbeiter* S. 100-114.

⁶³ Plutarch, *Alexander*.

⁶⁴ Thucydides, *De Bello Peloponnesiaco*, Vol. I., 27; chap. v., in this work.

⁶⁵ Eratosthenes, *O-atio*, *Lys.*

ness of his eloquence twitting him of mean birth, let him read Xenophen and others of his own period. Demosthenes was owner by inheritance of two manufactories; one, a butcherknife and the other a bedstead factory. The knife shop netted him a sum of 30 *minae*, \$541.50 annually, and the mechanics, 32 in number who performed the labor, were slaves, and his own property. The bedstead factory turned out goods yielding 12 *minae* net, or \$216.60 of earnings with the labor of 20 slaves. But the relative value of money was enormous compared with today. The total net income from the labor of these 52 slaves working for him in the two factories amounted to 42 *minae*, \$758.10. After the death of his father and a settling of all indebtedness, an inventory disclosed the fact that the business was prosperous and a large stock of manufactured articles and also of raw material was left clear.⁶⁶

Eunus the slave was a prophet. He foretold to his followers at Enna in Sicily, the fact that he, being a Syrian, a prophet of Antioch, was to become a king; and that his work should be the seed of an all-spreading revolution which should break the bondsmen's cords.

This is sufficient to show that Eunus had also his plan of salvation, like all the reformers of ancient days. His method, however, of realizing it varied from that of Lycurgus and Plato and Aristotle, about in proportion with his comparative condition. The aristocrats were educated and refined men; whereas, Eunus was a poor slave, without letters. And what was this plan? It was based on, and carried out, entirely from the central idea of *extinction*, by an almost complete extermination of the ruling and possessing class, and the rebuilding of an empire or government upon the same ground, but out of the purely laboring element—in other words, the exact equality of all men. It is perhaps the first purely anarchical idea ever put in full force and practically carried out upon a vast scale. Furthermore—and logically too—it struck the world just at the time when, according to Polybius, Rome commenced to decay. It succeeded, and logically enough, to the slave-crammed populations in Plato's ideal republic of the "Blessed;" for it is natural to suppose that through his immensely popular philosophy, he had indoc-

⁶⁶Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, II., 7; Demosthenes, *Oratio*, V., 106, 9.

trinated all Rome—and her naturally savage military disposition—with the needful excuse for spreading this beastly institution of slavery. Eunus with his cataclysmal arms in Sicily, and Gracchus with his magnificent powers of family prestige, wealth and natural manhood, at Rome, fought a contest against Plato and the insolent lords for just 10 years, such as, search the records as we will, are not elsewhere to be found in the annals of history, ancient or modern. Eunus began by an extermination of his enemies, the slave-holding rich. He marched his first force into Enna, as related in our ninth chapter and began his work of blood and devastation the same hour, without giving either forewarning or quarter. As his masters had been merciless to the slave, so his plan of salvation was merciless to them. To stamp out the entire race of optimates was his bent and determination, leaving none even to tell the tale of woe.⁶⁷ It was the “eye-for-eye and tooth-for-tooth” referred to by a later Messiah in his great sermon on the Mount, after the unfortunate but indispensable experience of these “men of old time” had proved to him the futility of the plan of Eunus.

Plato had been dead but a couple of centuries. Rome had grasped his popular idea of government embracing an aristocracy grounded in human slavery. She had surged into the great waves of warfare with the exact advice of Plato in his “Republic of the Blessed!” and she was working to the master's lines. Slaves innumerable thronged into the marts as Rome's prisoners of war. Eunus, one of them, was a prophet and his beloved goddess, as he frankly believed, was directing him through this storm of vengeance and of blood. It was anarchy—a chaos of human life among a vast population; for Sicily at that time was populous. Dionysius the tyrant had built his yawning prison-workshops and these *ergastula* had been copied into every city and hamlet. Eunus set at liberty from these horrid slave-dens 60,000 workmen, who swelled his ranks to a vast army of 200,000 warriors, all of whom by his edict of emancipation, became destroyers of Sicilian and Roman life. Devastation!

⁶⁷ We find in Diodorus, *Histories*, the statement, quoted *supra*, p. 200, that Antigenes, one of the rich men, was exempted from his vengeance on account of a previous promise; as was also the case with the kind-hearted daughter of Damophilus (p. 206).

But who, when he calmly looks at the general conditions, after the brave words of Diodorus in his noble but tattered fragments of history of this terrible episode of retribution, will say that even the scourging, administered to those haughty millionaires, did not work an almost inestimable good? Were not these lessons necessary? Did not the world, in its tardy development out of barbarism, learn by the sorriest experience the deeper, more fundamental expression of reason, incrusting in the then, and for ages afterwards, unfathomable words of advice vouchsafed us by the last of the prophets and Messiah's to wit: that kindly treatment was as coals of fire upon their hard masters' heads?

Drimakos had his plan. It was a plan as fine in its details as it was strange in its conception. He set up an absolute monarchy in the lofty jungles of his mountain crag. He emancipated all slaves after their having passed examination as of a civil service. When once a runaway had passed this rigorous test he made him or her a member of his Blessed government upon an equality as severe as it was democratic. He forced the rich citizens of the green valleys below, to support him and his chosen angels of this aerial paradise; and for long decades of time had but to go down with his bands of warriors, armed to the teeth, and get from the barns, cellars and orchards the richest of nature's gifts. And the plan worked charmingly even to his tottering old age.

A very clearly designed plan was that of Aristonicus of Pergamus, whose anti-slavery rebellion followed that of Eunus. He promised the working people who were in great fear of being sold into slavery—a thing which actually came to pass after their defeat—that if they would take up arms with him, they should have a kingdom of the "Blessed;" that they should be made equal with all men, and become citizens of the sun, *heliopolitai*, which in their minds, since they worshiped the sun as their religion, was to be inhabitants of a heaven on earth, a democracy yearned for even to our day. With remarkable faith and energy they took up arms, fighting for their earthly paradise and when defeated, suffered like martyrs, many of them upon the cross.

Spartacus, the last of the ancient labor revolters, whose

enormous defeat went far toward convincing future philosophers and agitators that a halt must be called to the destructive havoc of reform, had a clearly traced plan. He wished to set the bondsmen free. For himself and his Thracians and Gauls he wanted freedom to return to his native hills, thinking, in his seemingly innocent simplicity, that this was the highest liberty—the enjoyment of his boyhood's home.

The mightiness of this man is seen in the two great facts: First, that his life was, as it were, a prodigious blast of unparalleled military power against the wrongs which despots, backed by military machinery, inflicted upon labor; and secondly, that through this awful and exterminatory blast, and by dint of its mightiness, the wondering, inquisitive and learning world was taught that the horrors of military despotism cannot be cured, but must ever be aggravated, by the application of military means. Through Spartacus, mankind awakened to realize that other means than that of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" must be tried before the lowly millions of toil could be lifted to the dignity and equality of their calling.

Let these remarks suffice then, to introduce one who came next in the order of the prophets and messiahs; but this time with a statesmanship whose plan did not prove a failure. And what was this plan?

Jesus, a tradesman, messiah and prophet, coming just one hundred years after Spartacus, was obliged to labor and struggle during the greater part of his lifetime, to support himself, father, mother, brothers and sisters. Ministers of his Gospel, who preach it from any other standpoint, do so only because they have been imposed upon by the ruling of prelates who, since Constantine's political amalgamation with Neo-Platonism which upheld both chattel and wage-slavery and was no ingredient of the original precept, forsook the master and backslid into paganism.

He did not deny his lowly condition.⁶⁸ Right at the close of the Augustan or Golden Age, after the communes

⁶⁸N. T. *Mark*, vi., 3: "Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary, and are not his sisters here with us?" Aping the aristocracy of paganism which this workingman dethroned, the subsequent priesthood has vainly endeavored to trace his genealogy back to Abraham.

and trade unions, with Clodius at their head in Rome, had stormed lawyer Cicero out of his life, while that great tempest of agitations was yet surging on, shaping those memorable utterances of great jurists like Ulpian, to the effect that all men are born equal;⁶⁹ at that epoch-making period, himself born to the stigma of labor, Jesus was able to plant seed which has reared a system so democratical that it has already virtually overcome the terrible slave system and with it the contempt of labor; and his whole plan, though extremely revolutionary, is rapidly prevailing as people become wise in their understanding.

In the incipiency of his "state" of a perfect society which Tertullian calls a *coetus* (meaning a union),⁷⁰ Jesus considers working people regardless of trade or calling, to be the best element from which to choose his advisers. Among them were four fishermen,⁷¹ one custom house clerk,⁷² designated in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible as one of the publicans, who were at that time hated by the poor people as the meanest of men. The other seven were of various trades or professional callings. There is apparently no claim extant that any one of the twelve apostles whose names have become more renowned in the world than any others in the annals of our common race with the exception of the Master himself, of Paul, and a few others, were anything but poor workmen—a valuable assurance to any at the present day who languish in doubt lest the venture of their powers upon the labor movement may result in no glory to themselves and their names.

The organization of the early Christians, as we have constantly shown, was based purely upon the principle always advocated by all labor organizations, yearned for by the

⁶⁹Ulpian, *Digest*, L., xvii., 32: "Quod attinet ad jus civile, servi pro nullis haberentur, non tamen et jure naturali: quia quod ad jus naturale attinet, omnes homines æquales sunt." Thus Ulpian who, some 160 years after Christ's labors closed, convinced of the justice of the already great liberating movement of the early Christian all around him, wrote these words, terrible to the Roman optimates. Justinian afterwards embodied them in his Pandects. Who shall say that Ulpian's brutal assassination by a mob of soldiers was not his punishment for righteous judgment? Again, Florentinus, not long after the time of Gaius, wrote: "Servitus est constitutio juris gentium qua quis dominio alieno contra naturam subicitur." *Digest*, I., v., 4; Böckh, *Laurische Silberbergwerke*, S. 123, declares that the Christians of these parts extinguished the slave system entirely.

⁷⁰Tertullian, *Apology*, XXXIX., 1: "Colimus in cœtum et congregationem at ad deum quasi manu facta, precationibus ambliamus."

⁷¹*Matthew*, iv., 18, 21; *Mark*, i., 19, 20.

⁷²*Matthew*; ix. 9; *Mark*, ii., 14.

myriad slaves, and emphatically demanded by Christ, its founder and his followers, to the effect that all men are created equal, whatever the social inequality unjustly imposed upon some by licensed managers of the products of their toil." The original fathers struck out openly for all that promised equality and democratical ends.

Jesus forbids, in his ideal state, and even the approaches to it, that men should engage in war or conflict of any kind. "Whosoever smite thee on thy right cheek turn to him the other also." He certainly modeled his plan from the organizations, the brotherhoods which discarded hatreds, and with them the competitive system entirely. Instead of hatred one for another, it was love one for another.⁷³ Socrates who says, "We are all *thiasotes* of this god,"⁷⁴ comes nearest to Christianity of all the more ancient advocates of reform; and this of course accounts for their killing him. Plato went through unscathed, and like him Aristotle. But both believed in slavery and were of *gens* blood; while Socrates was a born workingman. So likewise Jesus was killed for loving labor and laborers and denouncing hatreds together with the system on which they are based. He ruled that these working people were fully equal to any other class—a most pronounced advancement of matters in the ethics of the social, economic and political world.⁷⁵

Socrates, if we believe his own words, was a member of an *eranos*, or a *thiasos*; for Xenophon quotes him as saying so, inasmuch as he declares to his friends and disciples gathered about him, that "under this god we are all *thiasotes*." He was not an Essene. His last words, as he lay dying, reminded his disciples that they (the *thiasotai*, or brethren), owed their cook for a chicken on which they

⁷³ Justin Martyr, *Dialogue*, xxxvi. 4; Varro, *De Re Rustica*, *Proem*.

⁷⁴ *Mathew*, v., 39.

⁷⁵ *Idem*, v., 44.

⁷⁶ Xenophon, *Conviviū*, viii., 2, speaking of Eros, the god of love, says that at the symposium, in all probability of a *thiasos* club, he made the following speech: "Ἄρ', ἐφῆ, ὦ ἄνδρες, εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς παρόντος δαίμονος μεγάλου καὶ τῷ μὲν χρόνῳ ἰσθλικοῦ τοῖς ἀειγενέσι θεοῖς, τῇ δὲ μορφῇ νεωτάτου, καὶ μεγέθει μὲν πάντα ἐπέχοντος, ψυχῇ δὲ ἀνθρώπου ἰδρυμένου, Ἔρωτος, μὴ ἀμνημονῆσαι. ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ πάντες ἐσμὲν τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου διασώται" Among the disciples of Socrates was Xenophon himself. The subject of discussion was Love, and the duty of men to love one another, just as Jesus, at similar symposiums, used to teach the great philosophy of love nearly 500 years afterwards.

⁷⁷ *First Corinthians*, iv., 7. The church got an early foothold in Corinth. This great city was overrun with slaves. Of 680,000 inhabitants, 640,000 were slaves. Yet Paul, speaking against the distinctions which "puff" men up, one above another, asks them: "Who maketh thee to differ from another?"

had banqueted, and entreated them not to forget to pay it. These communes drank wine, sacrificed lambs, had fortune-tellers, messiahs, prophets, married and brought up children, and within their sacred pale had "all things common." This is what the early Christians organized their first communities upon; and it certainly seems, considering their lowliness and the fact that they were mostly workingmen and women, that Christianity was the organization invented to "PROCLAIM" the cult which the secret commune so long and so inveterately had in secret practised. In a word, the revolution of Jesus rose from a deep meaning, thoroughly digested, long tried and powerful culture, already inculcating, already impregnating the opinion and bias of that great working majority, the down-trodden lowly of mankind.

The idea—ignored by Plato, "the father of idealism," and hinted at in Aristotle's strange prediction⁷⁸—of a society without slaves where all are equal, was original in the secret labor communes; but so far as its open propagation was concerned, it was original with Jesus, totally and definitively. That idea could not mix with the old paganism.⁷⁹ Otherwise the ancient culture, philosophy and great-mindedness, had many magnificent virtues, which prevail to-day and which farther on, we shall show to have belonged not to paganism but to labor. The repudiation of paganism by the culture of Jesus, took on, in the ignorant, bigoted world, an enormous excrescence of supernumerary whims arising from infantile speculations of men, which were condensed through edicts, by the councils of different ages, into tyrannical faith-cures, inquisitions and superstitious "standard philosophies," and theological regulations which arbitrarily, building on such edicts, destroyed for a thousand years, the culture of inquiry founded by men like Aristotle and Socrates. But this very spirit of inquiry belongs to the plan of Jesus.⁸⁰

They could not see the way clear to mix. The age we live in is that of mixture of the two great and immortal

⁷⁸ Aristotle, in *Economics*, predicted, foreshadowed that there might arrive a state of development in which there would be no slaves. Cf. *id.*, Pol., I., 4.

⁷⁹ Draper, *Intellectual Development of Europe*, I., chap. xiii., *Passage of the Age of Reason*, has shown, by a cutting array of facts, that the inquisitive, or investigating spirit and its culture of the Greek Progressists school would have been extirpated altogether, but for Mohammed and the Arabians and Spanish Moors.

⁸⁰ *Thessalonians*, v., 21: "Prove all things and hold fast that which is good."

plans.. It is the culture of inquisitive reason on the basis of equality of all mankind. This equality paganism did not allow.

The revolution accomplished by the efforts of the poor through their long succession of revolts, their messiahs, secret organizations, and at last their early Christianity, though it was perverted by Constantine and a long succession of prelates in the false garb of faith and priest-craft during the dark ages, never for a moment relinquished its hold on its real revolutionary idea. That idea was the equality of man, the teaching *by* the poor, *of* the poor; the building-up of a vast civilization without slaves, with one God, one father for all and salvation of all, economically.

When Christians concentrated priest-power into despotism there arose another vast and similar order—the Mohammedan—which resumed the same idea and in Spain went on for centuries with the plan based upon equality, carrying it out as well as could be done at that low age. This Mohammedanism appears to have saved mankind from sinking forever.

It took a thousand years for the world to learn and properly apply the new system. The relapses and swoons of the early centuries, when men were guided by ambitious demagogues, were, if we learn to reason upon them aright, most natural things. The world had, throughout all the previous ages, been cultivating a civilization based upon the system of masters and slaves. It was a civilization competitive in all respects. It had never known a moment of socialistic life. If its lowly millions had built up and tried a socialism, it was in the dense penumbra of secrecy. Whenever their socialism reached the light it had always been put down by the monster power of slavery and its military legions, as a loathsome and filthy thing; for it recognized equality.

Foolish then and short-sighted are the men who wonder at the vast tumble-down ages of demolition that supervened over the immortal revolution of Jesus and the working people, who, prying their socialistic civilization up through this despotism, at a choice moment when aristocracy was rotting by its own loathsome gangrene, sent their orators out, and with superhuman struggles urged it forth upon the broad plane of day where, for once and for all,

the resplendent sun of unmasked intelligence shone upon it with beams so bright that, although since beclouded, it now rolls onward to a final day.

The new ages had to be built, but in their building their architects fell, times without number and nearly two thousand years rolled over the world before all things became adjusted to this civilization they have erected upon those great precepts which contain and set forth the economic equality of mankind.

This emergence of the culture of the great commune system of the ancient lowly out of the secret, into the open, out of the irascible, destructive, the bloody and warlike, into the peaceful world, which took place at Palestine after the great and last disaster under Spartacus, gave to humanity a set of immortal principles to accomplish their economic salvation. So inconceivably great was the change or revolution embodied in these principles that our race in applying them, sank into a swoon and well-nigh lost them forever. But after a struggle of nearly 1,900 years the world is at last re-emerging from its thrall and is now in the very act of applying them as a permanent principle to its political economy.

One of the greatest and fiercest struggles the Christians ever had was motivated by the working people's demand for bread. The new sect, being largely of the labor element, its monks naturally were in their sympathy and allowed vast numbers of images, palladiums, amulets, talismans and incantations to be manufactured for the uses of every conceivable phase of priestcraft. There came, during the middle ages a protest against it, and for 120 years the war of the iconoclasts raged against the working people who in turn were savagely upheld by the monks. Thus, as ever before, the aristocracy were against labor, rightly, perhaps, for in course of ages, industry has, in the finer civilizations, given up its hold on image-making; but the truth is, the laboring classes would not accept Christianity at the cost of their means of life. That this does not apply to the early Christians is explained by the fact that they were co-operators who "had all things common."

"In the present world only evil reigns. Satan is the king of the earth, or prince of this world. All obey him."⁸²

⁸¹ Consult *Intellectual Development of Europe*, vol. II., for a full discussion.

⁸² Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, p. 116; N. T. John, xli., 81, xiv., 30, xvi., 11; *Second Corinthians*, iv., 4.

Now working people, even those engaged in the great advocacy of labor, and the absolute equality of the rights of man, may possibly be misled by their honest belief that Jesus, in talking as he did meant only the world to come. He meant the present, just as he said: "The kings kill the prophets:"⁸³ "The just are persecuted:" "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven."⁸⁴

But whoever thoroughly understands the ancients, well knows that among all the numerous turmoils of slaves, of gladiators, of agrarianism, of trade unionists, there have been prophets. The kings, according to this speech of Christ, killed them. We have sufficiently shown that the kings and rulers were not satisfied with their ordinary death; they hung them and their followers upon the ignominious cross.⁸⁵ "The world as it is, is the enemy of God."⁸⁶ The great master, speaking in his exquisitely perfect style of allegory, always represented God as the principle of goodness—nature.

Jesus preached openly a plan or system of absolute justice; and he, in establishing a foothold for it, also perished on the cross. The kings killed the prophets. They had just killed his friend and forerunner, the vigorous agitator and member of the order of free masons, John the Baptist, because his pure character and love of virtue forbade him from permitting unattacked, the voluptuousness and fornication going on in palaces and assignation houses of Herod and⁸⁷ intimates, over whom reigned the beautiful but silly Herodias by whose machinations Antipas had become the cunning ingrate whom Jesus denominated the "fox."⁸⁸ John and Jesus owe their death to this bloodthirsty female libertine. Very few know or even seek to know the real, human, home-viewed causes of these renowned events; they being mixed up in the mysticism of supernatural predilection and bigotry. When this labor movement comes to be regarded as a sort of "second coming," which it really is, we shall behold the amazing analogy of that mighty agitation of A. D. 31-33, in juxtaposition with ours of 1886-'96, our eyes opened,

⁸³ Renan, *Id.*, pp. 116, 117

⁸⁴ *Matthew*, vi., 10.

⁸⁵ See *supra*, the chapters on *Strikes and Uprisings*.

⁸⁶ Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, p. 117.

⁸⁷ Renan, *idem*, p. 111: "L'union presq' incestueuse d'Antipas et d'Hérodiade s'accomplit alors." *Leviticus*, viii., 16; *Josephus*, *Wars of the Jews*, VII., 6, 7 and elsewhere: *Antiquities*, XVII., 13.

⁸⁸ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Article *Antipas*.

our hearts gladdened in an inexpressably glorious normal growth of 18 centuries which have shorn it of mysticism and theosophy.

Prophets and healers were everywhere. The wife of Spartacus was both. She foretold that the deeds of this gladiator should be great, by divining the causes of the serpent being found coiled around her husband's neck and face during his sleep. She was a sorceress; and her premonitory words all turned out too true to the cruel capitalists, for whose work of enslaving the people Spartacus punished them with some of the most disastrous military defeats and humiliating slaughters to be found in the annals of war.⁸⁹

The Essenes had their prophets, some of whom turned off such excellent examples of foretelling that they became known far and near.⁹⁰ All antiquity was full of prophets; and they had the advantage of us modern mortals, in that they met an openly expressed belief in prognostication; whereas the people of modern times are on the alert for what they incredulously and correctly characterize as humbugs. When the true social history of the past shall have been written, and all its available phases presented from a point of view of the anti-slavery or anti-competitive movement, we shall come to a common sense understanding of this whole mesh, linked together, event with event.

Paganism by its law of entailment upon primogeniture logically made every child, except the first-born, or "anointed," a menial, a chattel, a slave.⁹¹

Jesus with a majestic swoop, hurled this cruelty from his state and turning to all the innocents, with an ineffable sweetness, uttered the irresistible command: "Suffer little children to come unto me for of such is the kingdom of heaven;"⁹² and though Plato hove the consideration of the working class from him with a contempt that denied them even citizenship, the eloquence of Jesus rang out: "The laborer is worthy of his hire."⁹³

Messiahships and prophetic lore, all through the sup-

⁸⁹ Consult *supra*, chapter ix.

⁹⁰ Smith's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, Article, *Essenes*; Bellermann, *Nachrichten aus dem Alterthum*.

⁹¹ See *supra*, chapter on *Eleusinian Mysteries*, touching the cryptia, and secret wholesale murder of the laboring element.

⁹² N. T. Mark, x., 14.

Matthew, x., 10; Luke, x., 7.

erstitious ages have been strategical strongholds of economic philosophy. They have entered with immaculate conceptions, prophetic powers, voodooisms and fetichs. They have entered into all the efforts of the poor, struggling for economic emancipation. But they have acted a potent part in building and deeply rooting a philosophy whose slow and steady culture is terminating in the reasonable belief that such monstrous things are worthless and that the purified economic philosophy needs no masters, leaders or messiahs.

A thousand years after Lycurgus, Jesus denied that the estate of birth and family, as understood by the Pagans, was of any account whatever. He laid the axe at the root of this most egregious evil; and his doctrines have been quietly destroying it ever since.

From B. C. 55, the date of Julius Caesar's invasion of the British shores, the Roman organizations began. It is well known that the Romans mixed freely with the people whom they found living on these islands. Settling in Kent, Middlesex and other places, they taught the Britons as we have elsewhere explained, the mechanic arts. They also taught them the principle of combination against oppression which existed there in all its rigors. They planted the burial societies which to this day have never died out; communes, which smothered for thousands of years, still exist; trade unions, which, though often stifled into guilds and perhaps, in appearance, suppressed, smouldered through long generations until finally allowed to resume. Their burial associations were in Kent, Middlesex and London, the same as they were at Rome—practically more trade union than burial society.

We behold with astonishment, unable to comprehend because ignorant of the powers of transmission through habit, the tendency of the working people of London, to grasp the social problem. Yet here is the explanation. Their omnipresent burial societies are at heart both trade unions and socialist communes, just as were those of their ancestors. And now London crops out, the very leader of the great labor movement of the world. It has been so all along. A glance at the history of the social turmoils of Jack Cade, of Wickliff, will show that London and its vicinity have ever been as it were, the nucleus of a great

Anglo-Saxon cult of fraternity borrowed from the Greek and Roman Brotherhoods.

Our inference from evidence given in preceding chapters, that land was not primevally held as common property will be challenged. The opposite opinion is the popular one. But we have all through, insisted that we do not claim to prove it only in connection with the Indo-European stock, whatever may be hereafter ascertained as to others, the historic evidence shows more and more conclusively as we investigate, that the original settler was the paterfamilias, the low bully who took the land, and built about him like a sovereign, using his family as his slaves. The Aryan, we insist, was not a nomad. Nomads were the first runaway sons and daughters who, unable to endure the treatment they were subjected to, organized, revolted, took to the woods and built up sympathies and self-help coalitions which finally developed into the numerous social unions we have described, and gave origin to the nomadic life of the patriarchal system. In other words, the earliest of our forefathers were the monarchical stock, and the democratic stock followed. So we find also, true to the principle of development, that the older, or monarchical stock is gradually dying out while the democratic stock is growing little by little, century by century, all over the world alike. The first are the aristocracy the latter the working people.

We have stated before that there exists a similarity between Socrates and Jesus. The more this fact is studied the more beautiful the paralellisms appear. Both were workingmen by birth. Both preached the labor question. Both were guided throughout their lives by a dæmon; that is, by some invisible power for good; for the Greek dæmon was God. Both were betrayed by their own disciples. Both were orators of the most supernatural eloquence, powers of magnetism and genius, the one with simile the other, allegory. Neither wrote, but both like the true workingman, were indefatigable in deeds and left their followers to do their writing. Both were prophets and messiahs and both died martyrs to their cause. To carry the similitude farther, both were surrounded to their dying hour, by friends who in after life, rose from their masters' seemingly inspired teachings, to

the very pinnacle of fame—a fame which, in both cases, based clearly on the economic question, has been greater, more lasting and far more glorious than that of any other men.

But Socrates in less than 500 years, could only block out, and crudely present what Jesus, in 2,000 years, brings to perfection. From the great sayings of the reasoning Socrates arose the axiom of Aristotle, to be up and be doing, for nothing would come of itself, and Jesus in similar manner taught Paul to prove all things; hold fast that which is good—the basis since laid down by Descartes and Bacon, and spontaneously adopted as the ground-principle upon which our mechanico-progressive enlightenment thrives. No nation, no people that will not accept and pattern from it can proceed. They must languish like the Mongolian, in conservatism.

Let us first compare the prayers of these two masters with those of others. The prayer of Socrates ran as follows :

“O beloved God of nature, Guardian of many a clime! Let me become beautiful within; for whatever I have outward, I should be at peace within. Let me be wise enough to consider him rich who hath wisdom. May I be endowed with but enough of riches as no one except a prudent man can use and bear without pride.”⁴⁴

There was a dignified and honest humiliation about Socrates. He must have been a most heroic character. A poor workingman, born to a trade, and never owning more than a third class house to live in, he was able—though he went barefoot through the streets of Athens and some say, almost ragged and filthy—to attract and captivate, and actually convert into thinkers and philosophers, some of the wealthiest young aristocrats of that high-toned city. He constantly declared that he was guided by some unknown spirit. Jesus was also thus guided. Socrates was certain of nothing until he had reasoned the objection away and always thought that he himself knew little or nothing. The same unassuming sweetness and self-distrust is what makes the character of Jesus so lovely and captivating that all the ascerbity of his critics melts with the progress of their arguments

⁴⁴ Plato, *Phaedrus*, An.

The last scenes of Socrates as described by Plato in his *Crito* and his *Phædo*, are, for their wonderfully affecting simplicity, and their astonishing disclosure of the power of human resignation and of spirit over the flesh, unparalleled by anything that exists in story, unless we except the story of Jesus, his last supper and exquisite fortitude in the hour and agony of death.

The most celebrated and oft-repeated prayer of Jesus is that regarding his mission in favor of the poor—the Lord's prayer—in which, being one of them, he uses the second person: "Give us this day our daily bread."⁹⁵ It was a great problem among the poor of his time, how to get enough to eat. But for an example of his power to subjugate the hateful spirit of intimidation and vengeance, of conceit and shallow egoism which debased his age, nothing can equal the great prayer as he hung, dying in awful agony, upon the cross. This torture had been the invention of fiends of the prehistoric ages; by creatures who imagined that pain was the crystalized term embodying both vengeance and threat. They so framed both their law and their gibbet, foreknelling to the subjects, by cramming the imagination with the horror of pain. Yet even in this incomparable agony, with the spirit at the verge of departure, and the body writhing in qualms such as none can suffer so poignantly as a young man of his physical courage and vigor in the sensitive prime of life's hopes and joys, we see this person capable of casting up his eyes to heaven and meekly, touchingly, begging the Pan of Socrates; the Isis of the therapist; the Pallas Athene of Phidias, the Cybele of the thiasote, the Ceres of Eunus, the God of Abraham and universal Father, to forgive them—the cruel mob—for they knew not what they did.⁹⁶

Now let us look at some other celebrated prayers, study their exact meaning and ask ourselves how these two unselfish and self-sacrificing prayers of Socrates and of Jesus, differed in point of view of the plan of salvation for the poor and laboring lowly.

One of the oldest that we have is that of Alcestis, the faithful wife of Admetus, who was about to die that her husband might live. She invoked the altar of her

⁹⁵ *Matthew*, vi., 11.

⁹⁶ *N. T.*, *Luke*, xxiii., 34.

family, the tomb of her fathers, the fire-eternal of her hearth: "O holy divinity, mistress of my *gens* and pater-nity! This is the last time that I bow myself before thee, and address thee my prayers; for I am about to descend into the regions of the dead. Watch I pray thee, over my children, who are to know no more a mother. Give to my son a tender wife, and to my daughter a noble husband. Permit that they may not die, like myself before their time, but let them, in the bosom of happiness and riches, find a protracted existence."⁹⁷

All is selfishness. The family, the individual, the ego-ist, the concentrated wealth of slave labor, a'one to be blessed, but not a word for the suffering world outside.

So again, another ancient aristocrat, approaching the tomb of a rich man believed to be happy in the abodes below, prays: "O thou who art an aristocrat under the sod."⁹⁸ Another prayer of a selfish son, concerned only in the welfare of his family and the wealth he has inherited, in the language of Euripides likewise invoking his dead father now a god in the beatitude of an underground paradise, reads: "O thou, who art a god under the ground, preserve me."

But Juvenal, the great satirist, a freedman's son and a low-born, had the kindness of Socrates. In one of his satires Juvenal prays. His prayer is for the poor slave, in bondage; and good old Juvenal died in exile, on the scorching plains of an African desert.

Xenophon who wrote the *Œconomics*, a treatise on the habits of life, makes Isomachus say to Socrates: "I open the day, each morning, by saying my prayers, like a gentleman well brought up."⁹⁹ The philosophers among the Greeks always said their prayers, and even at the symposiums of the thiasotes and other communes, prayers and pæans were regularly offered.¹⁰⁰ But all the prayers of the ancient rich, were for the rich and noble. Æchylus makes Orestes pray to the great God of the Greek theogony of his age, as follows: "O Zeus! If thou lettest the race of the eagle perish, who shall hereafter bear the

auguries to mortal men?"¹⁰¹ Nobody but the aristocrat, allied by blood to the God himself, could carry the messages from the high to the low, of mankind; and by this culture the aristocracy was maintained while the outcasts, the low-born who labored, were kept down, even by the prayers and entreaties of those in power.

An instance of the kind of prayer that was expected by a gathering of ancients before the beginning of our era, is told of Ptolemy Philadelphus, at a convention of guests called to examine the Septuagint at Alexandria, about B. C. 265. An old Pagan priest was called on to offer an extemporaneous prayer, and he made it with such show, and rhetorical eloquence that it caused a tumultuous outburst of applause.¹⁰² How different from the command we have from the workingman.¹⁰³

Far better than this have the simple aborigines of America done. The prayer of the Quiché race in their wanderings to find a fixed habitation was: "Hail! O Creator, O Former! thou that art in heaven and on the earth, O Heart of Heaven, O Heart of Earth! give us descendants and a posterity as long as the light endures. Give us to walk always in an open road, in a path without snares; to lead happy, quiet, peaceable lives, free of reproach."¹⁰⁴ The Aztec prayers preserved from the mouldering antiquities of Mexico, touch the heart as if they might be labor supplications; and they make us think of the wandering family outcasts of the ancient Aryan race.¹⁰⁵

Socrates and Jesus pray with a similar humiliation, for improvement, liberty and modest emancipation from want while the others prayed for a continuation of the powers and riches already in their possession; and the farther we investigate these two characters the finer and more beautiful appears the paralellism between them, while their natures diverge more and more widely from the great class outside the social pale, buffeting, and vaunting in the competitive billows of pride and arrogance.

Not a few men of distinction of our age are awakening to a sense of the great modern truth, that it is noble to

¹⁰¹ Æschilus, *Choephoroi*, 248-249; De Cassagnac, *Histoire des Classes Nobles et des Classes Annoblies*, p. 569.

¹⁰² Draper, *Intellectual Development of Europe*, Vol. I., p. 89.

¹⁰³ *Matthew*, vi., 5, 6, 7.

¹⁰⁴ Bancroft, *Native Races*, vol. III., p. 49.

¹⁰⁵ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. XVII., p. 220 (Stoddart).

acknowledge. When nations, or families, or individuals discover that they have been hugging an error, it is not disgraceful, it is noble, even grand, to come boldly out and acknowledge it.¹⁰⁶

We premise this statement as a prologue to what we would say of the Jews who still despise, almost ignore the modern era. There is a solemn history in their case that ought to furnish a full excuse for this. But viewed from our standpoint of true sociology which treats man in his normal relation to the economic means of existence, there is no longer an excuse for schism, dissention and misunderstanding as to the acceptance by Jew or Gentile, of the present civilization, so far as it has been able to jostle into the plans of salvation laid down by Moses, Socrates, Aristotle and Jesus. When correctly understood by the Hebrew working man, he himself will acknowledge that no grounds for quarrel exists with these legislators—not even with the plan of Jesus. That he lived, is true beyond cavil;¹⁰⁷ and the Jew does not deny it; he only denies that he was the great aristocrat whom his own proud race expected. Here lies the trouble. Let it be remembered that those ancient Jews of whom we read, were at this time very proud people and that they had no sympathy whatever with persons who would stoop to an agitation in the cause of the slaves, or the working classes. This phase of the life and labors of Jesus, they were themselves the very first to condemn and reject. It was they who were maddened at his work, and they who betrayed and killed him. Had he come as a great prince, robed in

¹⁰⁶ Hewitt, Speech in the House of Representatives, on the *Emancipation of Labor*: "I have no apologies to make for having progressed out of the night of darkness into the open sunshine of truth. But I should have apologies to make if, having reached conclusions which contradict those that I held years ago, I should fail in this House and everywhere to announce them with that frankness which belongs to an honest man and a faithful representative." As the new era advances, we see more and more frequent exhibits of lofty acknowledgment like the specimen here quoted.

¹⁰⁷ The profane evidences that such a person actually lived are many and multiform: Consult Josephus, *Antiquities*, cap. xviii. As regards the authenticity of Josephus, we refer the reader to Tacitus, *Annals*, XV., 44; Origen, *Commentatio in Matth.*; Eusebius, *Evangeliorum Demonstratio*, III.; Idem, *Ecclesiastica*, I., cap. xi.; Hieronymus, *De Viris Illustribus, In Josepho*; Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, I., 1; Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Tryphone*; Georgius Syncellus, *Chronica*; Scaliger, *Prolegomena, De Emendatione Temporum* and many others. A curious book, purporting to be a copy of an ancient MS. of the Secret Order of *Essenes*, now in the possession of Mr. G. L. Wild, the piano merchant of Washington, D. C., and which we have carefully perused, bears the following suggestive title: "*Wie ist Jesus wirklich gestorben?—Beantwortet.*" Baltimore, 1850.

gorgeous and shining attire, with lofty tread and lordly mein, and had he preached the philosophy of property, the sanctity of priesthood and the vengeance of Jehovah, things to-day would have been different. The Jews would have acknowledged him.

But his work launched incomparably above that level, in that, while it in no sense, attacked the Pagan science or any of its powerful steps in development, it resulted completely in breaking up the hideous system of slavery. It built up what had ever before been a stranger even among the Jews, the free family; legalizing that institution on a completely democratic basis, such as makes every one, no matter how poor, a noble. In this it has excelled everything hitherto known among either Pagans or Hebrews; for Moses provided the ghastly institution of slavery.

This aged stamp of slavery removed, nothing remains to hinder Hebrew working people from rising in science and the scientific adjustment or application of the inventions, manufactures and all other products of their hands and working harmoniously with all others of the industrial class.

The Jews are easily convinced of any truth when it is reasonably explained; for they are logically and scientifically disposed. It is well known that while they were living peacefully in Spain, during the Middle ages, under the then excellent Mohammedan rule which cultivated the sciences and arts, great numbers of Jews embraced the Mohammedan faith. Among others was the great Maimonides.¹⁰⁸

But Jerusalem at that time being a grand, beautiful and proud city, ruled over by an aristocratic stock who numbered many priests among them, the Hebrews naturally wanted and expected a man of noble extraction, as their Messiah.

Another point must here connectedly be borne in mind—the destruction of Jerusalem. Early christians are known to have looked unconcerned upon this awful scene under Titus, A. D. 70. This again maddened the Hebrews; for they found themselves if possible, worse persecuted than the new brotherhood.

Josephus gives the number of Jews, men, women and

¹⁰⁸ See Drapp, *Intellectual Development of Europe*, II., pp. 122-123.

children destroyed, at 1,100,000, and Tacitus gives it at 600, 000. Considering the almost unparalleled massacres to which they were subjected, after the new brotherhood began to take root, and that they naturally thought these brotherhoods were the real cause of it, we cannot wonder that they consider them and their organizer and champion as at the bottom of many of their disasters.

It is only when they begin to look upon this Jesus from the point of view of social science, that the brilliant Hebrew race can ever see and persuade themselves to admit that there was no imposture; for the labor movement is at this moment without a tincture of class hatred or of national prejudice. It is slowly working for the improvement of all mankind; and any one plan that succeeds must logically be the one accepted by both Jew and Gentile.

The knowledge of these facts leads to the review of ancient plans, in a light that contrasts them with the modern. In extreme brevity it is as follows:

The plan of Lycurgus was this of our modern socialists who desire that society or government possess, operate, distribute with mathematical accuracy, the product of labor. The state of Lycurgus did as much for a period of 500 years.

The plan of the moderns is, that the state shall own all land and all implements of labor. But the Spartans did exactly this, under a test of 1,500 generations. What, then, is this political economy that has *not* been tried?

The answer to this gives a mirror in which is reflected the vast progress under the new era. It is simply that the *tools of labor* were originally the *slaves*; the human, animate, quickened *things*, that thought, resented, rebelled, fought organized, wrote their record upon the slabs and finally brought out their great culture and master; these were the tools of the ancient Pagan state! And in Sparta, in Crete and in Plato's Republic, they had them in common.

The laborer then, as the subjugated tool of the ancients did right, we claim, no matter how destructive his methods or how disastrous for the moment, their outcome; he did right under the circumstances, terrible and irrepressible in his slavery-cursed ages; he did right to rebel and teach those cruel optimates who owned and whipped and strangled him, the first stern lessons in democracy.

Men and women then, were the tools, the implements of labor owned in common by the state; and they were worked and whipped for the "blessed" of "God's chosen people." The change from the human tools to the labor-saving tools; from the servile state to the democratic; from the groans of ignorance to the joys of equality in enlightenment, is the revolution in which the advocates of modern labor reform desire to have "all things common," as Jesus arranged through his followers. It was the economic part to be accomplished, which he presaged and ordered for adoption on the vast scale, at his "second coming"—the Labor Movement of to-day.

We have now arrived at our closing remarks on these implements of labor. We have already shown that the economic problem of the ancients was never Pagan. It was then, just what it is now—Christian, or that which afterwards became Christian. Paganism never could endure any mechanical progress. It was conservative. When mechanical genius of the industrial earth-borns wrought at Athens, and in Asia Minor and the islands of the Archipelago, wonderful works, they were aggressive against paganism and its sullen culture.

What was the mechanical progress of the ancient low-borns, then, despite the contempt of a system based on slavery that has always, even to this day, made them as slaves and poor wage-earners, the tools of an aristocracy?

We reply, basing each word carefully upon history, that it was *labor*—labor degraded, but labor. Nothing else. No nation ever made an iota of progress without it. The bully in a spirit of brigandage could seize the product of labor and use it; but not without first forcing a laborer to perform the task.

But a curious fact is here opened to view. Not only is labor the origin of all things among mankind which make life and enlightenment, but it is the poor little infinitesimal creature, the laborer, that makes language. No power can withstand or overcome that of the proletarian inroads. A desperate effort was once made in England to introduce and perpetuate the Latin tongue. High-priests and prelates, university doctors, kings robed in majesty, and governmental powers, were almost unanimous in the upper atmosphere of rule, in pressing the subjection of the

longue of the proletarian million. For centuries their power imperfectly succeeded. But a Chaucer, and a Shakespeare rose from the ranks to the rescue and backed by the rough and heedless populace, teeming in the by-ways already the proud old classic is dead. It is this little, insignificant mite, so long in the swaddlings and sackcloth of contempt, who adds almost every new word, as he adds every new thing, by the unrecognized toil of his invention, contrivance, discovery, in industry; and the multitude of mechanical as well as literary plagiarisms, ancient and modern, practiced at his expense to aggrandize others, will be the subject of some future treasure-hunter, for an invaluable book.

The ancient world before the Roman conquests, was not only full of inhabitants, but full of inventions. They had a reaper among the Gauls, the operations of which are traceable for hundreds of years. It was a real reaping machine or harvester. Pliny tells us that it was pushed by an ox harnessed in thills behind it and that it had some sort of reel which threw the heads of the grain over so that somehow they were severed—or as he erroneously states, torn,—from the stalks.¹⁰⁹ The reaper mentioned by Pliny is again found much more perfectly described by Palladius, 400 years afterwards. It is perfectly obvious to any mechanic or farmer who has tried a reaping machine that no grain, however ripe or brittle, will admit for a moment, of having its ears “torn off” and dropped into a trough. On the contrary, the greatest precaution in the construction of cutters that sever the heads from the stalks must be observed. Here was the secret of the recent inventions.

¹⁰⁹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, 18, 30, describing the *messor*, or harvester, speaks as follows: “*Messis ipsius ratio varia. Galliarum latifundiis valli prægrandes dentibus in margine infestis, duabus rotis per segetem impelluntur, iumento in contrarium juncto; ita directæ in vallum cadunt spicæ. Stipulæ alibi mediæ falce præcidunt, atque inter duas mergites spica stringitur.*” This same machine is more fully described by Palladius, in his *De Re Rustica*, for June, lib. VII., cap. ii., as follows: “*Pars Galliarum planior hoc compendio utitur ad metendum, et præter hominum labores, unius bovis opera spatium totius messis assumit. Fit itaque vehiculum quod duabus rotis brevibus fertur. Hujus quadrata superficies tabulis munitur, quæ forinsecus reclines in summo reddant spatio largiora. Ab ejus fronte carpenti brevior est altitudo tabularum. Ibi denticuli plurimi ac rari ad spicarum mensuram constituuntur in ordinem, ad superiorem partem recurvi. A tergo vero ejusdem vehiculi duo brevissimi temones figurantur, velut amites basternarum. Ibi bos capite in vehiculum verso jugo aptatur et vinculis mansuetus sanc, qui non modum compulsoris excedat. Hic ubi vehiculum per messes cæpit impellere omnis spica in carpentem denticulis comprehensa cumulatur, abruptis ac relictis paleis; altitudinem vel humilitatem plerumque bubuculo moderante, qui sequitur. Et ita per paucos itus ac redditus brevi horarum spatio tota messis impeditur. Hoc campestribus locis vel æqualibus utile est, et illis, quibus necessaria palea non habetur.*”

Pliny was a superficial observer and knew little about mechanical niceties. But he could correctly inform us that this labor-saving machine worked so well that it was universally employed by the farmers of the great valleys of what is now France; and the fact that it worked, shows that the ancients used the reciprocating shears. No doubt this machine had been in use hundreds of years before Pliny saw it. Palladius tells us that it economized labor so greatly that one man with a strong, gentle ox could reap an entire canton in a day.

Thus, while Caesar, a military noble of aristocratic stock was attacking the defenseless people of Gaul, and killing his million¹¹⁰—the harvest of his brutal invasions—the working people were quietly inventing the invaluable implements of labor, which afterwards were to be exchanged for the animate tools of labor in form of slaves and wage-bondmen of the ancient oligarchy.

So long as the enslavement of man remained at so low a level that man himself was the tool or implement of labor, there appears to be no fierce exhibits of the competitive system, such as prevails to-day. When slaves, as tools of labor, were emancipated, the true competitive business era appeared, and nourished by its corollary, the wage-slave system, will continue, until the inanimate tools or implements of labor—the inventions or labor-saving machines, have become nationalized just as the animate tools, the human machines were nationalized, in the plans of Lycurgus and Plato. This difference between the kind of tools to be nationalized, from those of Lycurgus to those which make our wonderful civilization, is in reality, exactly what workingmen of to-day are organizing and struggling to create. Labor wants Lycurgus' nationalization of the implements of production and distribution on a basis in which all may enjoy their product equally.

But reasoning from the point of view of social science, it is worth while to recur to the actual mechanical advancement attained to, in spite of the hatred borne by the ancient cult, for any kind of laboring machines except the slave.

¹¹⁰Something on the destruction of the Gauls may be found in Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, VI., cap. 24. Wallace, *Numbers of Mankind*, p. 70-75, shows that there were 39,000,000 people in Gaul. Caesar killed 1,000,000, and took as many more prisoners, many of whom were consigned to slavery. See Plutarch, *Pompey*, showing that he siezed a thousand cities; *Id.*, *Caesar*.

Long before Christ the Alatri had used the inverted siphon¹¹¹ and Pliny informs us of enormous hydraulic mining plants.¹¹² Wallace has collected a great number of references to authors showing the height of perfection to which art had arrived before the opening of the present era.¹¹³ Fine porcelain was manufactured in high antiquity.¹¹⁴ The building art outstripped all others, even those of destruction in the military line. The cause of this, is that more solemnity and reverence existed among the Pagan temples than in any other realm, and consequently more time, energy, genius and money were expended in this sphere, than elsewhere; consequently the building trade and the manufacture of images excelled all other industries for exquisite workmanship.¹¹⁵

Long before the Roman invasion of Britain, there existed considerable art among the mechanics; but it is well established that the friendly Roman Brotherhoods brought and taught the art of lathe-work in pottery into a town which has since become the great London.¹¹⁶

The whole subject sums up in the grave conclusion that the plants and the plans of the ancient brotherhoods however ancient—even thousands of years before the coming of the last Messiah—were really the plant and plan which, under the Christian civilization, the modern world is following.

Pure paganism was that of the idea of an aristocratic religion whose priesthood was a part of the state government. It denied the equality of men. It strenuously upheld and stubbornly contended for the divinity of rights—a divinity that was based upon the august power of the paternal despot, and still adheres in form of the aged law of inheritance and the rule of entailments upon primogeniture, or a species of godhead for the first-born son, and in the inheritance of living monarchs. Pure paganism exalted this first-born, who was believed to have relationship by blood and family, with the immortals. It was a despotism of masters over slaves, which despised the laborers, originally its own children, while it feasted upon their works.

¹¹¹ Bowie, *Hydraulic Mining*, pp. 158-9.

¹¹² Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXIII., cap. 4.

¹¹³ Wallace, *Numbers of Mankind*, p. 141; Guhl and Koner, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, p. 490, sqq.

¹¹⁴ Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXVI., cap. 26.

¹¹⁵ A fine specimen of building art was the temple of Jerusalem; Campbell, *Political Survey*, I., p. 23, note; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, XVI.; Dionysius, *Periegesis*, v. 109; Pliny, *Natural History*, VII., 56.

¹¹⁶ Hughes, *Horæ Britannicæ*.

The laborers and the products of labor were therefore *necessary* Pagan. The beautiful chiselings of Phidias belonged, not to the ancient, but to the modern civilization; for pure paganism despised these makers. They were before their age.

All the great industrial triumphs therefore, were, by anticipation, though unrealized, germane to the modern era. As they were a source of contention, and were innovations against paganism in ancient days, so they are crystals of the pure, in philosophy and political economy of modern days; since by the dissolution of the old order of things the economic problem slowly triumphs over the old warring cult of the competitive system, and is already showing signs of a tendency to reconsider, and upon a vast scale, re-adopt the ancient germ—long suppressed—of having “all things in common.”

Judging from the evidence, we could almost infer that the modern labor movement is not only a genuine revival of the ancient one, but the surprising appearance presents itself that with all its vastly greater advantages, on account of mechanical developments and the filling of the world with inventions and implements of progress which the ancients lacked, yet it has not become much purer in the true method of realizing needful equality than the Italian trade unions had grown to, before the Christian era; for we find their organizations in the use of the ballot shown on the inscriptions at Pompeii,¹¹⁷ and many other such evidences, that they actually used their ballot; whereas modern trade unions still refuse this mighty instrument of power. The remarkable fact is seen uppermost, that the ancients have discussed every sort of socialism now being forced to the front by the returning labor associations, such as lay at the bottom, inspiring these world-renowned plans. Every one of the great schemes, from that of the Cretans, borrowed by Lycurgus, to those of Numa, Solon, then Socrates—spoiled by aristocratic Plato—then Aristotle and the others, down to, and including Jesus, was a plant of socialism. Every one that treated or even tried to treat working people as equal with the rest of mankind, like the plans of Numa, Solon, afterwards of Jesus, proved successful; and we challenge the critical world to prove it otherwise. But every one, like those of Crete, borrowed by Lycurgus, and those of Plato, Aristotle, Agis, the Roman *gens* and all succeeding ones

¹¹⁷ See *supra*, p. 390-391, quoting the *Pompeian Inscription*.

that have been based upon the competitive, or slave, and wage-slave systems, failed.

MORAL.

Let all men take warning from the past, that the plans of those great aristocrats based on the social idea, failed because they left the laborer out; denied him liberty, soul and an enumeration in the census, as a man. He rebelled; and in his crude numeric might, broke them up and killed them. He destroyed their governments at last, and is building a new era upon their ruins. Let then, the world accept this new era, expunge every lingering heathenism, recognize and acknowledge that equality means justice meted out to all—not a “divine” few who use the outcast as a mere implement of labor; himself, his toils, his products nationalized, only for their minority. Let now, this rallying hero’s inventions be nationalized instead; his products nationalized; his body freed. Then *all*—not a presumptuous few—become divine, and all enjoy the plentitude which the ancient plan of nationalization is well known to have brought forth.

What shall the gilded pulpit say when arraigned for dereliction, in Pagan-like, forgetting the millions whose toil still supplies its luxuries?

Many years since, the earliest step of the writer of these pages—on determining to devote his life to the advocacy of labor’s rights—was to visit the monarchs of the pulpit, in his simple, mistaken supposition that the Church was Christian; with ready welcome, ready-made halls; with ready-made orators, precepts, directions and a ready-made system of practical benevolence—in fine, the natural place to appeal for a solution of the problem.

Like one *in mentis gratissimo errore*, he eagerly presented himself before the learned doctors, pleading that theirs was the task to study such turmoils and uneasiness as exhibit themselves awry. To his surprise his cause was spurned. He was driven from the temples to lower zones; to truer Christianity; places of human sympathy; into dingy beer halls—and it was here, not in the churches, that open hearts, and hands of welcome gave reception and incipency to a great movement. The “low” beer hall still proves a welcome, mellow garden for the first sowings; and if the fruits of the harvests be crude and bitter, let the Pagan temple that spurns its mission, accuse itself.

APPENDIX.

A TRANSLATION

OF THE

NOTES.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE 38, NOTE 1: "So long as there exists among the rich and the poor an intermediate class of considerable proportions, the moral influence which that class exercises will be sufficient to prevent any collision."

CHAPTER II.

PAGE 49, NOTE 4: "It is thus we may now announce that we have discovered the first slaves that existed—they were the children." The Iliad says: "I had fifty sons born to me of the Achæans—nineteen through wedlock, and the rest were brought into the world for me by the women of Megara."

PAGE 49, NOTE 5: "The best (ancient) state excluded working people from the right of citizenship; and whenever they succeeded in obtaining it, they still remained a class, under contempt and devoid of influence."

PAGE 53, NOTE 16: "He lives on pods and second-rate bread."

PAGE 53, NOTE 20: "They used to believe that the remains of the dead were still alive and doing active duty."

CHAPTER III.

PAGE 70, NOTE 12: "The original belief among the generations of antiquity was, that human beings still lived in the tomb; that the soul did not separate from the body, and that it remained fixed to that part of the ground in which the remains were buried."

- Page 75, Note 19: "The dead person,' says the law of the Twelve Tables, 'shall be neither buried nor burned within the city of Rome.' How could that be? The fact is, all who now are buried within the city are of noble stock "
- Page 75, Note 23, Dr. Fustel says: "These beliefs are certainly not borrowed either by the Greeks from the Hindoos nor by the Hindoos from the Greeks; but they belong to both races, far apart and are derived from Central Asia."
- Page 76, Note 25: "The lawgiver of the Romans" (meaning Romulus) "is reputed to have given great power to the father to exercise over his son; and for all causes whatsoever he could kill him. He even possessed the choice of murdering him himself." The Code of Justinian has it, that "the right of life and death was once permitted to fathers over their children."
- Page 79, Note 32: "I declare myself much better than the earth-born multitude—mere porridge-eating mortals."
- Page 79, Note 33: "This distemper did not trouble the well-to-do among our forefathers."

CHAPTER IV.

- Page 92, Note 18: "They played the rape of Proserpine in a sort of hieratic or religious drama. They went through the veritable rencounter of the nuptials."
- Page 98, Note 27, Lüders says: "One thing indicating the character of the unions, especially of later date is, that slaves too, could not only take part in an *eranos* but were even permitted to share in a religious mutual aid fund. As proof of the fact that the *eranos* was thus used there have been found in the vicinity of Delphos, very many specimens. There was a union of slaves at Rhodes who worshiped under the protection of Jupiter Atabyrius." Again Lüders says: "Naturally enough, there were societies that had slaves in their service. Kraton, who organized an *eranos* and was its priest, under the arrangement made by the will of Attila had among other things belonging to the temple and parsonage, also some slaves." And farther on: "Kraton, who was in the favor of Attila, and who was a member and a priest in high standing, of the great synod of the Dionysian mechanics of Taos, had organized an association of *thiasotes*, composed of mechanics, and had consecrated it to the honor of the Pergamenian king, Attila, as he possessed some brilliancy at the court. The members were called 'Attalists.'" Still farther on: "In his will at last, according to evidence that is preserved for us in a fragment, he gives to the union a respectable sum of money that they may be able to indulge in proper festivities out of its interest, according to a clause in

- their rules and by-laws. He left them, among other things necessary to this purpose—such as furniture of the meeting-house, tools used in the lamb-sacrifice and pomp of their festivities—also a number of slaves.”
- Page 99, Note 29: “In Epidamnus there were no mechanics other than the public slaves. The mechanic arts were for this reason, forbidden and despised.”
- Page 107, Note 46: “Among the Helots who had a claim and desire to be sent home, there appeared at the town of Pylos a multitude who had served the Lacedæmonians as faithful soldiers and guards. On an investigation a large number of these men had been adjudged worthy, by their conduct, of being set free. A process of honorable discharge in which they were to be crowned with wreaths, was to be gone through with as soon as the number deemed worthy were chosen. Some two thousand of them were accordingly selected from the multitude to be adorned with wreaths of honor and led to the altar for sacred consecration. Not long afterwards they mysteriously disappeared, every one of them, from the place; and nobody ever could conjecture whither they had vanished.”
- Page 110, Note 50: “There came to my father’s mansion a very wise man having a golden chain, or collar studded with amber beads. In the hall the female servant and my noble mother were toying with, and admiring it while in the act of bartering for its possession. Secretly he nodded to the woman and disappeared to his ship.”
- Page 112, Note 58: “Communes of Roman mimic actors are referred to, both by name and institution, as the Greek communists (mutual aid associations) of the Dionysian mechanics that were very numerous among the Greeks.”
- Page 113, Note 62: “Ti. Claudius, consul, and Severus his licitor in the divisions, . . . presents are distributed among the members, man by man; especially where the manning of the boats shows by his actual work that he has been diligent. Done by degree of the order of fishermen and divers of the whole valley of the Tiber, who are granted permission to keep an organization by a law of the Roman senate.”
- Page 113, Note 63: “It is here worthy of observation that the law of Solon so constitutes that the sacred and civil communes possessed no other legal right than as associations organized for purposes of business or plunder.”
- Page 118, Note 72: “And Plato, when a babe sleeping in his cradle, the honey-bees used to come and alight upon his lips. The interpretation of this was, that it foretold the remarkable sweetness of the future eloquence with which nature had gifted the infant.”

- Page 119, Note 74: "Seeing that certain landed estates under mortgage, being provinces of the Roman people, are, so to speak, our revenues (*vectigalia*)."
- Page 121, Note 75: "It being not in the province of man to curtail the unlimited power which it is necessary that masters should have over their slaves."
- Page 123, Note 76: "Cæsar broke up all the unions except those which were very ancient."
- Page 127, Note 87: "The *sodales* are those who are of the same union as that which the Greek call *hetairæ*." Again: "The Law of the Twelve Tables,' says Gaius, 'gives to the *sodales* unlimited right to combine for any business they require for themselves, so long as they do not rupture the law of the land. But this law appears to be a translation of the law of Solon; which is as follows (speaking of societies understood): 'whether they be the people, or brotherhoods, or priests and priestesses, or boatmen, or communists who eat at the common table, or burial societies (including those who prepare the feasts and holiday festivities of the members), or those occupying houses in common, or engaged in traffic at sea; in fine all those living for one another, hereby are publicly proclaimed in writing, free to unite themselves.'"
- Page 127, Note 88: "The words of Gaius it is clear, do not admit of being construed as those of the Twelve Tables, so as exactly to make them include all of the unions; nor does there appear any reason why the unions of handicraftsmen should be deprived of the right of making rules, which was granted to those organized for religion's sake."
- Page 130, Note 95: "Out of a kind of hard marble found in the vicinity of *Elæsis*."
- Page 130, Note 96: "Near an olive tree was a well—the *Erecthian* spring—which, when the south wind blew, gave an indistinct murmur like the terrible roar of waves—so the Athenians used to relate. This was believed to be Neptune when he opened the abysses with his trident; and his track is impressed in the living rock even to this day. No man desires to question the story of this briny fountain; for in the citadel there was another whose waters were bitter when the dog-day winds were blowing, at the time that *Sirius* rose; and its floods would rise and afterwards fall, giving to the well the name of *Clepsydra*."

CHAPTER V.

- Page 134, Note 1: "From Thrace there arrived, during the same summer, one thousand three hundred light-armed soldiers with shields, being related to Jupiter, who came to Athens, and who had been with Demosthenes, the Athenian

general, in his naval expedition against Sicily. The Athenians, as it afterwards became known (after the disaster of Demosthenes), had been sent to Thrace from Syracuse. The war at Decelea had become expensive, as each one received a full drachm or seventeen and a half cents a day for his services. Decelea, during this summer, was the first place fortified by the forces of the Lacedæmonians. Afterwards guards were placed about the towns with relays, as relief guards; so that a man occupied a station as watcher, constantly and without intermission and thus the Athenians suffered severe losses by seizures of many things, and also by the ruin of their means of producing money, thus spoiling their sinews of war. At first these tactics were mild, but grew with time, and the Lacedæmonians were unhindered from enjoying their position on the land. Following the example of their king Agis they placed guards everywhere to further the advantages of war, thus badly perplexing and entangling the Athenians. Every place was lost. Even the force of hands in the silver mines, consisting of more than half of the laborers and skilled mechanics, amounting to upwards of twenty thousand men, together with the flocks and the draft oxen and horses, ran away and escaped over to Decelea by aid of the guards, doing much damage day by day to the Athenians by this conduct, but freeing themselves from many of their hardships."

Page 137, Note 16: "Cimon was not so generous as rich; for he had amassed a large fortune in the mines."

Page 139, Note 28, Drumann says: "Also in the workshops called ergasteria, slaves only were to be seen."

Page 140, Note 32, Bücher remarks that: "In the year B. C. 413, some twenty thousand Athenian mechanics struck work and went over to the Lacedæmonians—a severe blow to the silver mining business at Laurium."

Page 141, Note 34, Drumann says: "The greatest part of the twenty thousand who, during the Peloponnesian war ran away and went over to the Spartan garrison in the town of Decelea in Attica, were from the workshops. Among other things it was stipulated that each would have the advantage of working for himself, giving a certain part to the master. By this arrangement industrious and frugal workmen could lay up something over and above expenses and thus buy themselves free. Many lived more sumptuously than those who were free." Same note, quoting Bücher: "'Where many slaves of the same nationality lived together in the same city' (so says Plato, *Laws*, vi., 777), 'great misfortunes will occur; and this is something to be attributed as the true cause of insurrections with all their cruelties.'"

Again; same note, quoting Macrobius: "I have heard of the great indignation of heaven caused by the punishment

of slaves. Once, in the 474th year from the foundation of Rome one Autranus Maximus fastened his slave to a forked gibbet and in this condition whipped him around the ring in the circus before the spectators. On account of this cruelty Jupiter was so incensed that he ordered a certain Annius to inform the senate that he should withdraw his heavenly protection if such cruelties were not put an end to."

Page 142, Note 38: "Tens of thousands of the slaves of Attica worked in the mines. Poseidon the philosopher declares that they rebelled, formed themselves into a compact body with a guard and marched to the acropolis of Sunion where for a long time they held themselves, sending out forces to ransack the country. This was at the very point when the second slave insurrection began in Sicily."

Page 143, Note 39: "I, Xanthos, the Lycian slave belonging to Gaius Orbius, working to the glory of the God who, as tutelary protector of men and women, is our star of fortune, have consecrated this temple of Men Tyrannus, as God desired." In same note Foucart proceeds: "The person who, towards the second century of our era introduced the cult of Men, was a slave from Lycia and was employed by a Roman property owner in the mines. The god himself, either in a day-dream or by apparition had signaled to him to construct the temple. Thus the founder took care to repeat in two inscriptions that he had executed the behest of Men."

Page 143, Note 40: "In the six hundred and twentieth year of Rome, or before Christ 134, the slaves working in the silver mines of Laurium arose, killed their guards, took the citadel of Sunion and laid Attica waste for a long time."

Page 144, Note 41: "In the mines of the Athenians, also, there occurred a tumult of slaves which was subdued by Heraclitus the prætor."

Page 144, Note 42: "In a similar manner the Greek world was subjected to a visitation, although of less proportions. According to Augustin (De Civ., III, 26), insurgent slave bands just prior to the first Sicilian insurrection, laid waste Macedonia and the neighboring districts."

CHAPTER VI.

Page 147, Note 8: "Romulus gave to married men the right to take the life of, and the right of intimate indulgence with, their female slaves."

Page 149, Note 12: "The award given out of the public treasury to the informants who were slaves, was a wealth of ten thousand standard coins each, besides their liberty."

Page 151, Note 18: "At this time, when Gaul was quiet excepting in her hopes, there arose an insurrection of the slaves near the city of Rome. There were some Carthagen-

ian hostages held in custody at Setia. In addition to these who were free men, there was also a great host of slaves. The number of these was increased from different nationalities by the recent African war in which they had been taken prisoners and sold to masters in and about the city of Setia, as captive bondsmen. Forming a conspiracy, they sent men of their number, first into the farm country of Setia itself, and afterwards to Norba and Circijus to stir up auxiliaries. It happened that there was soon to take place a pastime (the games); and they arranged to have all preparations ready on the event of those games; so that at an auspicious moment when the people were engrossed in the enjoyment and excitement, they should rise in sudden insurrection, seize the cities of Setia, afterwards Norba and then Circeji, and take possession. Intelligence of this terrible thing was transmitted to M. Cornelius Merula at Rome. Two slaves, before daybreak approached Merula and exposed all the plans and intentions of the insurgents. When the prætor had ordered these slaves to stay and guard his house he called the senate together and told them what the informants had said and how they had come to ask that he should hasten to suppress the conspiracy. The result was that he was set on the march with but five lieutenants (and their divisions), giving orders along the road for reinforcements to follow. With these troops, hurriedly collected as they marched, amounting in all to about 2,000 armed men, he fell upon the unsuspecting mutineers. The ringleaders of the conspiracy being seized, the slaves took to flight from the town, the soldiers following on their track. The two informers were rewarded on an enormous scale and their freedom given them. The fathers ordered that each should receive 25,000 standard coins and his liberty; while one—Merula perhaps—received 100,000 coins. The masters received also the price of their slaves lost in the affray.”

“Not long after the quelling of this insurrection it was announced that the remainder of the conspirators were stirring up the same tumults afresh and were preparing to take the town of Præneste in the same manner. Thither Cornelius (Merula) marched with a force of about 500 men; and as a result, those who were engaged in the trouble were punished. The country being plunged into fears, it was necessary to remove the Carthaginian hostages and prisoners. At Rome and among the towns and villages, guards were ordered to be stationed and a more vigilant watch was established over the great prison and the prison quarries, which work was consummated by the triumvirs. The prætor caused a written circular to be published throughout Latium saying that henceforth the prisoners were to labor in solitude and that they should be deprived of the privilege

of appearing in public and those not Carthagenian hostages should wear shackles of no less than ten pounds weight, and be confined in any, except the public prison."

Page 152, Note 20, From Livy's Epitome: "A conspiracy of slaves attempted for liberating the Carthagenian hostages is suppressed."

Page 153, Note 22: "On the whole, it was conjectured that the blame rested with some secret doings of the Punic hostages and prisoners."

Page 154, Note 27, Pliny says: "L. Piso is the author who first gave an account of it and says that Tullus Hostilius the king who succeeded Numa, constructed at the same place many and great changes in the city. While excavating the earth under the Tarpeian rock the workmen unearthed a human head. Tullus sent ambassadors to Olenus Calenus, a celebrated Etruscan soothsayer, or prophet and fortune-teller to know what he and his tribe thought about it."

Page 155, Note 30: "In spite of this he did not succeed without the greatest difficulty."

Page 157, Note 31: "Of these (the insurgents), many were killed and many taken prisoners; others were scourged and hung upon the cross."

Page 160, Note 38: "L. Postumius, to whom the care as proprætor of the province of Tarentum fell, made resistance against a conspiracy of farmers and shepherds and the rest of those bacchanalian creatures."

Page 160, Note 42: "Those seized were sent to the Roman senate which ordered P. Cornelius to cast them into prison."

CHAPTER VII.

Page 164, Note 2, Macrobius says: "Would you call to mind those who come of the same seed? who live under the same skies and who, like you, must live and die? Slaves though they be, they are nevertheless human; though only poor slaves, yet they all have some rights if you would but reflect. Even if you could see that the slave were free, he would still serve you just as well. Do you not know that Hecuba was once during her lifetime a slave? that Croesus, that the mother of Darius, that Diogenes, even Plato were all of them slaves? And why, in the light of all these examples should we hold in horror the name of servitude? Slave he is, indeed, but because forced to it; only a slave, but perhaps he wears the soul of a freeman. What will he not do for you even though it be wrong? This one administers to lusts, that one to avarice, another to your ambitions? All are objects of your hopes and all are causes of your fear." Continuing: "It is impossible to mix love and fear together. Whence, think you, emanates

the proverb: 'just as many enemies as there are slaves?' We may not think we have those enemies, but it is true; we make them when with our superb, contemptuous cruelty we force them to submit to our voluptuous frenzy, is it otherwise possible than that it should evoke their anger and fury?"

Page 164, Note 3: "So also, the wealthy island of Chios was at the same time (B. C. 134), the theatre of a wild slave uprising which was not put down until many years afterwards."

Page 166, Note 4: "In the middle of the third century of the Christian era."

Pages 168-169, Note 7: "Hermotius who was of the Pedasian race, was a man who meted out the severest vengeance for any injury. When taken by an enemy and sold in slavery, he was bought by a man named Panionius, a Chian—a person who got his living by the practice of the most iniquitous vices. Boys of remarkable beauty whenever purchased by him, he caused to be castrated; and he was in the habit of selling them in Ephesus and Sardis at a high price; since those barbarians valued eunuchs more than other servants on account of their being more reliable. So Panionius among many others, had this Hermotius emasculated, as he made his living by that business. The man, however, was not in all respects, unfortunate. He was given to the king at Sardis, as a present. In the course of time he became the most highly regarded by Xerxes, of any of his numerous eunuchs. As the king was making preparations to march with his expedition upon Athens, and while at Sardis—having gone to the Mysian country with the Chians—Panionius was met at Atarneus. Hermotius became acquainted with Panionius by recognition, and induced him to come over to Asia with his family and settle there, offering him many advantages. He accepted the plan with cheer and brought his family. Hermotius thus succeeding in getting him into his power together with his whole family, uttered to him the following words: 'You, who, meanest of mankind by trade and deeds of infamy! To your face I demand to know what I have ever done, of what harm any of my race have done to you that from a man I should be made into nothing? You thought, perhaps, that your tricks should be passed over by the Almighty, unheeded, unavenged. But you have been allured into my grasp by your dastardly deeds. You cannot, therefore, complain of the retribution I am going to inflict upon you.' After upbraiding him in this strain his sons were also brought into the place and Panionius was forced to commit the act of castration upon his own sons, four in number. He did it; and then in reverse order, these very sons

were driven to emasculate their father on the spot. Such was the vengeance of Hermotius, the Chian."

Page 169, Note 10: "It was quite the reverse with the thiasotes and eranists. Not only were their doors open to women but also to strangers. Persons who were well-to-do or even slaves had access. This last point is very important; and fortunately the witnesses of their epigraphic monuments are sufficiently explicit and precise in language to establish the evidence completely. It would be useless to cite all the inscriptions in proof; and I have chosen a few only, and of those which show this to have been the cause in the different countries. The specimens are numerous enough to warrant the conclusions; for where one fails, another makes the point good, that the admission of women, of strangers, of freedmen and of slaves was a universal characteristic of all these associations." Same note, page 170, Foucart further explains: "One inscription in the island of Rhodes mentions a religious society composed of slaves belonging to the state or public. Part of its value is diminished by a mutilation which detracts from its testimony. But an examination of the proper names to be found in other inscriptions proves that these Rhodian associations were in the common habit of admitting freedmen and probably, also slaves." Farther on: "A fragment of an inscription restored by Keil, by great perseverance and to all appearance, with correctness, shows the composition of the society in the particular membership which placed it there that it was under the patronage of Jupiter Atabyrius (or the Jove that dwelt in the tallest mountain of Rhodes). It appears to have been composed of the public slaves of the city of Rhodes, and is one of those which exercised the priesthood. It reads: 'Under the god of Atabyrius is the union of the slaves of the city. Inscribed in letters, by order of the holy priest of Zeus, and governed by the ruling authorities of the Rhodians, in obedience to Jupiter Atabyrius.'"

Page 170, Note 11: "These things wrote Nymphodorus in his voyage to Asia. He described how the slaves of the Chians ran away from their masters and how they escaped to the mountains and the highest summits, and how these masters were devastated by their combined forces."

Page 171. Note 12: "A little before our own time—so the Chians tell us—there was a certain slave, who having escaped, lived in the mountains; and being endowed with a warlike spirit, was declared the commander and king of the fugitive slaves, and following the habits of other kings, gathered an army, against whom the Chians afterwards sent military expeditions. But they could make no headway against him. Drimakos (Primacus), as this slave was called,

when he saw his masters overcome, made a speech in their presence as follows:"

Page 177, Note 19: "Should any of the features of this story appear doubtful and fictitious it may be said that there exists not the least ground for uncertainty as to its genuineness; and even if the shrewd Chian merchants put up the temple for the object of awing down their slaves, the lesson still remains as a true mirror, showing the condition of things at that time."

CHAPTER VIII.

Page 180, Note 2: "Viriathus, who took the command, and many times broke the Romans to pieces, was himself, one of the Spanish (Lusitanian) workpeople who lived in the place. From boyhood he had worked and passed his life in the mountains and came up with energy, strength and spirit. He excelled in bodily forces, swiftness and agility all the rest of his associates and was much thought of in Spain. He used to abstain from luxuries, even getting along with just enough food to barely answer his necessities. He had with him many strong-hearted friends, and became widely known among lawless mountaineers, settling their quarrels; and at length assuming their leadership he established a sharp discipline about him and thrived with the success of his combats with the brigands. He was looked upon as a superior; not only in personal strength but also for his tactics."

Page 180, Note 3: "Viriathus, the commander of the guileras, was a Lusitanian Spaniard who was just in his distribution and sharing of the spoils, and had sufficient honor and humanity to make a just choice in distributing presents; for he gave them simply a division in common, and was the right person to be regarded by them as a common benefactor and savior."

Page 180, Note 4: "Viriathus in Spain, who was originally a shepherd, turned from a shepherd to a hunter, and from a hunter to a robber, and from that, was even created general of the army and took possession of all Lusitania."

Page 181, Note 5, Livy says: "When L. Scribonius the tribune of the people, brought in a bill, taking back into the confidence of the Romans, all the Lusitanians whom Galba had brought as slaves with him into Gaul, restoring them to liberty, M. Cato made a strong speech in its favor. His oration is still extant in the histories. Q. Fulvius Noble, who had often been excoriated by Cato, defended Galba. When Galba saw that he was going to be condemned, or that the case was going against him, he threw his arms around his two sons already young men, and also embraced the young son of Sulpicius Gallus, of whom he

was the guardian; and in this miserable and pitiable condition so pleaded that the decree was not sustained."

Page 182, Note 6, Appian says: "This man fought the Romans for about eight years; and it appears to me that Viriathus made it exceedingly uncomfortable for them; for things became so entangled in that time that even the loss of Spain was threatened." Livy says: "Viriathus broke up the army of Vetillius and seized also that general himself; after him C. Plautius the prætor, continued the struggle with no better success. So great was the terror caused by this enemy that it was necessary to send both a consul and a consular army." Eutrope says: "Instigated by terror, Viriathus was killed by his own men, after having waged war for a period of fourteen years against the Romans. He was first a shepherd, afterwards a robber and then a general and roused all the population of the land against the Romans, being regarded as the emancipator of Spain."

Page 183, Note 7: "Viriathus, after performing a three-days' march, took sure possession of Segobria and there devoted a day to religious sacrifices,"

Page 183, Note 8: "It seemed advisable to get away to the others; and in the night he escaped through pathless ways with fleet horses and arrived at Tribola, the Romans following; but they had not the power to overtake him on account of the weight of their armor, their ignorance of the roads and the inexperience of the horses."

Page 183, Note 9, Frontin remarks: "Viriathus, placing some of his soldiers in secret localities, sent a few of them out foraging for the cattle of the Segobrians. These retaliated by frequent sorties against the pickets, pretending to escape, drew them into an ambush where they were cut to pieces by the army."

Page 184, Note 10; This remark of Diodorus is but a cutting from his more complete sentences given in note 2, page 180, of which see translation.

Page 186, Note 13: "At the request of the allied army, another general arrived with a force of 15,000 foot soldiers and 2,000 horse. They marched into Orsena, a city of Spain."

Page 186, Note 14: "In all, about 18,000 foot and 1,600 horse. He sent letters to Mikipse, the Numidian king, ordering him to send the strongest and swiftest elephants from Africa, into Itycca, to augment the army in those parts of the Spanish peninsula."

CHAPTER IX.

Page 192, Note 1: "During the power and under the command of Sempronius Gracchus, the army of Rome subdued

- the Sardinians. In this province the number of the enemy taken prisoners or killed, amounted to upwards of 80,000."
- Page 193, Note 3: "We are informed that 30,000 were captured and reduced to slavery."
- Page 195, Note 13: "In Epidamnus there were no mechanics except the public slaves."
- Page 196, Note 17: "They were all branded. Only the field workers were fettered."
- Page 199, Note 27: "He was a great magician and performer of miracles and stood in close communion with the gods, receiving inspirations from them not only by dreams, but actually seeing them in open day, as in life."
- Page 201, Note 32: "It should be understood that in Sicily there was a daughter of Damophilus, Hermias took her to Catana and left her in the care of some relatives."
- Page 208, Note 42: "More than ordinary capability." Siefert also says: "They elected him their king because he had originated the outbreak."
- Page 209, Note 43: "This was the first strange thing done; he gathered 2,000 as he moved along, and then breaking open the prisons made soldiers of more than 60,000 inmates."
- Page 211, Note 49: "And he sent those who were bound in chains and fettered, into the prison workshops."
- Page 212, Note 54: "One Gorgos with the surname of Cambalos, who on account of his wealth was a well-known citizen of Morgantion in the upper districts of Symæthus, was out on a hunting excursion and fell in with a band of the slaves belonging to the insurrection. He fled back homeward, following the main road to the city, but soon met his father on horseback riding along the same road. The father immediately dismounted and begged his son to save himself by the use of his own horse. Father and son thus in tender solicitude for each other's safety squandered the precious moments and whilst in the strife of filial love and parental tenderness they were exhausting their time, the insurgents arrived and killed them both."
- Page 214, Note 57: "Regarding the chronology of the Sicilian slave war and other matters thereto related, consult the Excurz."
- Page 215, Note 64: "'Out of those places situated about Taurus.' According to paragraph 20, his brother was named Comanus (Coma in Valerius Maximus); and it is tolerably safe to conclude from this that Comana was the birthplace of the two brothers. But whether this was the Coma of Pamphylia or that of Cappadocia, whence this name is derived is a question impossible to answer. The

Cappadocian Comana was situated among the Anti-Taurian hills, upon the river Saros, and was a capital city of Syria, where the cult of Ma (Artemis Taurica), according to Strabo, XII., p. 535, was encouraged. If this be so, it serves as a cause for the bold turn of Cleon when he came in juxtaposition with the religious superstition of Eunus."

Page 216, Note 66: "At the time C. Fulvius was consul, this war of Eunus began. Eunus was a slave who was by race a Syrian and who gathered a force of agricultural slaves. Breaking open the workhouse prisons, he raised his army to 70,000 strong and massing them, fought many battles with the Roman people."

Page 217, Note 67: "A certain Syrian named Eunus, pretending like a fanatic, to be in the good graces of the goddess by throwing forth fiery scintillations resembling her hair, aroused a multitude of slaves as great as an imperial army, and these he emancipated and supplied with arms. To prove that he was divine, he would place a nut in his mouth, in which was hidden sulphur and fire, and drawing the breath gently, would blow forth flames."

Page 218, Note 70: "The army amounted to about 200,000 men." Again: "Not long afterwards the number of the insurgents is found to rise to 200,000 men including in all, the soldiers, sythe-armed militia and war troops; and they fight successfully, seldom suffering defeats."

Page 219, Note 72: "Whenever the slightest victory was won the strike towered with redoubled fierceness and pressed onward without cessation in all the cruelty of social wars."

Page 220, Note 78: "Never was there such a condition or such an assembling of the slaves in Sicily. There were many powerful cities which came to grief; and innumerable were the men, the women and the works of art that were hurled into direst misfortune; in fact the whole island fell into the power of the runaway slaves."

Page 221, Note 81, quoting Bücher: "Eunus at length became master of almost the entire island of Sicily**** probably even of Syracuse. Diodorus (fragment 9), says: 'To these gluttons even the sanctity of the Holy Fish did not cause a pause to the evils which the gods used, making an example of everybody to show their desperate condition; for the gods used these dreadful methods to teach against the blasphemy of the people of the age and to show men better ways. This fragment of Diodorus is found in close proximity to the Vatican excerpt which is entirely on the slave uprising. It is impossible to consider this 'Holy Fish' as any other than the Arethusa of which Diodorus speaks in book V., 3, as follows: 'This Arethusa was not only regarded from very ancient times as having many and

large fishes but even the same reverence is handed down to this day, ascribing to these fishes a sacredness to men; since men eating of them are strong in war and are endowed with the faculty of combined physical force and vigor of understanding great things. So also in our time these virtues we seek in our youth.”

Page 222, Note 84, “Tiberius Gracchus was a famous man, brilliant in his love of honor and it may be said, exceedingly powerful in his gift of language; and was everywhere known by all the officers of the government. He told in solemn words to the Italians, how the want of means for the people and the depopulation of the country were caused by destruction perpetrated by the military powers, and how hopeless was the condition of the inhabitants. With this servile element, never having any confidence with their masters, the feeling rose high against despotism and made them comrades. The evil augmented among the agricultural districts and the war of the Romans against them was not slight nor easily quelled. Things assumed a venturesome phase both many colored and huge. Gracchus declared his intention to re-establish the old law of Licinius Stolo, according to which no person could possess more than 500 acres of land—a law which though many years old, remained unchanged.”

Page 224, Note 89, The reading of these words is: “Ritchl, P. L. M. VIII, 1, Body of Latin Inscriptions, by Theodore Mommsen, no. 642 and others. Compare Nitsch. in another place, p. 249. Evidence regarding the second Sicilian insurrection is to be had in Dr. Böckh’s Body of Greek Inscriptions, nos. 5,570, 5,687, 5,748, z. Th., where occurs the name of Athenion. No. 5,748 is a stone slab coming from Leontini on which is inscribed the word APAMEO, and it is probable that this refers to Eunus of Apamea. In the Body of Latin Inscriptions, no. 646 and others following, are certainly inscriptions which were designed to represent the wars of Eunus.”

Page 224, Note 94, Siefert in his First Sicilian Servile War, Says: “Pseudo Asconius comments on Cicero’s Verres, II, p. 212: ‘A certain Rupilius, one of the aristocratic taxgatherers, was made consul.’ Again, Valerius Maximus, vi., 9, 8, narrates that he was even an employé at an earlier date, of the government service as follows: ‘P. Rupilius did not collect the taxes in Sicily but gave out the work to the equestrian taxgatherers. In fact he upheld the frauds committed in cheating the government out of the revenues, by the authority of office, colluding with his associates.’ He was a friend of Scipio the Younger, according to Cicero (Lælius, 19.). When consul he conducted, during the first part of his consulate year, an investigation of the so-re-

puted misdeeds of Tiberius Gracchus and was aided by his colleague, Popilius Lænas (Cicero, *Lælius*, 11; Valerius Maximus, iv., 7, 1). According to Vellejus Paterculus, (II., vii.), he was, on account of the pressure with which this investigation was urged, driven, like Popilius, before the tribunal; and other writers on the subject only mention Popilius as the object of the persecution. Compare Pauly, *R. E.*, V., 1900. Later, Rupilius in indignation and horror, came to his end for fraudulently intriguing to get his brother elected consul."

Page 226, Note 97: "Throughout Sicily misfortune prevailed. Cities, together with their inhabitants, indiscriminately fell into the hands of their conquerors and many were the armies that were hacked to pieces, until Rupilius, the general of the Romans, saved Tauromanion to Rome in the stanch blockade and siege which he conducted against this city. He starved the rebels into indescribable want and famine to such extent, that in their enclosure they fell to killing children and then their helpless women, and even devoured one another to gratify the cravings of hunger."

Page 229, Note 101: "The slaves were delivered to torment and butchery, most of them being thrown from steep precipices of rocks. So also here at Enna, thousands were chopped down. The total number of the slaves killed at Enna and Tauromanion exceeded 20,000."

Page 230, Note 105, Diodorus says: "Secured and under guard, his body devoured by lice, he passed a life of wretched indolence at Morgantion." Livy says: "He was caught, and was devoured by lice in prison." Farther on (same note), Siefert: "With four of his servants, one of whom was the cook, the others the bath attendant, the baker and the king's fool, he was caught in a hole. He died in prison of the lousy sickness, either in Morgantion or in Rome."

CHAPTER X.

Page 234, Note 3: "Eumenes, for whom they pompously exhibited their friendship, advancing the idea of peace for Antioch, by means of bribes, was held in check. After the death of Eumenes, a guard was kept at the cost of the state, and the agricultural captives were held in pitiable slavery and contempt by Attalus, the king. He made, under deception, an impious will by which his son Aristonicus was ignored because he had asked for the succession. This being a triumph for the latter's enemies, the combined power of the slaves laid Asia under siege. All Bithynia soon fell and Nicomides dying, this son of Nusa whom they called the queen, created havoc."

- Page 236, Note 8: "The term 'Heliopolitan' calls to mind that it was the same that Eunus used in fanaticizing his Syrians."
- Page 236, Note 9: "Likewise the Syrians celebrate and worship the sun in the name of Jupiter whom they call a 'Sun-God' in their greatest ceremonies, and the country where it is done is termed 'Heliopolis.'"
- Page 238, Note 12: "P. Crassus who came as consul to Asia for the purpose of waging war against Aristonicus, had acquired such perfection in the Greek language that he could speak five different dialects of it so as to be thoroughly ready in all parts. This was a thing necessary in obtaining the love of the allies through the persuasive force of conciliation; as it gave him the advantage of making known and demanding the enforcement of the decrees."
- Page 241, Note 18: "When the senate called the consuls, Rupilia and Lænatus, to demand of them what Gracchus really wished to do, and they referred the matter to Lælius whose prayers and counsels they were in the habit of consulting, an accusation was found against Blossius who had been familiar with Gracchus. Blossius was brought before them and the following question put: 'What would you have done if Gracchus had ordered you to destroy the temple of the great Jupiter? Would you not have executed the wish of that man?' 'Gracchus would have never given me such an order,' said Blossius, 'because he was too wise a man to do that; but he was not afraid of demanding the right, even in the teeth of the whole Roman senate.' But what followed was much more daring and dangerous; for on being pressed further by the question of Lælius who persevered in obtaining the answer, Blossius acknowledged that if Gracchus had given him the order he would have obeyed."
- Page 241, Note 19: "The brothers Tiberius and Caius Gracchus had been adjudged guilty of grave seditions by the senate in forcing their laws against the Roman people and both had been killed by the nobles—one by Nasicus and the other by Opimius. When Tiberius Gracchus fell, Blossius escaped to king Aristonicus. The affairs of Aristonicus having gone wrong, Blossius committed suicide."
- Page 242, Note 20, Speaking of the strength and fortitude of the soldier's soul when in a great misfortune, I will tell the story of a Roman consul: P. Crassus, when directing the war against Aristonicus in Asia was, after his defeat, in custody of Thracians at a prison between Elea and Smyrna. But he would not surrender, and resented indecent actions against him to obtain a coveted death. One day he thrust his horsewhip which he used when riding, into the eye of his barbarian guard. So great was the pain

inflicted that this guard drew his sword and plunged it into his side. But in taking vengeance upon a Roman soldier he liberated a consul from disgrace. This shows that Crassus in a broil with an unworthy man, wished the good fortune of escaping graver humiliations: since by the act he prudently, valiantly, courageously, broke away from the miserable condition he was held in by mean persons, and was free. Aristonicus had reduced him but he had gained his own liberty."

Page 243, Note 21: "Not slight was the shamelessness of M. Paperna in his disgrace of the consulship which he held after he got to be consul before becoming a Roman citizen; though he was more serviceable in war than Varro. He conquered king Aristonicus, becoming the punisher and avenger of the disaster of Crassus. While he was triumphing, he was condemned to death under a clause of the Papian law; since as his father was not a Roman, the people demanded his return to his original estate because he had no right to rise according to decision of the Sabelline judgment. In this manner the good name of Paperna fell because he had obtained his consulship under false pretences. The glory of his victory fell away and he wandered about for the rest of his life in exile."

Page 244, Note 22, From Bücher: "The latter consisted in celebrations on the part of those enjoying their holidays, in fasting and expiation, also in luxurious dances amid the music of flute and drum and the wild tumult which they imagined would call up and propitiate their divinities, and bring to pass wondrous things. If at that time, this cult was in practice in Greece by great numbers of secret societies and upright brotherhoods (see pp. 34, 92), then it becomes obvious how they spread their advocacy, not so much through the smoother waters of mere turbulent thought in which they expressed the dizzy dissatisfaction of their race, as through the more suggestive suasion of their peculiar communist fraternization and the natural social system of propaganda of the Greeks whose organizations admitted and accepted all members from foreign parts whether Greek or barbarian, male or female, free or enslaved. Thence comes the designation 'citizens of the sun.' This term drew the line between the followers of Aristonicus who were the anointed of the congregation of Adad, and the unbelievers; thus separating the poor and wretched from enemies who persecuted them, as already shown in the case of Eunus, who was called a Syrian to distinguish him in religious matters—he being a representative follower of Atargatis."

CHAPTER XI.

Page 247, Note 1: "Sources of our knowledge regarding the second Sicilian slave-war are as follows: Florus, Condensed Roman History, book III, chapter 19; Dion Cassius, Excerpts by Piresc, nos. 101, 104; Diodorus the Sicilian, book XXXVI; Livy, book XLIX. The length of the time that it lasted, according to the following paragraph, was about four years: 'The slave-insurgents' war, as I say, therefore lasted nearly four years and was a stately and majestic upheaval.' M. Aquillius brought it to an end in the year B. C. 99, after having taken supreme command which was at the beginning of his term as consul, B. C. 101. The war broke out at the time Licinius Nerva was proprætor. L. Lucullus succeeded him in the command, and after him came C. Servilius. Thus the rebellion rose during the year B. C. 104. Eusebius erroneously makes the end to have occurred four years later, or at the 171st Olympiad, that is, B. C. 95."

Page 247, Note 2: "The pool of the twins."

Page 248, Note 3: "Speaking of all the divinities it is not worth while to leave unmentioned, notwithstanding the want of faith which we remember, on the whole, attaches to the very ancient temple of peculiar surroundings, called the pool or crater. The tradition is, that this temple and place of refuge is of awe-inspiring origin and in the minds of many it is strange and marvelous. To begin with, there are craters out of which spout monstrous sparks from the unspeakable depths. Along side these is the cauldron heated by great fires which throw red-hot flames and waters high into the air above. This seething fluid tossed up into the sky, presents a whitish appearance, and nobody has the force of determination to venture to touch it; for the moments of quell are succeeded by other spoutings of the foaming and boiling waters. This water which has escaped from the abyss has the smell of brimstone; and the yawning hole roars with loud, frequent and frightful bellowings. But the most marvelous of all these things is, that the waters neither overflow nor vary in volume though there is a motion as of life in the water that floods and sinks and rises again in a manner wonderful to relate. So strong is the sacred essence surrounding this temple that the greatest of the earth assemble there to have the gods bear solemn witness to their deal; for they administer condign punishment upon those who have used falsehood and perjury. Some who have been deprived of sight receive it back by visiting this temple. Regarding the superstition as to these great properties, there are men who dispute the exceeding merits of the temple, and doubt its superhuman attributes as a witness between right and wrong. This holy place is sometimes an

asylum for watching over and preserving the unfortunates and slaves, from their unreasonable masters, affording them refuge in which to conceal themselves, and furnishing them aid to deliverance. The despots are here without power to exercise against fugitives, so that they can remain unhurt until, through the holy witnesses and mediation of the sacred power, an arbitration can be adjusted between them by means of reason and persuasion. Here all are on an equal footing, masters and slaves alike; and the poor and faithful are no more pursued under this awe-inspiring fiat of the divinities. This temple stands in august magnificence in an open, neglected spot, and is furnished with porches and other befitting places for repose."

Page 248, Note 4: "The weird legend is abroad that this temple is among the most awe-inspiring and ancient of all the wonders of the world."

Page 249, Note 5: "Marius gave orders that an allied army should be summoned from the outstanding nations bordering on the sea. Following these orders they were sent for. He also sent to Nicomides, king of Bithynia for aid. Nicomides however, sent back word that most of the people of his realm were slaves reduced to that condition by conquest. But as nobody of such as would answer the summons could be made soldiers while slaves, it would be necessary to enact emancipation decrees touching their case. So in consequence of this law, Licinius Nerva would have to set the slaves free before they could become recruits. Thus in a few days, more than 800 of the strongest slaves were assembled to receive their liberty. All the slaves on the island held hopes of deliverance."

Page 249, Note 7: "Flower of the Roman cavalry, ornament of the state, the very fundament of government."

Page 250, Note 10: "Drove the war in every possible manner, in blasphemy against gods and law and order, with allied armies, made up of freedmen and freemen whether of domestic or of foreign birth."

Page 251, Note 11: "Here abounded prisons where the agricultural hands were chained."

Page 251, Note 12: "What marvelous work! First 2,000, gathered from the wayside and then, as by the customs and rights of war, after breaking open the prisons, he constructed an army from over 60,000 prisoners."

Page 251, Note 13: "When called together to be made soldiers of the army and they beheld their danger, they revolted; but Nerva, incited to it either through desire of gain, or in compassion for the masters, accommodated himself to the situation, and breaking faith in his haste, with the forms of

law before a tribunal, advised the slaves to go back to their masters again, as the circumstances did not at present admit of their emancipation. Hereupon the slaves, after holding a conference, got away from Syracuse and escaped to the temple of the Twins at the brimstone lake and resolved with each other, upon rebellion."

Page 251, Note 14: "The city is to be sought for among the hills of Nebrode, in the neighborhood of Engyon."

Page 252, Note 15 "The soldiers butchered the insurgent rebels, and those who had been captured and proved to have acted as leaders, were hanged (crucified)."

Page 253, Note 16: "Among the soldiers who had quit their huts and liberated themselves were some belonging to a man named Poplius Clonius, a Roman cavalier or knight. The slaves murdered him and collected a force of 80 men."

Page 253, Note 17: "The rebellion rose to not less than 2,000 persons."

Page 254, Note 20: "And the many insurgents who, augmenting day by day in secret, amounted in a short time to more than 6,000, who acted a scene truly wonderful. When they had called a general council, their first step was to elect a king named Salvius, believed by them to be in the good graces of the gods and sacred things—a fluteplayer, skilled in sleight of hand, fond of women, and held choice by the goddesses, Ceres and Proserpine."

Page 255, Note 22: "Nevertheless Salvius showed greater ability in his command than might have been expected, judging by the station he rose out of."

Page 256, Note 25 "The insurgents suddenly made an attack and having the advantage of position to aid them violently burst upon their enemy quickly gaining a victory, taking the place and driving some of the army to flight. The proclamation of the general that he would hurt none of the rebelling slaves who should throw down their arms had its effect; for most of them did so and fled. Salvius by this turn of things, gained a strategical point over his enemy, took the citadel, turned the battle into a victory and seized a large quantity of arms. The number killed outright in this battle was not above 600. These were Italians and Sicilians. They had felt sympathy with the strikers and used the general's proclamation favorably. The number taken prisoners amounted to about 4,000."

Page 257, Note 26: "But he did not at first succeed in taking Morgantion. Whether he ever took the city in consequence of this victory is not fully apparent from the information that has come down to us."

Page 257, Note 27: "Salvius laid siege to Morgantion over-

running the country, to the base of the Leontine range, and gathering a large army of select men not less than 30,000 in number. With these he gave sacrifice and offerings to the hero Twins, allotting one of the choicest purple robes as an offering of gratitude for the victory. He proclaimed himself king. His name among the insurgent soldiers was henceforth Tryphon." The language is unmistakable. Still Dr. Siefert muses: "However, these words of Diodorus may have reference to the victory over Licinius Nerva; and indeed, it must be so, for 'poliorkesas' (laying siege to a city), cannot be construed to comprehend as much as 'ekpoliorkesas' (taking a city by siege.)"

Page 257, Note 28: "In some incomprehensible manner the prætor proved treacherous to these promises, and by the means, drove the larger part of these valiant men into the camp of the insurgents."

Page 258, Note 29: "Athenion, a shepherd, having murdered his owner, and set his family at liberty from the work prison, put himself in martial order. This man dressed himself in purple, assumed a silver cane and adorned his head with regal trappings in no less sumptuous taste than did that fanatical fellow (Eunus) before him, bugled his army together and even much more bitterly than Eunus for whom he seems to have fought in vindication, overthrew towns, castles and cities, raving and raging against masters and slaves more and more violently as deserters (from the slave owners) swelled the ranks."

Page 259, Note 33: "This man, clothed in purple, sporting a silver cane."

Page 260, Note 35: "Being conversant with the star-gazers' art he had read in the heavens that he was to become king over all Sicily; and to this end he looked about him for a place that would seem most suitable on the island—which he considered his own property—whereat to locate himself. He made an attack upon the fortified town of Lilybæum which did not succeed. This was with a force of 10,000 men. It however, served to strengthen his powers of foresight; for he resolved, with great wisdom, to abandon the siege, actuated by the impression that the gods were against the enterprise and consequently a disaster could be avoided only with a miracle. This foreknowledge soon verified itself. A body of Moorish troops auxiliary to the Romans, sent by Bocchus of Mauritania under the new treaty, and commanded by Gomon, for the relief of the besieged city of Lilybæum, immediately on their arrival made in the night, an attack on Athenion and before he could withdraw to a place of safety, succeeded in inflicting upon him a considerable damage."

Page 260, Note 36: "One can scarcely estimate the difficul-

ties which were to be expected by the leaders of an insurrection of slaves."

Page 261, Note 37, Diodorus says regarding tramps: "An immense confusion of things took place and we are told that all worked badly. Vast multitudes got possession of Sicily entire. Not only slaves but also freedmen in a state of great poverty were committing every sort of rapine and flagitious deed. And whoever interfered, whether bond or free, or spoke against their wrong-doing, they shamelessly murdered. Scarcely could people venture into the open spaces in cities which belonged to them; and as for matters outside, these freedmen and emancipated slaves judged themselves unrestrained by any law from committing acts of violence. More than this, many others, forgetting their natural instincts of humanity and right, audaciously wandered throughout Sicily on their course of destruction." Continuing, Diodorus says in fragment 11: "Not alone were the rebels who devastated Sicily, slaves, but often free people; and all persons who possessed neither home nor lands were converted into robbers and bandits who ranged up and down the country, impelled alike by their poverty and their evil-mindedness, carrying off horses and cattle, tearing into the granaries of the towns and indiscriminately beheading slaves or free men, or whomsoever they met, so that none should remain alive to inform on their deeds of deviltry. And when all sources of justice in Sicily had been uprooted—not even a Roman prætor left to demand law and order—they all fell into an unrestrained debauchery and with impunity carried on a horrible licentiousness. There was no place free from the hordes who ravaged and robbed, particularly where the wealthier ones had premises to invade. And those who, a little before, were surrounded by fortune and fame as being the richest among the citizens, suddenly found themselves not only reduced to misery and poverty, but cudged and hacked in the most contemptuous manner by slaves, and subjected to all sorts of insolence. Everywhere were the robbers stationed, ready to commit outrage in the free places of cities, outside their walls or wherever they thought they could do violence. Great was the confusion in each one of the large towns and cities; for no law of justice remained. The insurgents, when they had beleaguered all with their army, and the land of their masters whom they hated with ungovernable rage, marched up and down the highways with fire and sword, motivated by some inexplicable cupidity. Whoever remained in the cities, such as slaves, the sick, and those sympathizing with the rebellion became a terror to their masters."

Page 261, Note 38: "These free people often practiced more heinous acts of power than the slaves. A reign of confusion

- an enormity of troubles, as Diodorus calls it—fell upon them.”
- Page 261, Note 39: “Athenion, who did not take a city.” Siefert however, remarks: “Cicero must here be interpreted with circumspection as having had an object in making this mention.”
- Page 262, Note 40: “*Athenio pastor*,’ the shepherd. . . . laid waste the country. By this man the prætorian army also, was cut to pieces and the camps of Servilius as well as Lucullus were seized.” Note h. of Fisher: “The camps of Servilius and of Lucullus were seized.’ Florus had other histories which we do not possess; for in these that we still have, it appears that not only was Servilius not captured but that Lucullus also, was not driven by the slaves.” Duker’s comments read: “From this too, Diodorus in his 36th book, charges these things to a certain Salvius, to whom Athenion was like a commander to a king.”
- Page 264, Note 42, “What were the motives inspiring him to this conduct is not clear; it is nevertheless apparent that Tryphon suspected him as a secret rival; for so soon as favorable opportunity presented itself he had him arrested and put where he could do no harm.”
- Page 264, Note 43: “Having by the exercise of judgment gotten rid of certain powerful persons and established his councils around him, he put on the Greek robes of rank and donned the mantle of purple with the broad-bordered tunic and chiton to denote great name and style, he surrounded himself with a guard of lictors having their whips and sacrificial axe, and all other such things as seem to befit themselves to the kingly estate.”
- Page 266, Note 45: “After some skirmishing, they closed in upon each other in regular conflict, which swayed to and fro for a long time ere its results were decided.” Same note quoting Diodorus: “They closed together, but not until they had been drawn in by the skirmishing.”
- Page 266, Note 46: “Athenion with 200 picked cavalrymen undertook an assault and struck down every one in his way; but unfortunately he received three wounds as a result which rendered him helpless. The slaves seeing this, lost courage and ran.”
- Page 267, Note 49: “When at last, after nine days from the date of the battle, Lucullus arrived before the fortifications to commence a siege, the wavering courage of the insurgents had again been restored.”
- Page 267, Note 50: “The camps of Lucullus having been taken, Athenion overturned villages, cities and castles.” Siefert, same note: “Certainly, the camps of Lucullus must have been stormed.”

- Page 268, Note 51: "Tryphon dying, the command of the army fell to Athenion who laid siege to cities."
- Page 269, Note 55: "M. Aquillius the proconsul, contended vigorously."
- Page 269, Note 56: "Athenion who, after the death of Tryphon which had occurred in the meantime, had become king of the slaves, met Servilius with great boldness and drove him from the field. After his camps were taken, Servilius dared not again venture into battle, and the slave-king was able to ransack the country unhindered and got into his grasp the castles and small cities."
- Page 269, Note 57: "The revolted cities followed, among which were Hybla and Macella and some others of less importance."
- Page 270, Note 58: "By force he seized Macella, a city situated in the neighborhood of Ægesta,"
- Page 270, Note 59: "Athenion threw himself against him in open conflict and drove him from the field."
- Page 271, Note 61: "Athenion threw himself against him etc., but fell while thus engaged, at the hands of the consul, who himself received wounds upon the head and breast."
- Page 271, Note 62: "Athenion the king of the rebelling slaves, throwing together his forces, fought heroically. Rupillius killed him, although he himself received a wound in his head."
- Page 271, Note 63: "Whilst prætor in Sicily, I pursued and captured runaway Italian slaves and restored 817 of them to their masters."
- Page 272, Note 66, Same as note 55.
- Page 273, Note 68: "Many thought that the glory of the fallen ones was greater than that of the surviving victors."
- Page 273, Note 69: "When M. Aquillius, accused of malfeasance in office, was defending himself, he was unwilling to question the umpires (witnesses) and M. Antonius acted as his lawyer. While making a powerful speech in his defense Antonius tore the garment from his client's breast, revealing the honest scars. The judges no longer remaining in doubt, Aquillius was adjudged innocent."
- Page 274, Note 70, Granier says: "A very characteristic trait existed, which was the same in Eunus and in Athenion; and this was, that in revolting, neither one of them had any idea of abolishing slavery and of establishing conditions of equality. Hardly did they see themselves in command of force than they forthwith forgot that they ever had their own necks skinned with chains. They tasted with delicate relish the prerogatives of masters. It is thus easy to understand how castles, villages and cities were delivered over to pillage."

CHAPTER XII.

Page 277, Note 1: "In the great work of Nicholas of Damascus the slave war was recounted in the 110th book, from which we have a fragment that appears in Athenæus, IV., 153, F. This fragment is given by Müller, in a Latin translation which I here give, on account of the Latin being generally more easy to read than the Greek. It is as follows: 'Nicholas of Damascus, a philosopher of the peripatetic sect, writes in his 110th book of histories these words, describing how they used to pair gladiators at their dinners: The Romans not only hold gladiatorial spectacles in the assemblages and amphitheatres, such as were borrowed from the Etruscan customs, but they also do it while at their banquets of guests. The way they do it is this: They invite their friends to a dinner; and between the courses they introduce, sometimes one, sometimes two, or sometimes three pairs of gladiators whom they exhibit to the guests in battle. In this manner after they have been gorged with wine and are full of sumptuous hilarity, the gladiators are ordered on the scene; and when one of them falls with his throat cut, the whole company of feasters fall to applauding, exhilarated by the spectacle. Indeed, there is proof that sometimes beautiful women whom the master has bought for the occasion, fight each other with steel. There are others also who say that even little boys below the age of puberty, contribute to the gratification of this delicious passion. But the public who held such atrocities in detestation, ordered a law to stop it.' The whole looks as if these dreadful things might have given a motive to the revolt of Spartacus."

Page 277, Note 2: "The first gladiatorial function ever performed at Rome was in the Forum Boarium at the time Appius Claudius and M. Fulvius were consuls. It was given by M. and D. Brutus, in honor of their deceased father who was incinerated. A battle of athletes was arranged through the munificence of M. Scaurus."

Page 278, Note 3: "'Function of gladiators.' The origin of the gladiatorial combats is in the funeral and comes from the Etruscans, although the Etruscans may possibly have derived it from the Greeks. But from whatsoever the source, the cause was the funeral, or burial. For inasmuch as it was formerly believed that the souls of dead men were propitiated by human blood, they used to immolate their captives of war and even slaves of their own hearth and nourishment, to the funeral rites. After having been customary in placating the avengers of impiety, it differentiated into a source of voluptuousness; and thus the practice operated in two ways to propitiate the wise and great, and afterwards for funeral

solemnities where feasts or banquets were given. Such is the gladiatorial function. So from this the fighters are called funereal or sepulchral gladiators. The gladiators, or, as Livy and others have it, 'gladiatorial function,' did not necessarily mean the function in this sense, but was the common or popular term in use when speaking of the amphitheatre."

Page 279, Note 5, No. 2,551 reads: "Poetelius, a Syrian who teaches a gladiatorial school at Forina where you can buy or sell a lot for the ring." No. 2,555 is: "Inscriptions representing gladiators, that have been preserved in the museum at Rome and catalogued by Marini in his Records, vol. I, p. 165." The inscription itself reads: "Astianax came out victorious on the first day of the ninth month of the Roman year; although he lost his own life. One antagonist was Symmachus Maternus (or perhaps, a relative of Astianax on his mother's side), who was skillful in the use of weapons." Schambach, studying the probable age of Spartacus from data given in various inscriptions, says: "Regarding his age, we have no historical reports from the ancients; yet in spite of this fact the age of Spartacus is by no means hard to get at. It is natural that people should have chosen young men; at any rate those not above middle age. The tombstones for gladiators that have come to our knowledge showing ages at the time they fell in battle, establish this fact. We find in Hegenbuch's edition of Orell's Inscriptions the following data of deaths of gladiators: No. 2,572 gives the age of the gladiator, at 22 years. No. 2,592 shows one who fell at 27 years. No. 2,571, one who fell at 30. No. 2,590 gives the age at 46. Very rarely does the age of the gladiator rise above this latter figure. We shall consequently not miss far from the mark by setting the age of gladiators at something between 30 and 40 years."

Page 281 Note 10: "For although slaves are low in estate of manhood and fortune, and liable to punishment, yet they are a species of mankind."

Page 281, Note 11: "The true meaning of family is property. It comprehends the land, the house, the money, the slaves, etc."

Page 282, Note 13: "The war that was instigated by Spartacus the general, I am at a loss to find a name for." Schambach, same note, says: "That Spartacus was a Thracian by birth is a matter on which all information agrees. Plutarch even adds that he was of a nomadic tribe. Steven of Byzantium mentions a Thracian city of the same name. From Thucydides, II., 101, we learn that there was a royal dynasty of the Thracian house of Odrysæ, bearing the name Spardokos. We are shown by the inscriptions and coins that the name Spartokos was common among the rulers along the

Bosphorus. Compare Böckh, *Body of Greek Inscriptions*, vol. II., 91. It is possible, therefore, that our Spartacus, in his own country, might have been clothed with the rank of nobility.

Page 283, Note 15: "On the laws that were enacted against the unions: 'Frequently they organized communistic societies without authority of the public statutes, out of the quarrelsome elements of the people, who thus became a public nuisance. . . . and on this account many of the unions were afterwards suppressed by law.'"

Page 284, Note 21: "Speech of Spartacus: A group sculptured in marble by Barrias, 1872; Spartacus the father of the hero, appears chained and nailed to the trunk of a tree, about to expire, etc."

Page 285, Note 22: "That Spartacus was a Thracian by birth, is agreed to by all accounts of him."

Page 286, Note 27: "From this reflex of humanity as one views it in the light of a fresh power overwhelming the world, the regular demand of business enterprise was satisfied. All the time there were multitudes of slaves imported to Italy from the north, from the regions of the Black Sea, from Syria and Lybia through slave merchants. For a long time Delos was the head-quarters of this business. At the time of its highest success, which was about B. C. 100, no less than 10,000 slaves are said to have been landed here in a single day. It is self-evident that Rome was an important center of the slave trade. How the slave dealers came in possession of their wares was never questioned. Kidnaping by land and sea constituted the man-hunt such as is to-day being carried on in Africa. It was no uncommon thing to see a great multitude brought in who had been victimized through secret machinations and private feuds as well as those coming into possession of traders by exchange and barter."

Page 287, Note 28: "Pyrrhus, who had been called by the people of Tarentum as an aid against the Romans, in order to help the effeminate citizens, forbade the communistic table or Greek system of taking their meals in common, as one of his first regulations."

Page 287, Note 32: "And they built the prison which is said to have been called the 'home of the Roman proletaries.' Thus, in order that he might call out at any time, and often, that is, in order that he might frequently, and again and again be her judge and lest she should resist him, and vindicate herself through the law, he took away her liberty and reduced her to a slave. If she did not succumb, he could in this case, order her to prison and in chains. Seldom was there ever such a commotion of human feelings, or such a

power of the people, determined to bring him to punishment; for they saw by this, how easily their own liberty might be taken away. So Appius Claudius was thrown into prison.'

Page 289, Note 35: "He had served in the legions as an auxiliary; but being too proud to accept a species of servitude disguised in the name of the 'alliance,' he had deserted at the head of a company of his fellow citizens. But being caught and sold, his courage and physical powers were forced into play as a gladiator."

Page 289, Note 36: "He met with some gladiators belonging to a certain Lentulus Batiatus at Capua, many of whom were Gauls and Thracians." Remark of Florus: "Since they had already done menial work in the army, they were ordered to act as gladiators—a sort of infamous human creature of the meanest quality and a butt of derision; yet they brought on a calamity." Schambach's remark: "They now elected the Thracian, Spartacus, general-in-chief, and the two Gauls, Crixus and Enomaus, as generals of the second degree. It is with extreme probability, judging from the vote which decided this result, that we can set down the proportion of the Thracians as one-third, and that of the Gauls as two-thirds—a proportion which does not materially vary in the coming course of events."

Page 290, Note 37, Schambach's remark: "So far as the previous vicissitudes in the life of Spartacus are concerned, this holds good: that he had for a time been a soldier in the Roman militia, with pay; probably in the force of the proconsul P. Claudius, who had been assigned to the work of breaking down what remained of the free ranks of the Macedonian Thracians. He had in this service probably acquired that exact knowledge of Roman military tactics which was an indispensable condition to his future victories. According to Florus, he then deserted and became a marauding guerrilla. He was taken prisoner while in this capacity. Appian does not coincide with this view where (book I., 116), he says: 'Being sold as a prisoner of war to be one of the gladiators.' Neither does Varro's fragment (Charis, I., 108), where he says: 'Spartacus, who was innocent, was thrown as a gladiator, to be killed with steel;' since they speak against the testimony of Florus. We are informed by Plutarch (Crassus. 8), that 'he first came into Rome on sale;' that he had many a time changed owners before he came to the Capuan fighting school of Lentulus Batiatus. Plutarch also relates an anecdote of him after his arrival in Rome, to the effect that a snake once coiled itself about him in his sleep and that a female Thracian fortune-teller interpreted the circumstance to mean that 'he was to become great and feared, and even to his unhappy end, happy.'—a prophecy which, especially in its last part, leaves nothing more to wish for."

Page 291, Note 39: "Nor did he decline his pay, as a soldier of Thrace. From a soldier, he became a deserter; from that, a robber and then a gladiator, doing duty to the amusement of gentlemen."

Page 291, Note 40, The inscription reads: "M. Aquillius and M. F. Gailus were proconsuls at the time I was marching from South Italy to Capua. Along the highway of Pontis I put registers showing the number captured, as follows: 2 at Nuceria; 123 at Capua; 73 at Murianum; 123 at Cosa-num; 180 at Valencia. On the strait were put 231, and at Rhegium 237. In the stretch from Capua to Rhegium, 1,321. And also at the time I was prætor in Sicily, I captured 917 Italian slaves and returned them (to their owners), to cultivate the land."

Page 292, Note 41: "About this time gladiators were brought to Italy and lodged at Capua to be trained for the show. Spartacus a Thracian by race, who had been a soldier in the Roman army, and who, as a prisoner of war, was sold for a gladiator, being one of them, persuaded some 70 of the most daring to make an escape, pleading that a forceable attempt at liberty was better than to be butchered at the amphitheatrical spectacle; and arming his fellow adventurers with cudgels of wood and knives, they forced the guards and escaped to Mt. Vesuvius."

Page 292, Note 42: "With scarcely more than 30 men of his own fortune they forced themselves out of Capua."

Page 293, Note 43: "They first compelled their best comrades to leave Capua and seizing weapons suitable for fighting, safely got away; and luckily, as they got hold of more, they threw away their old weapons as barbarous, unworthy the dignity of gladiators." Cicero says, speaking of Sicily: "In the insurrection of Spartacus there were very few at first. But what evil would those fellows not have done in so small an island!" Florus, speaking of their numbers, says Spartacus, Crixus and Cœnomaus broke out of the ring school of Lentulus and with scarcely more than 30 men of their own sort, escaped from Capua."

Page 294, Note 46, Same as note 43 at the close.

Page 294, Note 47: "Plutarch says: 'People generally call it the Spartacan war' and Florus, who designates the Sicilian labor war the war of the slaves, sets the caption 'Spartacan war,' which brings this Italian insurrection likewise among the great wars of Rome, like the Hannibalic, the Sertorian and the Mithridatic wars, in which a single person exhibits such superior qualities as to constitute the soul of the conflict, that it takes its name from him. In fact, we find other weighty references to this, among the Roman authors. Augustin, in *De Civitate Dei*, III., 26; Ampelius,

Book of Memory, chapters 41 & 45, calling it the servile war; Cæsar, Gallic Wars, book I., 40, calling it the slave insurrectionary war; Frontin; Orosius: 'This war of the runaways or as I may more correctly call it, war of the gladiators.' But in all these appellations the main idea is expressed, that the glory of the strikers, or insurrectionists, must not come down to posterity except as the hated and despised leaders."

Page 294, Note 48: "Slaves are held subject to the power of their masters, and this is in fact the power recognized by the *jus gentium* (law common to nations); for we are to understand that with all citizen and respectable classes, owners of slaves have the power either to kill them or permit their existence."

Page 295, Note 51: "Seventy-four companies were killed by the gladiators." Florus remarks that: "The general thought nothing of what was going to happen, when all at once his camp was burst into by a sudden onset." Schambach remarks: "All information agrees that the fighters were immensely inferior in numbers. Frontin even bears witness (I., v., 21), that there were only 74 in the battle. He says: 'But he also from the other side, so terrified Clodius that his gladiators killed some 74 companies of his soldiers.' The attack succeeded perfectly. The Roman soldiers who had been hastily gathered, fled from the battle ground leaving their camp with all their baggage, which became the booty of the insurgents."

Page 297, Note 53, Florus says: "His force gathering in numbers every day until it assumed the proportion of a real army; and he made shields from the vines and the skins of the cattle, and forged swords and javelins out of the iron of workhouse prisons." Appian adds: "Spartacus gathered very many soldiers and soon had an army of 70,000. He forged arms and collected the implements of war. On the other hand, the inhabitants of the cities sent against him two consuls with an army of two complete legions."

Page 297, Note 54: "As he shared the spoils of battle equally, his army became numerous; and the first commander sent against him was Varinius Glabros, and with him one Publius Valerius. They did not carry out the tactics of a regular army but thought only to proceed with all haste possible, the Romans not looking upon it as a war but thought they were merely dealing with a robber and his unorganized hordes. They were allured into a weak spot and defeated. The horse of Varinius was seized by Spartacus himself, Varinius escaping, although the Roman general was well-nigh taken prisoner by the gladiator."

Page 297, Note 55: "And I may drop a thought upon that Mars-like warrior, Spartacus; though every scrap plies its de-

ceptive art in making him a vagrant." Tacitus says: "Never contumely toward the Roman people brought Cæsar greater pain than did this deserter and robber—not even Spartacus, after so many disasters of Rome's consular armies, who raged and burned up Italy with impunity."

Page 399, Note 57, Remarks of Schambaeh: "We have most of all to regret the loss of the greatest work—that of Sallust—bearing the title of 'Books of History of the Roman People.' Sallust was not only the person nearest in date to the events, among Roman authors who wrote a history of this war, but he was also the most trustworthy in his historical tracings. On account of his position in the state and his far-reaching communications he was in condition to give the best information; and he combined a characteristic for description, with method and criticism. His histories were very thorough."

Page 299, Note 58: "In a disastrous conflict Varinius lost his troops, his baggage and his horse, even his prætorian bundles with the rods and battle-axe."

Page 300, Note 59: "He not only seized the mountains around Thuria but the city of Thuria itself; and forbade merchants bringing gold and silver into camp, using only iron and bronze and discountenancing other things. Piles of wood were brought and worked up for the coming expedition and large quantities of plunder were accumulated. By exchange among the outstanding Romans, and with the booty which came into their hands, they became a power."

Page 300, Note 60: "After Spartacus had drawn to himself all the elements of revolt offered by Campania, he turned toward other regions. We are unfortunately, not instructed with exactness regarding the route he took; nevertheless by employing the Vatican fragments of Sallust which agree with Orosius, we may conclude that he first marched toward the peninsula, on the coast of the Adriatic, whence he turned in southerly direction and came to Lucania. At any rate the fragments show that Varinius, of whom we shall speak more as we proceed, confronted the revolters at Picenum. On this march he took Annii Forum and perhaps Avella, whose inhabitants displayed a feeling against his offer of protection. It is perfectly certain that the slaves pursued their course with fire and murder."

Page 301, Note 64: "Not only are unions restored which the senate suppressed, but others, new and innumerable, are trumped up out of all the dregs of the city."

Page 301, Note 65: "During the consulate of L. Julius and M. Marius, noted by Cicero, the unions were suppressed by a law of the senate."

Page 301, Note 66: "That not only the ancient unions, but others, innumerable, and entirely new ones, should be created by a gladiator."

Page 302, Note 67: "Concerning the restoration of the old and the institution of new unions, which he (Cicero) says, are created out of the dregs of the city."

Page 302, Note 69: "For which cause the conscription may be instituted; and I have already explained as to which unions this law applied. In this matter I ought to observe two points: first that when slaves belonged to the unions they should not be considered as being in the unions of mechanics; since I do not think that these admitted slaves. But it was those devoted to religion. Therefore, the law of Clodius must be regarded as having effect only in the city of Rome, as Cicero says: 'Also unions created out of the dregs of the city'—those which Clodius conscribed and organized into companies in the forum."

Page 302, Note 70, "Golden and gilded things are luxuries which we know Spartacus prohibited from his camps; for no soldier was allowed either gold or silver. This shows how much nobler than ours were the souls of our runaway slaves."

Page 303, Note 72: "Certain feeble glances are brought to mind upon the constancy of women, the intercession of their prayers and the fine sentiment of the breast in cases of imprisonment. Sometimes the tedium of long and impatient confinement is thus assuaged; and it comes to great use in binding together the souls of states, as in cases where girls, even of noble parentage are wanted to comfort those held as hostages. Nor do men put aside their counsel or neglect their answers. We have as examples, Velleda, who was held high for her predictions and her method of worship among the Germans. But there were also Aurinia and very many others who long ago were venerated. They did not fawn or descend to superficial adulation before the goddesses."

Page 304, Note 77: "Spartacus made an avenging sacrifice of 400 of the Roman prisoners, to the ghost of the dead Crixus. Having 120,000 foot soldiers he thought to march on Rome. Making a bonfire of all unserviceable things of the expedition, tying all of the prisoners and slaughtering the beasts of draft in order to render the army light and easy to manage, and many deserters from the Romans offering themselves, he took them in. The consuls straightway coming to the rescue against him in the country of Picenum, he fought and beat them in great battles at every hand." Julius Obsequens says: "From Capua, they tell us, comes a horrifying clamor—a hundred thousand men destroyed in the Italian civil war!"

Page 305, Note 78. Granier's remarks: "Spartacus who

was a man whose heart was above his condition had only one idea: he wanted to get to Gaul, on the other side of the Alps, and once there, his wish was to have every one return to his own country. The military manœuvres of the consuls and the insubordination of his comrades prevented the realization of his desire." Schambach says: "Florus however, can be excused, as giving a useful tinge to the subject, where he says, speaking of the leaders of one of the Sicilian wars: 'We should hold in mind that the disasters were great.' But people were not content with simply making silence cast oblivion over Spartacus; they even smeared public opinion of him by means of invented misdeeds, and brought his name down as a term of contempt and abuse. And even men like Cicero and the elder Pliny are not entitled to remain free from this opinion regarding them. But we, who have no cause to regard Spartacus as a terrible enemy to be held in dismay, have a duty to perform in exhibiting his personality in its correct light and thus redeem it from an undeserved blame. Drumann says: "Nature had created him to be a hero and a ruler by endowing him with wisdom, courage, love of liberty and moderation. These caused him to stride in advance of his companions. He brought unconquerable Rome to fear and trembling when he broke his chains; though all he desired was freedom. The cruelty of his unbridled hordes is not to be attributed to him, nor charged to his reckoning, so far as it was not directed against their oppressors; it was only to the Romans who played their part against his manhood, those whom he prevented from nailing him to the cross, that he knew no mercy. He also remained in the resolve to act as for himself, for those who fell victims of Rome. He did not wish to destroy Rome, because he desired nothing that was impossible. The prophecy of his Thracian wife regarding his forthcoming greatness did not dazzle him. But the slaves confused, frustrated and baffled his plan."

Page 306, Note 79: "Ænomaus had already fallen in battle." Schambach says: "This Ænomaus must have been killed early. Crixus, who appears as the next in command after Spartacus, played his part for a longer time."

Page 306, Note 80: "Q. Arrius, the prætor, killed Crixus the general, together with 20,000 of his troops." Appian says: "Crixus who was the other commander, having under him 30,000 men, was met (by Arrius), at the foot of Mt. Garganus and defeated; himself and two-thirds of his army being destroyed. Spartacus, the other commander, was in consequence hindered from carrying out his intention of crossing the Appenine mountains, and so moved toward the Alps in the direction of Gaul, pursued by the Roman consul." Salust so far as can be made out of the broken scrap, says:

"The rage of the conflict was powerful. Forgetting the body lacerated with gashes, and half-alive, some of them fought wickedly while others on the house tops hurled down fire upon the enemy. Many slaves of the place who had enrolled themselves in the love of liberty as allies, secretly stole things from their masters as they set themselves at liberty and nobody, holy or wicked, was spared the anger and servile revengefulness of the barbarians; deeds were these which Spartacus was unable to hinder though he sent messengers in haste and with many entreaties." Again Sallust says: "In a few days the faith of our troops began to augment and the force to increase unexpectedly. Varinius moved incautiously on his prey which was in view, and fell into a new ambush like the others, and his soldiers suffered a shock. He however, led them up to the camps of the revolters. With quick step they silently advanced but not in such self-conscious splendor as they had hitherto assumed. Again on the other hand, the slaves, it was perceived, were quarreling among themselves and were at the point of sedition; for Crixus and his Gauls, together with the Germans were anxious to offer battle while Spartacus opposed it."

Page 307, Note 81: "He also tore to shreds the consular forces under Lentulus, in the Appenines; and under Caius Cassius at Mutina."

Page 307, Note 82: "Their numbers rose so that at last he brought to bear against the Romans as many as 40,000 men." Note of translator: This absurd remark attributed to Vellejus Paterculus is a false statement of an early amanuensis; for the real, and undeniably correct figure actually given by Paterculus was 300,000; see pp. 324-5, and notes 122, 124.

Page 308, Note 83: "Being driven by him and dispersed in flight—be it said to our shame—the enemy retired to the farther side of Italy."

Page 308, Note 84: "On the route he met and crushed two consular, and two prætorian armies and arrived, fighting and always victorious, at the Po, whose waters overflowing its banks, debarred his progress." Sallust remarks: "M. Trequius, having scarcely enough troops, could hardly escape being injured. But Varinius, so long as his force was pressed upon by the insurgents and rendered weak-spirited by the odds against him, ordered his men with a severe threat, not to fall back and encouraged them to rally by means of signals; and those who lagged he lowered to the rank of militia with anathemas of disgrace. His commissary C. Thoranius" (Here the scrap is so broken as to be no further intelligible).

Page 308, Note 85: "He ordered the prisoners (Roman) to fight each other as gladiators with weapons, in celebration of the funeral and to the honor of the immortal spirits of the

dead leaders; plainly as if to resuscitate a gone-by abomination and revive the old funereal function of the gladiatorial wake."

- Page 309, Note 89: "C. Cassius the proconsul, and the prætor Cneus Manlius, continued the war against Spartacus but were defeated."
- Page 310 Note 92: "Therefore the two consuls joined their forces on the plains of Piceno, and attacked him both together. But here again Spartacus raged against them and defeated them with great loss."
- Page 310, Note 95: "He did not dare to march to the city."
- Page 311, Note 96: "At last with all the forces at his command he marched against the Thracian gladiator." Translator's note. According to law, Crassus, being the consul was commander-in-chief of all the forces recently returned from Spain and Asia.
- Page 311, Note 97: "There happened an affair on a gigantic scale. Steadily they found allies of their own class, besides many farmers—men of a tough and pernicious sort."
- Page 311, Note 98: "Spartacus the leader of the runaway slaves, was able with his 500 robbers to perpetrate enough of evil."
- Page 312, Note 101: "The war had already been raging three years and was becoming more fearful and the gladiators more disdainful in power and spirit. When the vote for new consuls was about to be taken candidates were tardy in coming to hand, as they would have to be commanders. At length Licinius Crassus, well known by family and wealth among the Romans, manifested a willingness to assume command and with six fresh legions bore away against Spartacus."
- Page 313, Note 104: "The Roman general only intended to invade Latium, not daring to risk a battle with the terrible gladiator, and was content to harass and render him miserable, with his lieutenants, who were invariably beaten whenever they ventured to come to battle."
- Page 315, Note 108: "Immediately choosing one out of every ten from the whole lot of those who had been defeated they were condemned to death and destroyed. This was regardless as to which one the lot fell upon; for every soldier in the army who was beaten was called up and the tenth of the whole number chosen. The total number enrolled was about 4,000, no one escaping. No matter how this was considered, the thought of defeat became one of terror and straightway Crassus fell upon the myriads under Spartacus and his disdainful gladiators, with these newly invigorated men, and drove them." Remarks of the commentator Thir-

siaus: "He kills those who were chosen by lot, with clubs. I think it should read: 'He kills those led out.' Concerning the severe military discipline of Crassus, we must reflect that it was in the case of the two legions of Mummius who, contrary to the orders of the consul, had dared to attack the enemy under Spartacus and who had been defeated. Four hundred of those who had been the first to take to their heels were led forth, after being drawn by lot. This ancient manner of punishment by making them kill each other, and which had long since fallen into disuse, was resuscitated by Crassus."

Page 315, Note 109: "Defeating him, he smartly followed him to the sea, where he (Spartacus) was to cross over into Sicily. Here Crassus set to work and threw up a breastwork and an intrenchment."

Page 316 Note 111: "About the same time the gladiators forced themselves into the town of Præneste and endeavored to break into the garrison of the army which here held the munitions of war, and spread terror among the people; for it started amidst these a desire to reenact the old scenes of Spartacus; and not much later a naval defeat was sustained. It was not a war, for all this was in a time of profound peace but Nero had ordered the fleet to return to Campania on a certain day, taking no notice of the nets of the sea. The governors therefore, inasmuch as the sea thronged with pirates who had their head-quarters in Formiæ (Mola de Gæta), and were strong in Africa as well as in Miseni, which they had taken, sent war boats with three pairs of oars and a large number of smaller vessels everywhere along the Cumanian shores."

Page 317, Note 113: "L. Metallus the prætor, prosperously carried on a warfare in Sicily."

Page 318, Note 115: "So great was the terror which he (Spartacus) had inspired, that Crassus undertook to shut him up in the peninsula of Rhegium by a breastwork and ditch some 45 miles long! The chief of the slaves manifested profound contempt for this immense work, as well as for his enemies, who did not dare to attack him in the front. Therefore, when the provisions began to fail, he broke down a part of the breastwork during a stormy night, forced the lines of the Romans and manœuvred freely in Lucania where he exterminated the troops of the two lieutenants of Crassus who had the temerity to molest him in his retreat."

Page 318, Note 116: "Spartacus, relinquishing his intention to give battle with his entire command, ordered his cavalry to harass and tease the besiegers as much as possible, by continually attacking them of a sudden. He broke into the defenses of Crassus and burned them, accomplishing the destruction of much difficult work. He hung a Roman prisoner

in the open space between the two armies, showing his own men by plain view that they were not to disobey orders. He threw fagots and wood bundles into the ditch and escaped."

Page 319, Note 117: "The people in the city of Rome, on inquiry, learning the escape of Spartacus from the blockade and reflecting upon the length of this war with the gladiator, sent word to Pompey to return with his army, from Spain, writing him that the affair had become a great and difficult work. Since the election which created Crassus consul, he had kept back the rumors of the war with Spartacus from the knowledge of Pompey and made every possible turn to get Spartacus into his hands. Spartacus knew that negotiations were going on for the assistance of Pompey." The French Dictionary says: "Crassus wrote to the senate asking that Pompey, then about to return from Spain, be sent to his assistance; likewise for the aid of Lucullus, who was about to return from Asia. He however, soon regretted this step, and sought every measure possible to terminate the war himself, so that he might enjoy all the honor."

Page 319, Note 118, Remarks of Frontin, quoting Livy: "Thirty-five thousand armed soldiers of the insurgent slaves who were defeated by Crassus were killed in this battle, together with their generals, Castus and Gannicus," so says Livy and the Romans recaptured 5 eagles, 26 ensigns and much plunder, among which were the prætorian fasces."

Page 320, Note 119: "Crassus had in the war of the gladiators, at Catana, built a couple of palisade-like intrenchments that walled the camps of Spartacus from his own army. In the night, Spartacus set his army in motion while the prætorian guards remained on high ground in their camps, in order to deceive the Romans. He thus led out all his force and going to the foot of the mountains they all met at a place indicated in advance. The cavalry was attacked by L. Quinctio and the part under Spartacus was drawn off so as to frustrate a battle with him. The other part consisting of Gauls and Germans who had been in a faction against their head leader and who were commanded by Castus and Gannicus, were allured into an attack (upon Quinctio), by his pretending to escape. In this way the Roman drew up his forces against them and when the barbarians came up he formed his cavalry in squares and suddenly throwing off the mask, fell upon them with a clamor. Thirty-five thousand armed men, Livy tells us, fell in this battle, together with both the leaders, Castus and Gannicus." See also last words of Frontin, above.

Page 323, Note 121: "Pompey was bending his energies to reach and seize Spartacus; and the latter believed him to be bearing down upon him—even then, summoned to a con-

sultation with Crassus. Disdaining to find out by inquiries what was going on, he had the cavalry brought up, forced his entire army through the barriers of the intrenchment and escaped to Brundisium, followed by Crassus. Spartacus however, learned that Lucullus had arrived in Brundisium, having finished his defeat of Mithridates. He now became desperate; for he knew that he was about to fall into the hands of Crassus, with all of his great army of so many times ten thousand in number. Spartacus received a wound in the thigh by a dart, in the great battle that took place. Bending the knee to the fight and throwing away his shield, he stood out upon the approaching enemy and in single, hand-to-hand conflict, fell, covered with wounds, leaving many, in a circle around him, dead."

Page 325, Note 123, Schambach says: "Vellejus is of little value to us. We get nothing through him that is not already known, except this statement regarding the numbers, that 'of the 300,000 slaves engaged in the last battle, only 40,000 were left.'"

Page 325, Note 124, What Vellejus, interpolated by somebody, is wrongfully made to say: "Runaways from the training school for gladiators, at Capua with a leader named Spartacus, escaped, and having seized swords in the city, grew in numbers day by day until they became a multitude. With traps and tricks they inflicted great damage to Italy and their numbers rose so that at the last battle there were 40,000 in line" (the original MSS. written by Vellejus himself, had it 300,000, the number 40,000 surviving) "who arrayed themselves against the Roman army." John Campbell's note is as follows: "Although I do not think that I ought to alter anything myself, I will say that there is a great dispute here, among writers. Among those known to hold a diversity of opinion is Vossius, the exceedingly learned author of a dissertation on translations, in his edition of Florus, book III., chapter 20." Again: "Forty; Some others augment this number by a great deal. Eutrope is among those who make it smallest of all. He writes it down as 60,000 men who were collected by Spartacus. But Appian extends the number to 120,000. Orosius who continued the histories of Livy is observed to hold a medium between these. Thus I shall scarcely go wide of the truth by stating it, with Vossius, at 90,000. This is but a paltry pivotal number from which the writers vary one way or the other; since the real edition of Vellejus gives it at 300,000 men." Signed by Heinsius. Remarks from the Hudson edition, note 5: "Vossius does not dispute that the number should be read 90,000 or 100,000, because the original edition of Vellejus reads 300,000 men."

Page 327, Note 128: "The battle became great and obsti-

nate as so many times ten thousand men grew desperate. Spartacus was wounded in the thigh by a javelin (dart) and bending his knee, threw off his shield and plunged in upon the approaching columns of the enemy until he himself and many more, fighting in a circle around him, fell."

Page 328, Note 132, Words of Heinsius on the number of men under Spartacus who fell in the last battle: "Since the main edition (of Vellejus) says '40,000 out of the 300,000 men.'" Words of Schambach, the best modern critic, see note 123; Words of Appian: "The rest of the army fell into disorder and the men were cut down in great numbers while the loss on the part of the Romans was not very great, reaching only to a few thousand men. The dead body of Spartacus could not be found."

Page 330, Note 136: "The number of killed, according to Athenæus, in this and other less important slave uprisings which peradventure have, or have not come down to us, rose to something like a million. He probably got his figures out of the exaggerated calculations of Cæcilius Calactenus."

CHAPTER XIII.

Page 334, Note 1: "We search for the place and the nature of the skilled workmen in trade unions engaged in public affairs and government work, who were tolerated by law—and this is being examined in so far as may be—although among authors this thing is kept very dark."

Page 335, Note 6: "Declares that Numa the king, created the third union, that of the bronze-workers, in the city of Rome. . . . Numa the king, instituted the seventh union—that of the potters."

Page 335, Note 7: "The Roman state originally granted the trade organizations, such as did service to its religious functions and its military, complete privileges and its immediate protection, together with a code of self-sustaining rules on the communal plan."

Page 335, Note 8: "In very ancient times the right of combining into organized form was allowed to everybody."

Page 336, Note 10: "In the divisions of the trades and professions there were included along with the skilled arts, the flute-players, gold-workers, dyers, shoemakers, tanners curriers, braziers, potters and all the others instructed to operate under the same system."

Page 337: Note 13: "It is worthy of remark here that this is the law of Solon, as it relates to the sacred and civil communes."

Page 338, Note 14: "Amasis made a law for the Egyptians which made it compulsory upon all to inform the governors

of their districts as to how they maintained themselves, on pain of death. Solon brought this law to Athens and established it there."

Page 340, Note 17: "Although much was destroyed in the civil war, yet there were in his possesssion, 4,116 slaves."

Page 340, Note 19: "Not only these ancient unions were restored in spite of the senate, but new ones, too numerous to count were enrolled by a gladiator."

Page 342, Note 21: "To his most virtuous wife Numisia, with her incomparable love, with whom he lived 17 years, 11 months and 17 days."

Page 343, Note 26: "We are nevertheless surprised to see in Livy who knew the old traditions, that the optimate class denied the admission of plebeians as citizens, not because they were from conquered countries, but because they were without religion and without family. Now this reproach, unmerited at the time of Licinius Stolo and which those living contemporaneously to Livy, could scarcely understand, coming down from a high antiquity, reminds us of the ancient organization of cities."

Page 344, Note 27: "Men of the inferior class formed a body or union among themselves. What was meant by the people was the patrician class and their clients. The plebeians were outside of this."

Page 344, Note 28: "This was a renunciation of religion. Let us again remark that a son born without the regular ceremonies and rites, was recognized an illegitimate, the same as one born of an adultery; and the domestic, or home religion was not for him at all."

Page 344, Note 29: "But such, and of such a sort was the religion of the unions called the sodality that they were prohibited by the public laws in order to be rid of annoyances."

Page 344 Note 30: "The sodalis (union of a pretended religious nature), is a species of wild thing, evidently derived from the stock farms and farms of the Germans, and addicted to their lupercalian orgies, whose meetings in the forest were instituted before the laws that govern mankind."

Page 345, Note 33: "In a great many places Cicero inveighs against P. Clodius who by his law, restored the unions, 58 years before Christ, and even caused the creation of new "

Page 346, Note 35: "Be it known that whoever commits suicide for whatsoever cause, shall for that offense, be denied a burial."

Page 346, Note 36: "This deceit which used religion as a cloak caused the senate to withdraw the right of combination." Again: "Under pretext of religion, those forming illicit combinations for purposes of political power by vote

(the ballot), are not to be included among ancient organizations."

Page 347, Note 38: "We have elsewhere shown that the Roman law of the Twelve Tables touching the corporations, continued the same dispensations as the Greek law, to such an extent that they appeared to Gaius to be a translation from the Greek to the Latin."

Page 347, Note 40: "Combinations also of quarrelsome people without legal authority, often commit mischief, on account of which the religious unions were suppressed by various laws."

Page 350, Note 44: "It did not ameliorate the low estimation in which the laboring people were held; even though quite a number of celebrated men belonged by birth or business to this class."

Page 357, INSCRIPTION AT LANUVIUM Completed.
 "Be it ordained that whoever shall be created a five-years' magistrate in this union, shall, from the date at which he so became, as appears stamped on the records, be free and exempt from the duties of the other members; and double as much shall be given him out of all the resources, as to the others. So also to the scribe or amanuensis as well as to the traveling agent, once and a half as much is to be paid, out of the revenues, from the time he takes the office."

"Be it ordered that whoever conducts the office of the quinquennial or five-years' magistrate faithfully and honorably, shall receive one and a half times that of an ordinary member, out of every revenue; that those behind may be imbued with an emulation and a hope, by following in his footsteps."

"Be it ordered that if any one wishes to bring complaint or to make any demands, let the same be done in a session of the union, that it may be done quietly and in the good feeling that prevails when we are enjoying our banquet on stated occasions."

"Be it ordered, that if any one go from his place over to another, for the purpose of sedition (disturbance), let him be fined the sum of 4 sesterces (17 cents U. S. money). But if any one speak against another, using opprobrious language, or become tumultuous, let him be fined and disgraced. If any person during his term of the five-years' magistracy behave indecently, using contumelious language during the festivities, let him be fined 20 sesterces (about 82 cents), and be disgraced."

"Be it ordered that the five-years' magistrate of the union shall, during his term, behave himself with holiness on the solemn days of the feasts, by offerings of frankincense and wine and through other offices, himself performing the function of lord-

priest, robed in white; and on the birth-day of the goddess Antinœ, he shall put oil before the union and in the public bath, before the banqueting begins."

CHAPTER XIV.

- Page 360, Note 3: "The Order of Wood-workers, divided into bodies of 100 to each union, was put between the first and second categories; or if we follow Dionysius of Halicarnassus (VII., 59), we shall have: 'two bodies of 100 mechanics each, who are wood and brass workers, engaged in making the armaments of war.'"
- Page 361, Note 8: "The union of ship carpenters, . . . and in the same manner there were the mechanics in wood, of the city of Pisaurum."
- Page 362, Note 10: "By the law (senatus consult), there was the school of the unions of wood-workers under Augusta which was maintained at their own expense, founded by T. Furius, the first son who, at its dedication, gave 10 sesterces (about 42 cents) out of his own purse, so that they might enjoy a banquet every year in honor of his birth-day which occurred on the 12th of August."
- Page 362, Note 11: "All the unions were suppressed, except a few particular ones, such as he considered useful; and these were the wood-workers and the image-makers." Note of Dion Cassius: "The ancient brotherhoods . . . being regularly recorded and known to have existed for a long time."
- Page 362, Note 12: "But a great many unions had been created before. The first cause for this was religion; some thinking this a matter essential to their lives and they used these associations for sacred purposes."
- Page 362, Note 13: "Feigning religion and making a false show is what caused the senate to suppress their privilege of combination. These words must be explained as touching their meetings in the temples on pious pretenses, which, however, was in no wise against the law; though they could fraudulently use this clause of the law."
- Page 363, Note 14, at bottom, Funck Brentano says: "It was the same in the cities of Greece; this was a condition of their progress."
- Page 363, Note 15: "We have said that during the time L. Piso and A. Gabienus were consuls, P. Clodius who was a tribune of the people, strove to restore the unions and to create new ones which Cicero says were organized out of the dregs of the city of Rome."
- Page 364, Note 19: "Sacred to the holy ashes of T. Sillius & T. Liberius Priscus, president of the union of wood-workers

and five-years' magistrate with the brotherhood of cloth-fullers; and also sacred to the memory of Clavdia his free wife, who was matron of the brotherhood. Signed by C. Tullanis, T. Sillius Caris and Tiberius Claudius Phillippus, who were presidents and five-years' magistrates (quinquennals), sons of these most pious parents."

Page 365, Note 23: "Cæsar suppressed all the unions except those of ancient origin.

Page 366, Note 24: "In this case the many workmen belonging to Cato, or the 500 belonging to Crassus, would not have been able to do anything; it was necessary for government to have corporations of trade unions of the workmen."

Page 367, Note 27: "The union of stonecutters, organized by (or perhaps presided over by) Angurius Catalinus Usar."

Page 368, Note 28: "An emancipated slave who, after his manumission, became either a silversmith or an engraver and die-sinker."

Page 370, Note 34: "According to Budæus, the joiners or inside finishers (house finishers etc.), worked in wood of a smaller sort, and consequently they used to work finishing dwellings, temples, etc."

CHAPTER XV.

Page 373, Note 2: "What Flavius Josephus tells us about those works which were several times executed at Jerusalem, either in building the temple or repairing it, does not leave a chance for doubt, that the workingmen, whether Jew or Sidonian, were organized into trade unions. Furthermore every particle of doubt is removed by the following passage where he clearly speaks of the hierarchy which prevailed among the workmen and their 3,200 foremen who had 80,000 masons at work on the walls of the temple, to wit: "Of the neighbor workingmen employed by David, there were eight times ten thousand hewing stone, whose work was directed by three thousand and two hundred foremen."

Page 373, Note 3: "It should be stated at the start that the mines of iron come first; although it is both the best and the basest commodity in human use."

Page 373, Note 4: "Statue to the honor of the most pious Vulcanus, erected by (or at the instance of) T. Flavius Florus, who was priest of the Sun-god. It is of marble, for the union of sling-makers and the union of iron-workers."

Page 373, Note 5. The Arundelian slab is not so old as Numa but it embraces time remotely anterior to him. Its authenticity is subscribed to by Böckh. The passage quoted seems to speak of women who combed their hair with toothed instruments made of iron.

- Page 375, Note 8: "They forged swords and javelins out of the iron of their prisons."
- Page 377, Note 10: "The sword-makers, arrow-makers, wagon-makers, water-wheel-makers and shinglers."
- Page 378, Note 14: "To the honor of my remains! C. Furius and C. F. Lollius, chief officers of the union of machine-makers; let this be enregistered that I desire and ask of you a sacrifice; and that the union consider me worthy of a six-days' solemnity—this to take place from the Ides of March, the fourth and on my birth-day; and that as much as four dollars and thirty-five cents be expended for that purpose. Let the finest flowers be used, at a cost of eighty-seven and a half cents. If this request be not punctually fulfilled, then you shall forfeit double that sum for funeral uses, collected by subscription" (not from the treasury of the union).
- Page 379, Note 17: "One searches in vain for satisfactory information."
- Page 380, Note 19: "The government on its own part, had need, all the time, of a number and variety of workmen sufficiently large to execute its works. And what mighty works were those performed by the Romans! What temples, and such splendid temples! What aqueducts and such mighty aqueducts! What bridges and they were magnificent!
- Page 380, Note 20: "Just so the shoemakers, whom Cicero calls the girdlers, to express his contempt, as being no better than common people, formed, under Numa's categories, an especial trade organization."
- Page 381, Note 21: "There was, in fact, the government. It was the true supporter of the trade unions. And the enterprises undertaken by it formed the only permanent manufacture in which the laboring people could obtain their living, or wages day by day." Again, Granier says: "On the part of the government" etc. (see note 19 above), "it was indispensable to have unions of workingmen; and this is because they were constantly under the service and pay of government that the senate and the emperors had them provided for by laws. The law of the Twelve Tables which ordained that the unions should conform to the general statutes of the state, is therefore, in reality the first established privilege in favor of the working class already organized at the time."
- Page 382, Note 23: "A five-years' magistrate of the unions of wine-curers of the city of Rome and the port of Ostia."
- Page 383, Note 24: "The union of wine-smokers put the epitaph: 'sacred to the memory of' ". . . and Orelli adds: "I have found another union of wine-smokers."
- Page 383, Note 26: "It must be observed that among the great numbers of unions and organizations of the arts at the

port of Rome, the decurians (those of the category of 10, by law) were not simply corporations, but real trade unions." Text of the inscription: "Sacred to the memory of Cneus Sentius, son of Cneus senior, three times the successful candidate for superintendent of works and buildings, and twice elected captain and secretary-treasurer of the company at Ostia the port of Rome; a man who died while yet a youth." "This person is the first who is known to have been received as a member of a union at ten years of age; and he in fact, designates two men. He appears five times admitted during his youth, through the good nature of managers of the order of boatmen, and he belonged to the good-fellowship in the order of wine-men. He was secretary's accounting clerk under the patronage of the company and herald or crier to the unions of silversmiths, traders and wine-men. So also, he officiates in the bread supplies for the city of Rome, for unions of measurers and fruiterers, and also for the unions of light and heavy boatmen, split and corn-grits unions for furnishing food to freedmen as well as the slaves belonging to the city, for the cabriolet-drivers young and old, the oil-drivers' unions, and was youth of the plays for the fish-hucksters. Cneus Sentius Lucullus Gamala, a Clodian, beloved of his father."

Page 385, Note 30, Granier says: "From the earliest times the slaves are found to be apart from free people, forming a race by themselves. They were fed and clothed in a manner special and appropriate. The Jews used to pierce their ears while the Greeks and Romans branded them on the forehead whence the name 'Stichus' which became common and general among the slaves. From Homer's time their mode of living was regulated and they never ate bread made of wheat flour."

CHAPTER XVI.

Page 389, Note 1: "To Titus Claudius Esquilus Severus, lictor to the company of ten, under the patronage of the union of fishermen and divers and who was three times a five years' magistrate of the same. On account of his meritorious actions two statues are placed to his honor—one through the gift of money made by Aug. Antonius at Rome and the other costing more, donated by the union itself, in the sum of 10-000 sesterces, which is placed at interest, the earnings to be expended every year on the 15th calends of Feb., his birthday, in a banquet at which each member shall have a flagon of wine apportioned to him accordingly as he shall have diligently behaved in the work of the society's business with the boats under the rules of the order of fishermen and divers of the whole length of the Tiber, to whom the right of organization has been decreed by a law of Rome."

Page 391, Note 5: "At the elections of duumvirs and the board of public works of provincial cities, the trade unions, the public, and what is wonderful, women also, when they favored the candidates, voted for them. For this purpose they placarded the place as seen on the walls of Pompeii through a recent discovery."

Page 395, Note 20: "Union of hunters of Deëns who furnished the amphitheatres with wild beasts."

Page 398, Note 26: "Oligarchy of money, with its concomitants of pauperism and slavery."

CHAPTER XVII.

Page 402, Note 1: "In mirth and jollity to the union of play actors at Felan; second prompter of the companies of 10."

Page 403, Note 6: "The two inscriptions are remarkable which Gorius (Etruscans, I., p. 125, which is the same as Orelli's no. 2,447, and Muratorius' nos. 886 and 887), thinks dates from A. D. 212. In these they hold that by the wording, it is to be understood that the names of the soldiers are taken from 7 cohorts (or from the 7th cohort). They are now in the collection at Florence. An inhabitant of the seaport of Misenum arranged theatrical plays, making actors of the guards in the prætorian fleet. When Claudius Gnorimus was made a superintendent of the board of works he organized a division under one flag, and had entertainments and diversions performed by the military companions themselves. Among them are to be mentioned these names and epithets: archimimus (first mimic); archimimi Græci (Greek mimics); the clowns, the Greek clowns, the Greek performers, the jesting dandies and the machinist or scene-adjuster. All the names of the soldiers appear."

Page 404, Note 9: "The unions of mimics, both in name and kind of association are the same in arrangement as the Greek communes of skilled workmen of the Dionysian order, which were exceedingly numerous among the Greeks."

Page 413, Note 36: "The fortune-tellers whose tutelary divinity is the goddess of justice Nemesis (sun-worship), the same as good fortune."

Page 414, Note 37: "Very many unions of comic actors are being discovered."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Page 416, Note 5: "The freeborn sons of Eumachia, of the sacred union of cloth-fullers, who worked for the state (or public)."

Page 416, Note 8: "The principal corporations of the em-

- pire of Rome were those of the weavers and drapers.”
- Page 422, Note 30: “Union of the rag-pickers and patch-piecers of the provincial city of Mevaniola.”
- Page 423, Note 32: “Similar laws which were neither less wordy nor less stuffed with fawning language.”
- Page 425, Note 39: “The date, 251 years of the union, was written above, showing that it must have been founded at that time.”

CHAPTER XIX.

- Page 429, Note 3: “In the rules of Diana and Antinœ and of Esculapius and Hygæa.” Also: “In the domestic establishments of the Cæsars (from Cæsar Augustus), there were many unions of skilled mechanics.” Again: “The appearance is that there were also sailors. They dedicated the ‘family’ of sailors as sacred to Minerva.”
- Page 433, Note 14: “We do not like to look at the circus performance from cushioned seats.”

CHAPTER XX.

- Page 439, Note 3: “Placed to the memory of Aurelius Cecilus. Epictatus the student or apprentice, placed it to his honor at Lyons.” This is an inscription commemorating the union of collectors.
- Page 442, Note 10: “Tax collection of the iron forgers and iron ore miners.” Also: “Sacred to the memory of Primon the tent associate, comrade of the forgers in the iron mines.”

CHAPTER XXI.

- Page 445, Note 2: “Again, there are certain unions at Rome defined under the law as sacred, with regular rules and by-laws; such as the millers and bakers; and certain others, as the boatmen in the provinces.”
- Page 445, Note 3: “P. Monetius a freedman member, and Philogenes, a worker in metals.
- Page 446, Note 4: “There is shown on the pyramid, by letters engraved in the Egyptian style, the statistics of living for the workmen. If I remember the interpreter rightly, the expense for eatables for them alone was, for radishes, onions, and garlic, no less than \$1,690,000.
- Page 447, Note 5: “For both on account of the necessity of burials and their usefulness in putting out fires, the senate continued their right to organize. For this reason, those only were prohibited who had ostensibly gone into a burial association with the real purpose of forming one of incendiaries.”

- Page 447, Note 6: "He (or the senate) gave permission to organize, to all the wine-men, brothel keepers, shoemakers and the artisans generally; and ordered that the magistrates should keep an eye upon them, seeing to it that they maintained their proper relations one to another."
- Page 448, Note 9: "The variety, extent and propagation of the organizations."
- Page 455, Note 16: "There are unions of brotherhoods of *eranoi*, allowed to combine by the consent of the magistrates of Athens, with their help, good will and indulgence toward those that were called, sometimes the *eranos*, sometimes the *thiasos*, and by others, the commune or union of the brotherhood, and the union of the *thiasotes*."
- Page 456, Note 17: "Some of the communistic societies are thought to be for pleasures or enjoyment, among which are the *thiasotes* and *eranists*. Some are combined for the purpose of performing sacrifice to the gods."
- Page 458, Note 18: "We are all a brotherhood (*thiasotes*) under this divinity" (meaning the god of love).

CHAPTER XXII.

- Page 467, Note 5: "Of late, in order to make the arrangements easy, all the between-distances are designated, and so well learned as to be in familiar use. So the custom is to drive down the staff of the banners (*vexilla*). One of them, and in fact the first one, must be put at the place where the general's tent stands; another is fixed at one side and the third at a central point between the lines toward which the tribunes march. A fourth is put in a position at which the legions are to be stationed. Then certain other flags which are red, although the consul's banner is white, are placed as follows: Among these red flags some are placed on the side opposite the *prætorian* guards. Sometimes they are fixed to naked spears or lances driven into the ground, the banners being frequently of more than one color."
- Page 470, Note 10: "These rudimental colors are the red, the orange, the yellow, the blue, the indigo and the violet."
- Page 471, Note 12: "To finish the arrangements of the camp, tribunes find it necessary to exact an oath from all, whether freedmen or slaves, and this is done in the following manner: 'You solemnly swear that you will not steal anything from the camp; and moreover, if any one finds anything, that he will bring the same to the general.'"
- Page 474, Note 20: "Nor could the angry and threatening aspect of things be assuaged. There was no election except for members of the board of public works and for trib-

unes of the common people. Licinius and Sextius were re-elected tribunes and it was impossible to fill the aristocratic chair of consul; so that there was an interregnum during a period of five years; for as the plebeian party succeeded in restoring the two tribunes, these broke up the election of military tribunes or commanders, and thus held the city for five years."

Page 475, Note 22: "Horatius had an unmarried sister, in love with, and engaged to, one of the three Curiatii (antagonists whom he killed). When he observed her in front of the gate of Capua, in tears and rending her hair knowing by the military cloak over his shoulder that it was her dead lover he became aroused by her weeping, being worse aggravated by the congratulation of the public at his moment of victory. These awakened the ferocity of the young man's soul. Drawing his sword and at the same time shouting, he stabbed the girl through the body, crying: 'Hence with your love! Get you gone to your lover! Go down with the dead men into oblivion! Be done with life and forget the land of your fathers! Hello, hangman! bind together the hands which but now were in arms against the power of the Roman people!' " The words of the father of Manlius were: "Heigh there, executioner, tie him to the post!"

Page 477, Note 25: "The little toga was put on the lictor near the city gate and when he took it he cast off his saga and went again into the service of the consul."

Page 484, Note 43: "Flag-bearers who carried banners and colors in honor of the gods, at the pageants, the festivities and the games."

Page 484, Note 44: "Ancient and revered union of master flag-bearers at the banquets and their numerous varieties extending from the image and ensign-bearers who are the genus to the standard-bearers who are the species."

Page 484, Note 45: "One will easily understand that there might have been lively quarrels or differences among these unions of shoemakers and cobblers—the one selling old boots and shoes, the other bartering certain articles of its trade but in doing so, trenching upon the conditions prescribed by the rules and regulations. Indeed, oftentimes the courts and tribunals of justice heard their grievances and interfered against acts which they often committed, or prevented their combats."

Page 485, Note 46: "Their banner was in three colors divided from each other by a pale blue strip, the first division being red, with a gilt-handled knife; the third part was gold with a horse bit in red."

Page 485, Note 48: "At Clermont, blood-red with a blade of silver and a gilt handle."

Page 486, Note 50: "At Montferrand the shoemakers, in union with the carders, weavers, dealers in old junk, tavern-keepers and masons carried a banner the color of which was red and in the center was the virgin in silver, with the infant. It was margined with gold."

Page 488, Note 53: "One may make a very curiosity-gratifying study of the part which the military carpentry played in the second expedition of Pepin-le Bref in the year 761 against Gaire, duke of Aquitania. At the siege in which he took the city of Clermont he profited by the experience of the Lombards, and caused formidable battering-rams to be slung against the walls. These consisted of beams of enormous size set swinging by levers, and rolling upon cylinders made to oscillate backwards and forwards by ropes, the impulse being given by carpenters and skilled men who hurled iron-headed ends against the walls and stove them to pieces. To this day one may observe the marks of damage thus sustained at other sieges of Clermont and Montferrand, A. D. 1121 and 1126."

CHAPTER XXIII.

Page 498, Note 3 "In Epidamnus there were no artisans except public slaves. Manual skilled labor was in consequence condemned and despised, and in many cities even forbidden the citizens."

Page 499, Note 9: "Who is he that is not tired and disgusted with reading and writing of long and irksome wars and the motives that propel them."

Page 499, Note 11: "That sort which the Greeks call burden-bearers, but which we in Latin denominate drudges."

Page 499, Note 12: "Wherefore I plead and beseech, O judges, that you see in the true light this work which Sextus Clodius has, within these few days accomplished. I demand that you look after this man whom you for two years, have seen as the minister or leader of sedition—the man who is burning the holy altars and the wealth of the Roman people, blotting them from public memory by his own hand; a man without condition, without a faith, without hope, without a home, without fortune, mouth, tongue, hand or even life that be not smirched and polluted; the man who brought to disgrace the name of Catulus, who consummated the ruin of my house and burned the home of my brother."

Page 500, Note 14: "It is very much to be regretted that so slender details of them have come down to us."

Page 500, Note 15: "One seeks in vain for satisfactory information."

Page 503, Note 18: "Relating to a thiasos which is an assemblage of people for purposes of drinking."

- Page 503, Note 19: "Polybius recounts in his Histories, (book 20, chapter 6), that these garlands and wreaths were in their finest stage of effusion in Bœtia."
- Page 503, Note 20: "The thiasos is not an association for wine and drunkenness."
- Page 506, Note 25: "A certain degree of satisfaction and of confidence."
- Page 510, Note 37: "Besides these smaller unions devoted exclusively to private objects, there were also boatmen and dealers who had their unions."
- Page 511, Note 41: "Both sorts of eranos appear to have been mixed with the thiasotes at a very early time."
- Page 513, Note 46: "Nowhere were the religious societies more numerous than at the Piræus."

CHAPTER XXIV.

- Page 552 Note 69: "So far as the civil right is concerned, slaves are not considered anything; not so however, the natural right, for in the natural right, all men are equal." Again, Florentine says: "The condition of slavery is provided for by a code of rights for high-born citizens, by which a man may be subjected to an outside owner or master contrary to nature."
- Page 553, Note 70: "We come together in our brotherhood and our congregation in order that we may walk and work together as it were in prayers and deeds."
- Page 552, Note 76: "So it seems, said he (Socrates), O comrades; in all likelihood we ourselves resemble the great spirit; and in the realm of time, the mortal probation, our life is the same in stature and shape as the immortal divinities, but when once fixed in our seats in the newer form and shape, forget not that then, we are all thiasotes and members of the brotherhood, under Eros, the God of Love."
- Page 557, Note 87 "The well-nigh incestuous liason of Antipas and Herodias was then and there accomplished."
- Page 569, Note 109: "The harvesting was accomplished in the following manner: In the great estates occupying the larger valleys and level tracts of land, a machine is used having its outer margin full of teeth and this they force through by means of two wheels, and the power of an ox harnessed in thills behind (and pushing the machine). In this way the heads of the grain are torn off and fall into a trough attached to the vehicle. The stalks which are left below the heads thus harvested, they afterwards cut with a sickle." Palladius says: "In the more level parts of Gaul the following apparatus is in use for harvesting, which does away with the labor of man to such an extent that an ox performs the en-

tire task of harvesting. A cart or carriage is constructed furnished with two small wheels. On this carriage is mounted a square box made of planks, with the top larger in size than the bottom. The height of this cart-box is less in front than in rear. Here are fixed many small teeth, curved backwards, not so thickly set but that the grain can get between them, and arranged in such an order that the heads may enter above. Behind this cart are two small tongues or thills, as if the animal were harnessed in a chair. Here the ox is fastened, his head towards the machine, by means of a yoke and chains; and when all is ready, he begins to push the cart forward, into the grain. Thus every head is caught between these teeth and torn from its stalk—which is left standing—and falls into the box. The machine is generally about the height of an ordinary small ox that propels it from behind. Thus by a few bouts and in a very short space of time, the entire harvest is accomplished. This machine is useful in valleys and level fields, and in those places where straw and chaff are necessary for manure."

GREEK INSCRIPTION

CORONATION AT SYMPOSIUM OF A THIASOS,

(FACING AND INCLUDING PAGE 463).

¹THE MALE and female members of this thiasos crown Sratonice, daughter of Menecrates, who was presiding officer for prophecy and predictions of the eranos, in the one hundred and seventy-eighth year of its existence; since she was loyal to the great mother Ceres, and to the sun-god, Apollo. An upright tablet of stone is engraved to her honor and ornamented with wreaths and ribbons, and she is further honored by a public proclamation at the meeting in the temple of Jupiter."

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THE ANCIENT LOWLY

THE ANCIENT LOWLY

A History of the Ancient Working People from the
Earliest Known Period to the Adoption
of Christianity by Constantine

VOLUME II

BY
C. OSBORNE WARD



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THE STUDY OF TRUE HISTORY ON
LINES OF ORGANIZATION AND
DEVELOPMENT

P R E F A C E.

THE original ancient idea of socialism was based on the family of father, mother and children; the father and mother being endowed with the mild but positive authority and dignity of lord and lady—a loving community, changeless and eternal. They as now and forever, were to have their common table, their common industry, their common holdings, their parental and filial loves, joys, cares, prosperity, physical and spiritual salvation, all together. This is the nucleus of an undying socialism, so aged that we find no record of its origin. But so fierce and animal-like is the individual, and so graspingly covetous that this father, long before the great lawgiver came, had turned aristocrat, as explained in our first volume, converted the children to slaves, multiplied their numbers by his own law of licentiousness ruining the family microcosm, forcing the children to revolt and filling the earth with an expatriated and outcast class.

Next, and to remedy this and springing from it, came Solon's scheme. This was to enlarge the microcosm into the *eranothiasos* or initiated brotherhood to be composed of all such expatriated, laboring outcasts and extended by confraternity to consist of many such families united into one. These in the same manner were to be the children of a lord, master, father and mother, who, however, were always voted into place by the children themselves. Here first came into the world the great votive franchise elaborately shown in this work as the basis of scientific, practical socialism. The wording of the law handing down this mighty gift is not lost; for although not appearing in the fragment of the Twelve Tables left us, many inscriptions allude to it, among them, one or two of great value. Readers may learn this with surprise.

The law of universal suffrage was conferred upon the organized working people by both Solon and Numa Pompilius, and we have found and quoted inscriptions giving portions of it. They were not guilds like the mean and selfish non-political corporations of medieval and modern feudalism, but real, genuine voting trade unions greatly resembling the later institution called the socialist trade and labor alliance.

No new candidate or child could possibly be adopted into this enlarged family who could not prove him, or herself to be "*hagios kai eusebes kai agathos*"—a strictly Solonic injunction and requirement found in a large number of inscriptions of guild-like labor unions, not only of Hellenist Greeks and Asiatic Jews, but also of converted Christians of that early period and seemingly a delightful coincidence, reminding the reader of "the present reawakening of the working classes," of the modern communist Manifesto creating the International Association of Marx, which declares that "all its members shall recognize that Truth, Morality, Justice, must be the basis of the conduct toward each other and toward all men." The three Greek words of the requirement bear substantially this typical meaning. That these splendid associations were made up of a mixed membership of any and all who could, on a test or scrutiny called the "*dokimasia*," prove themselves to possess these three virtues, were admitted, "regardless of sex, color, creed or nationality," has been thoroughly attested by savants of our modern archaeological seminaries, Dr. Foucart among many others. Under this an international scheme of political economy took root and worked with extraordinary success, until the Solonic unions spread themselves over the earth and were millions in number at the time of the Advent, notwithstanding the

prodigious efforts of capitalism and its wars of conquest to suppress them.

That the scheme went farther, and under the proclamation of Jesus hazarded an open advocacy of the same socialism to embrace the world; but meeting fierce opposition, not only of the Roman gens and aristocratic, capital-controlling Jews, but later, of the church prelates themselves, who had grown to power through it and colluded with priests and kings, it sank by the cruel conspiracy canon of Laodicea to rise no more, unless this extraordinary reappearance of our own generation means its resurrection.

It was hoped that the Solonism of the combined brotherhoods, forming a microcosm, and its expansion, would have caused it to become a vast socialism with the same family tenets, elements of imperishable brotherhood and votive franchise, and be converted into a universal family association, owning and operating all the implements of labor and all the means of life, always patterning after the family nucleus wherein the government became father and mother, and the citizens the children, having, like every well-regulated family, the common table, communal ownership, management in production and distribution, and the same communal code. This was the scheme originally embodied in the memorable order to "go forth." This ancient scheme is still the longing of cheated humanity, and is the plan of salvation, and the Logos or Word of Promise. The desecration of this great original scheme becomes the more blasphemous on the discovery of a large number of ancient papyri, inscriptions and other literature proving beyond cavil that the "Word" originally, as John interpreted it, meant "Work."

Be the opinions of a prejudiced world ever so

strong, the fundamental truth remains as the prime revelation of this work, although never before brought to the light or entered upon any historical records, that the era we are living in was planted into a vast, aged labor organization, of prodigious power and influence, authorized by Solon and nurtured under his great *jus coeundi*, or right of combination granted the proletarian millions. This organization, in spite of every opposition of militarism and individual ambition, had spread itself over mainlands, islands and seas, and was at its best and most all-pervading, at the time of the Advent. It was densely and impenetrably secret, and consequently the initiate could go without scrip or purse, and could move under its invisible welcome and protection through a thousand villages and cities, from refuge to refuge, one of which each union is found to have possessed, and thus spread the "tidings" to the uttermost parts of the earth. They did not need to starve or falter or take thought for the morrow, for they were fed and given the password just as promised them on a certain celebrated occasion, when at Jerusalem, as we are told, three thousand joined, and though for a time silenced, leaving the economic half to linger, sorely pining under arrest, yet we need not abide in dismay; for out of it, and through that phenomenal plant, multitudes of better synagogues, temples, mosques, churches and tabernacles dot the earth to-day, which a discontented and more enlightened people desire to see thrown open to the free return and re-entrance of that original socialism which is again to give the children bread, as well as a promise in the indemonstrable beyond.

In proof of this intensely practical moiety of that

ancient seed-store, we have elaborately shown that in A. D. 79, only 46 years after the pupils were ordered forth, fifteen hundred political election documents were inscribed and set up at Pompeii, beseeching the members to vote the ticket of the unions, that the workmen might have the public employment; and the old pagan temple of Isis, congregation and all, had already been converted over to the Christians, for they owned it and made its refuge their asylum and tabernacle. So again, only eighty years after the crucifixion, Pliny found them sconded among the trade unions of Asia and he had to throw them to the hungry beasts of the amphitheatres by hundreds if not thousands because, in accordance with the command of their martyred teacher, they had refused to pay tribute to Caesar.

All inscriptional, epistolary, apologetical and historical evidence, which is surprisingly voluminous, and which we have faithfully portrayed, centers down to prove that the thing we call "our era" originated in and was no other than a vast working people's movement; and the outcasts themselves understood, by a desperate effort, having for a short time for their teacher and exponent a workingman from among themselves and a carpenter by trade, to push and pry the socialism of the original family, as well as Solon's microcosm of the secret trade union, out of its occultism, and up into the open world. Had it not been suppressed it would have swept the disinherited millions into a voting cosmos or universal state, which, following the gist of things, must have swollen into a prodigious family, whose members working each for all, like a state or nation, would own and manage on a plan of equal interests, all the implements of labor,

conducting all production and distribution as a family brotherhood.

Judging from the strides our modern enlightenment is making through the combined instrumentalities of the ballot and of mechanics, it is by no means too much to say that it will yet be done. But it was suppressed; and we have been so fortunate as to find the very words of the infamous edicts of suppression. We have quoted them verbatim, in the Greek and Latin texts, and have rendered them into plain English, so that future teachers may be set right on one of the most important as well as scientific and profound movements that have agitated the minds of men.

Statistics of great importance come from these inscriptions showing that by means of their *eranos* or union, workmen in the commonest lines of employment, receiving when unorganized only three oboles or about nine cents per long day of twelve or fourteen hours without board, got, when organized, one drachma and three oboles, or twenty-nine cents; more than three times as much per short day under government employment, with excellent food at the "*prytaneum*" or "*mageireion*" which was a public kitchen like that at Grenoble to-day. This great difference was entirely due to their being organized in the Solonic *eranos* or voting union. The short days are understood to mean eight hours because the law divided their day into three equal parts. Abundance of the same monumental evidence which we have elaborately set forth, shows that the workmen used their ballot with powerful energy everywhere, electing candidates to the public works who were their friends, and who almost always awarded them the government employ.

Several characters of world-wide celebrity whose

very existence has been strenuously denied because the names occur in certain standard books, are found to be historical with a certainty which places them beyond the pale of doubt and this too, through their officiating as officers of the labor unions. Among them is Luke, the doctor. Only his guild honored him. We quote the law preserved by a Roman jurist for the Digest, forbidding any dignity or social aspiration for either physicians, merchants or day laborers. Of old, they all ranked on the same social plane. We have found and fully portrayed several important inscriptions regarding him. They are entirely secular, making no reference to Luke's theological career, and totally apart from the canonical or apocryphal gospels.

One of these is a crowning or eulogium. It gives him afresh to the world; this time accompanied by a short history of his life and acts. He was honored in old age by his union of the medical fraternity, a *koinon* with its common table and communal code, for having been successively a manager of the Board of public works, a director of healthful gymnastics, an educator in the Schools of Tyrannus and a person of great vigor, energy and virtue. By another valuable new-found inscription we have his epitaph and know where he was placed at rest at the close of a long life of usefulness.

One of the important disclosures of this work is that of the early and vigorous co-operation of the Jews. They seem, however, not to have been Sanhedral Jews, but Semitics of Solon's guilds—a distinction as wide as the gulf separating lord from outcast—trade-unionist Jews and working people in the strictest sense. Inscriptional discovery, that elenchus of all arguments, forms our principal source of this evidence.

They are found to have existed in great numbers right where the organizations flourished, and to have joined the movement with a keen and vigorous energy. There is one strange point in their former history which we do not attempt to discuss. Certainly from the battle between Moloch and Moses which reddened the feet of Mount Sinai with the blood of three thousand Jews, there was a division and dispersion of these brilliant and tenacious people; for our main evidence rests on their firm alliance with the unions and not with the followers of Mosaism, inasmuch as they are found knitted into many guilds under the Solonic law and endorsing the patron gods and goddesses like the Gentile members, complying with the rules of the sacrifices of official paganism. When the Christians came they joined their movements with great energy and had good reasons for it; for their own mysterious priesthood had lied to them. Gentiles, Jews, Africans, Indians from beyond the Euphrates, had for seven hundred years been courting a fervid belief that the special divinity of each union they belonged to, would surely one day come in their behalf and relieve their burdens. Thus, at the time our first volume left off, the close of the conquests and the arrival of the workingman upon the scene, their condition was worse than ever known before. Conquest to destroy the unions, and to gratify the taste for blood and greed had not only ruined their once happy homes and torn them asunder, but out of their own ranks, standing armies with their wars had filled the world with innumerable heart-broken slaves.

It was a moment typical of all sorrows. But to the poor man long enjoying his peaceful union, this was more terrible than to all others. His industry had

been supplanted by the labor of slaves, mostly prisoners seized in war, almost exactly as men to-day are turned out of employment by machines of their own invention. But instead of modern inanimate machines, their own flesh and blood had been ruthlessly hurled into competition against themselves and made to do for nothing the work their unions formerly coveted. Thrown out of employment by hundreds of thousands through this competition, they delved as slaves or roamed the world as tramps, and in a lingering superstition longed for a redeemer; for their Dionysus Kathegemona, their Cybele, their Osiris, their smiling, captivating Cotytto, had utterly failed them, with the boasting promises of their empty theogony—the ghastly destiny of mythical religions. They began to realize that they must solve their own problem. It may still be argued that at this very day the religion men have placed reliance in, has proved a similar failure and again they are ready to burst its bonds and get at something with a meaning; for a great complaint is abroad that the laboring elements are deserting the temples in disappointment, declaring that for them there is nothing in religion but emptiness and visionary illusion.

Of all the valuable factors entering into the era of our day this phenomenal Hebrew, be he Mosaic or Solonic, we know not, care not, was the prime, in a movement stretching from Solon to the suppression of the unions at Laodicea, about a thousand years. Like all the workers he wrote no literature, but numerous monumental relics inform us that a clause in Solon's law made the carving of the records on stone compulsory. Thus we have, along with those of Gentile races with whom he worked in marvelous harmony, thou-

sands of epitaphs, decrees, minutes of debate, petitions, transactions of the eranos, laws, rules, sales of slaves to a patron divinity amounting to their liberation, loans of money to troops or companies from common funds of their eranos, symposiums, love-feasts, anageneses and coronations in honor of their elevation of some kurios or lord, consecration of many a pre-christian "House" or lord's temple, and funding, building and dedicating of heroons without number, all containing irrefutable history of their organization in the secret Solonic Guilds. In Asia Minor just before and during the period of the Advent they must have numbered millions. They preserved their ancient language in a corrupt form and stretched across the Syrian boundary southward into Palestine, sweeping their typical carpenter along with them as lord of the lords as they went, and were the principal quantity in the great union of over three thousand where at Jerusalem they "had all things common."

They were distinct from Jews of the Sanhedrim who taught the aristocracy of speculation. They were the true Hebrews in bulk, and represented manhood and enterprise then as now; and though in the bloody turmoils and massacres they have many times been well-nigh exterminated yet they have dared to stand out in secret or above board, for the principles underlying socialism, always opposing militarism, standing armies, and competition as the basis of political economy. This brilliant, hardworking, inextinguishable Semitic refused to die as the proud lords would have him do, and it is he who has survived the ghastly train of calamities; for his statue still shoots aloft; if not in a Jesus, in a Marx, a Lassalle or a Maimonides. The former did not write, but heralded the wonderful Word to the

angles of the winds; and it is our venture that had he written he would have produced a "Capital."

In our first volume of this work we treated of the failure of irascibility and concupiscence; we had not space to tell of the marvelous antidote couched in the Solonic dispensation. The command of mutual love crops out in many inscriptions showing that there was a clause in the law requiring love among the membership. It came from the great ancient pattern and model adopted by this lawgiver. The model was the family, the purest and noblest socialism even at this day. The injunction that the members should love one another is frequently preserved in the inscriptions and crops out glaringly in a number of them. The common table of the unions was also patterned from the family; all members, once initiated, became children of it. Each, by some labor always provided by the union itself, earned his or her right to a cover at that sacred table, and all must work. It was not charity; charity was unknown. It was not a gift; it was a sacred right, as that of the child at the paternal board.

A large amount of original material used in this second volume was not in existence when the first was published. The *Oxyrhynchus papyri*, with words of the Logos, still lay in the moulderings of Beneseh; the amazing inscriptions of ancient written music, work of organized labor, lurked forgotten at Delphi in the pronaos of Apollo's shrine at the foot of Mount Parnassus, and nobody knew of the worth of the Brienian discovery of the Kerugma Petrou. Thousands of anaglyphs, at that time undeciphered, have been registered in documents and museums for our personal inspection and listed in the *corpora Inscriptionum*, while numerous savants have ranged themselves pro

and contra upon this very theme. The author himself since the first publication, had to make another voyage of personal inspection, taking in Delphi, Corinth Athens, Smyrna and the Byzantine regions, to pencil numberless jottings now brought under contribution.

Able authorities and publishers have contributed their assistance toward obtaining and verifying the material in this volume. The author is under obligations to Col. Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of the U. S. Department of Labor for courtesies in furtherance of that journey of research. A keen gratitude is also felt toward Mr. H. M. Alden, editor of *Harpers' Magazine*, for correct advice, and letters to the Schools of Inscriptions at Athens, and the kindest remembrance is due Mr. Wm. Dean Howells, who also furnished very valuable aid.

On the other side we were met with favors by the savants of the schools themselves. Men of great learning, and authors, like Drs. Foucart, Reinach, Cagnat, Homolle of the Academies of France and Athens, and Dr. John Oehler, of the Epigraphical Seminary of Vienna, were profuse in their attentions to our subject, contributing much inedited matter of great value, which we have faithfully reproduced in these pages.

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Two remarkable expressions of well-known historians are recorded but as yet, little understood. The first is that of Livy, known as his *solitudo magistratum*, B. C., 373; the second is that of Neander,¹ known as the "prediction." They prove that great events may sometimes involve the career and well-being of mankind and then drop into forgetfulness and become for a long time lost.

The expression of Livy which our historians pay no attention to, informs us that there was a time when at Rome the political power of the laboring people rose to such a stage against the dominion of wealth and aristocracy that for five years the tribunes held control and the business of the state went on without a house of lords.² The significance of this is that the senate was ruled out by a strong majority of the strictly working people, organized under the great law of Numa Pom-

¹ The Prediction of Neander will be occasionally referred to as we proceed. The English translation of the Prediction reads as follows: "We stand on a line between the old world and the new about to be called into being by the ever fresh energy of the Gospel. For the fourth time an epoch in the life of our church is in preparation by means of Christianity." Schaaf's *Hist. of the Apostolic Church*. New York, 1851.

² Livy, *Hist. Rome*, VI. 35, fin.; Vol. I. of this work, p. 474, where Livy's remark is quoted. But as it is important we may do well to requote: "Haud irritæ cedere minæ: comitia, præter ædilium tribunorumque plebis, nulla sunt habita. Licinius Sixtiusque tribuni plebis, relecti, nullos curules magistratus creari passi sunt: eaque solitudo magistratum, et plebe reficiente duos tribunos, et his comitia tribunorum militum tollentibus, per quinquennium urbem tenuit." The object of the common people in these comitia or elections is here distinctly stated in the words "præter ædilium tribunorumque plebis;" and it is plain that as the ædiles were managers of the public works and the tribunes were members of the house of representatives, the common people by the vote which elected them to office, secured their influence in being assigned the much coveted labor of the public works. In other words it was democratic socialism, for the organized trade unions in that way secured the public jobs. They were well paid and worked about eight hours per day.

pilius which was the law of Solon, being a direct result of the Solonic dispensation.

Here Livy declares that it was not possible to elect any candidate except aspirants of the plebeian race, for a period of five years ; and he makes special mention of the important fact that the men chosen were members and directors of the board of public works. This was the pure socialism which the Roman unions were carrying out, and such as is advocated with renewed and enormous energy at the present day. By voting their own candidates into the care of buildings and grounds, who in their own language were the *ædiles* or directors of public works, the very term used by Livy, workingmen, enormously organized under the celebrated statutes of Numa or rather of Solon, and afterwards enlarged and confirmed by their great statesman and King, Tullus Hostilius, are proved to have been hotly engaged in the political agitations of furnishing their unions with work from the government to an enormous extent, in building up their great city and furnishing it with those celebrated bridges, sewers and public buildings, the ruins of which are wonders of the living age, directly under government management and pay.

The celebrated Licinius Stolo, author of the agrarian law which is accounted to be the most important of ancient statutes ² but which in reality falls in importance, far short of the great Solonic law, was, with Sixtius, a tribune of the people at that time ; and they were repeatedly elected to the tribunate, B. C. 376-357. Their combined agitation lasted ten years. When Appius Clau-

² *Encyc. Amer.*, in verb. *Stolo*, where the power of this man is acknowledged. Recent researches have brought the fact to light that those tribunes and labor organizations hinted at by Livy were in close organization under the military arrangement of Numa. See E. Bormann, in *Eranos Vindobonensis*, p. 347, who gives the original tribunes as "Tribusführer" militum; but see Andrews' elaborate definition, at the close of which these tribunes are characterized as the common people, the herd, rabble, mob, etc. In fact, Livy, VI. 35, so recognizes the power of the tribunes. The "rabble" held political control for five years. These words are to express the historian's contempt. In fact, the people, organized into powerful industrial unions under the ancient law of organization, had grown to be the ruling political force and strength of Rome. Bormann, already adverted to, says further; "Es bestand eine Reihe collegiastisch geordneten Functionäre mit der Bezeichnung tribuni;" and quotes from Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, V., 55, and V., 181; also Mommsen, *St.-R.* 111, sec. 110, showing that the plebs with their tribunes were all regularly organized in trade unions, and are so recorded later, B. C. 128-10, by Varro.

dinus was elevated to the noble office of decemvir, B. C. 451, he turned savagely against the workingmen thus organized in legalized unions, although it was their law guaranteeing them this privilege which he had the year before assisted to engrave upon one of the Twelve Tables among other early Roman statutes.³ Involved in those great turmoils of which so little is said in history, was a noble Roman, M. Manlius Capitolinus who, B. C. 390-385, took the part of the plebs against the aristocracy. He was overcome, accused, condemned, sentenced to death and thrown from the Tarpeian Rock.⁴

In those early days Rome and most all other countries held all land as untransferable property of the state. These social commotions against the people were among the earliest to establish an aristocratic ownership by the patrician class; and they were rapidly accomplishing their purpose under a right accorded by the *lex de jure quiritio*, a law based on the assumed right to crave and demand.

The actual time of the Solitudo Magistratum of Livy was B. C. 373, the moment of the Agrarian agitations.

There is now no doubt left in the minds of honest historians that the great event of a vacancy and interregnum of the power of the Roman house of lords, for five years of the republic, during which the lords were completely ruled out of office so that there was no senate, and the tribunes were supreme, is what caused the thus endangered grandees to organize the conquests. Working people were gaining political control.

The celebrated conquests form the principle part of the mighty events which charm, confuse, mislead all readers of history. Appius Claudius, the monster of the proud

³ Dig., XLVII., tit. xxii., lex. 4; see Vol. I. of this work, pp. 346, 347 and notes and p. 217, note 87 where the law is quoted. On page 287 of Vol. I., is an account of this monster, Appius Claudius, his treachery to the workers and his swift disgrace and destruction, with a rendering from Livy of the facts.

The law recorded in the *Digest* appears under the title *De Collegiis et Corporibus*, and reads: 4, Gaius, lib. 4 *Ad legem XII Tabularum*; *Sodales sunt, qui ejusdem collegii sunt: quam Gracchi εταιρίαν vocant. His autem potestatem facit lex, pactionem, quam velint, sibi ferre, dum ne qui lex publica lege corrumpant. Sed haec lex videtur ex lege Solonis translata esse: nam illic ita est: Ἐάν δὲ δῆμος, ἢ φρατορες, ἢ ἱερῶν ὀργίων, ἢ ναῦται, ἢ σύνιστοι, ἢ ὁμόταφοι, ἢ θιασῶται, ἢ ἐπὶ λίαν οἰχώμενοι, ἢ εἰς ἐμπορίαν. ὁ τι ἂν τούτων διαβῶνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους, χύριον εἶναι. εἰάν μὴ ἀπαγορένσῃ δημόσια γράμματα.*

⁴ For some account of this man who reminds us of the Gracchi being martyred in the cause of agrarian laws, see Meyers *Konversations Lexi. on* 111 verb. *Capitolinus*.

gens family of the Claudii, powerful during nearly all the stretch of republican as well as imperial Rome, was so jealous of this rising power of the poor and disinherited class of workers that he conceived the idea of exterminating them; and in collusion with many other lords of high families, advocated the idea that Rome could accomplish this purpose by flattering the organized workingman and turning their skill to the manufacture of implements of war. Every research tends to reveal evidence that there was a rising growth among the Romans, Greeks and Semites of the working classes about the time the Solonic law was translated and engraved upon the Twelve Tables. Before the conquests, affairs of the general public were, according to Polybius and Livy, rising, on account of the ascendancy of the tribunate power which came from the political organization of the plebeian or working element of the population. Civilization was everywhere prospering with a splendid outlook. The world was for the most part at peace. Grand bridges spanned the streams of Italy, Spain and Sicily. Public edifices arose in stately majesty. Architecture was at its zenith of perfection. Slavery was rapidly disappearing from the earth. Nearly all of it was the work of trade unions employed by government. After the conquests when the unions were partially throttled it was gold, power, individualism, aristocratic preference and crucifixion of the poor and downtrodden. Polybius informs us that before the conquests Rome was in the ascendant. The little acquisitions of neighboring cities and states, sometimes involving wars and strifes of short duration he does not seem to consider as classified among the great conquests. During these glorious ages there was a reign of happiness.

We strongly imagine this epoch to have been the celebrated reign of Saturn which is prehistoric and so enshrouded in mystery and historical incertitude that in another place we have ventured to regard it as mythical and untrue, although as great writers as Hesiod and Lactantius were believers. They derived their belief from tradition; and even that is generally found not to be baseless, but to be conceived from some forgotten truth.⁵

⁵ Vol. I., p. 47, and note 1.

Plato and Plutarch refer to the reign of Saturn as a well-known fact. Lactantius whom we quote in this note comes out plainly with an avowal that the happy times were the results of brotherhoods which existed in vast numbers in those early ages.

We have an example of the consummate cunning of ancient military rule when directed by the rich; and the historical fact which we, for the first time venture to lay bare, is a subject for the horror and reflection of the living age; since we need but a penetrating vision to perceive that now, as the same power of the brotherhoods is again rising and a reign of Saturn is almost in sight, there appears another hideous spectre of the military and money power to use its towering genius and its magnetic forces of bribery, darkling incantations and infatuating suasion wherewith to soothe and befog its victims until it can constrict and again swallow up the human race as was done through the Roman conquests.

Much that is interesting was recorded by the poets and historians on the celebrated reign of Saturn.⁶ There was a writer by the name of Aratus, whose work, before

⁶ Hesiod, *Fragmenta Incerta*, ed. Götting, p. 331; referring to the *θίασοι*, of these mysterious days of the reign of happiness:

"For common then were banquets and common were seats
Alike to immortal gods and mortal men."

Hesiod is taking this as sung by Ascrea. But we have given up the search for the reign of Saturn; see I., p. 47, with note. See Plato, *Laws*, IV., 6; Bekker, Hesiod; Plutarch, *De Definitione Oraculorum*, 18; Dionysius Hal., I., 34. Lactantius was a believer that there actually once existed this reign of the "Blessed" upon the earth, for he says in his *Divine Institutions*, v. c. 6: "Dim was the source of these evils bursting forth from the contempt of right; as those only who held too much shared their surplus. The greedy afterwards seized the works of others, clutching things as private property; and that which individuals as members had worked hard to obtain for use in common was now carried off to the houses of a few. In order to reduce people to slavery they systematically collected and accumulated life's necessities and shut them up, making these bounties their own; not for humanity's sake, but to sweep into their own heap the makings of lust and avarice. Under the name of justice they made unequal and unjust laws to defend their plunder against the multitude." These writings of Lactantius refer to the conquests. In a further digest of this great period which he did not doubt, he calls the reign of Saturn the truly golden age of man and in the same sentence declares that this eudæmonia was the result of brotherhoods which had existed before, but which, alas, had been destroyed. There can be no doubt that this is what Polybius meant.

The *Phænomena* of Aratus, written in Greek. Cicero and Lactantius imagined it to have been the source of the belief that in the dim antiquity property was common and happiness and plenty universal. Lust for individual gains was defined to be "black serpents, noxious with poisons, and wolves that prowled." See Virgil, *Georgics*, l. 139. Germanicus Caesar, a relative of Augustus, also translated from the lost poem of Aratus: "Nor had discord yet been known among relatives." But the legend runs: "Alas, Saturn was exiled from his throne by Jove, his mightier heir." Virgil *Æneid*, VIII., 320. The Latin reads:

being lost was partly translated by Cicero. It must have thrown out many hints, based upon the tradition, but so cleverly done that it charmed even Cicero, who was afterwards foremost in the efforts to suppress labor organizations. The more we study the innermost clews of this recondite history the more we are convinced that the reign of Saturn was the warming influence of the law of Solon, giving the workers full right of organization on the basis of mutual love and care. Levasseur, speaking of the misery into which the working classes fell after the suppression during the civil wars which constituted the closing struggle after the Roman conquests but a short time before the appearance of Christ, seems to hint that the good old times were those enjoyed under the working people's right of combination.

One of the main objects of their powerful organization, the right to which was given them by the great lawgivers—Solon for Greece, Amasis for Egypt, Numa for Rome—was to secure work from their various forms of government. We have now at command the newly found but abundant proof of this; and it is safe to say, judging from the evidence, that the comforts derived from this paternalism were very deep-seated and may well have been the source of the otherwise strange tradition of the reign of Saturn, the Latian god of agriculture, handicraft and civilization, and so the peace god who held the keys to the temple of Janus, muzzled the wardogs, instituted equality in theory at least, and in Greek-speaking lands was known by the name Kronos. An attempt was made to fuse the tenets of this mighty tutelary protector with those of his superior, the more powerful Jupiter; the attempt failed and the hopes of humanity were destroyed.

Long before the publication of the first volume of this work, it was discovered through exhumations at Pompeii that the Roman Collegia or trade unions were engaged

“Primus ab æthereo venit Saturnus Olympo,
Arma Jovis Fugiens, et reginis exul adeptis.”

During those glorious days “The poor were admitted to share the fruits of their labor.” Lactantius, *Div. Inst.*, V., 5: “Now streams of milk, now streams of nectar flowed.” Ovid, *Metem.*, I., 111. Finally, after the conquests of Jupiter, the aristocrat, who presided over the gens, or patrician family races, says the muse: “Then war's indomitable rage, and greedy lust of gain succeeded.” Virgil, *Æneid*, VIII., 327. Consult index to Vol. I.; also Chap. II., init.

very energetically in the political agitations to secure for themselves the appointments to do the public work. This however was not known to the world and the publication of the fact was a surprise.⁷ Then followed the discovery that 450 years before Christ a powerful political contention was going on wherein men often came to blows, between the trade unions vitalized by Numa and Tullus Hostilius, and the patrician aristocracy at Rome, and which we are now setting forth under Livy's episode of the *solitudo magistratum*. The same was also going on elsewhere, especially in Asia Minor.

These contentions between the lowly workers, descendants of slaves and children of Saturn, and the worshipers of Jove, Jupiter, Jehovah, highbloods or aristocrats claiming to be born of an inheritance of power and wealth, were by a cunning slight fused, on this very question of government employment.⁸ They were so far bargained away that they consented to turn their skill and force to manufacturing on an enormous scale, the implements of warfare. By this bargain they could all be employed under government and be paid for their work, directly from the paternal treasury, and without the middleman or contractor to fleece them of their wages; thus doing the great work of the armories for the conquests. Alas, it was a deadly deal; for in the end it led to well-nigh their own destruction. When the conquests broke forth, and the doors of the temple of Janus, of which Saturn held the keys of peace and civilization, were thrown open by the aristocrat Jupiter and his war-god Mars, the retributive slaughter set in. The majority of mankind who were propertyless, and had no means except their hands and brain to live from, found themselves organized into a vast mutuality of brotherhoods.⁹ Ages of contact with their masters, of whom they were formerly slaves, taught them to understand that property in trade unionism is inimical to life. Property they made common.

⁷ *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières*, I., p. 4. "Le peuple romain avait depuis longtemps perdu le sentiment de la liberté: il ne se soulevait plus à la voix d'un tribun qui lui parlait de ses droits; on lui peignait l'oppression de la noblesse; mais il était terrible quand il avait faim."

⁸ I., pp. 390, 391, with notes 3, 4 and 5, containing the Latin of several: but the number since found rises to many hundreds.

⁹ Report of the Nebraska State Bureau of Labor Statistics; Biennial for 1897-1898, pp. 255 sqq., on *Trade Unions Under the Solonic Law*, where their ancient principle of a common table and a common code is shown. Copied from the *Arena*, for May, 1897.

The Roman conquests destroyed the old freedom and reduced the condition of laboring humanity to one of terrible military slavery struggling against fear, tyranny, massacre and crucifixion. Against these calamities there came many revolts, insurrections and revolutions, which we have already depicted.¹⁰ However it may have been with the Mongolian and far eastern races of mankind the belief in the notion that there originally existed a primordial collectivism is proving itself false. Our assertion grows in force more and more. Originally the children were slaves and the most powerful was he who mauled the smaller into obedience. He mutilated or killed, or enslaved them for his selfish uses.¹¹ The first mutualists were the outcasts themselves and they were already enormously organized when those wisest and best of men possessing power gave an already vast combination a legal sanction; and there are growing evidences which prove that this mythic reign of Saturn who was dethroned when Jove the aristocrat tore open the portal of the temple of Janus which held the god of war, turning him loose upon his awful errand of destruction, was the veritable golden age meant in the numberless hints about the prehistoric paradise and eudæmonia of the ancient "Blessed."

An enormous resource mostly from the inscriptions, but often corroborated by coeval literature, has recently been opened to students of socialism showing that this reputed happiness which characterized those prehistoric ages, was due to the employment by the state and the municipalities, of the workers through boards of public works elected by the workers themselves. We shall quote numerous inscriptions showing this, discovered not only in Italy but in Asia Minor, Greece and Macedonia. Being voting unions they worked politically and secured the work of the public construction, guardianship and repair, which largely accounts for the excellence of the work as still exhibited in the ruins of antiquity. There are a few documents and inscriptions showing that the organizations under the Solonic law worked eight hours, dividing the day into three parts; sleep, recreation and labor.

¹⁰ Vol. I., on the insurrections, denominated *Strikes*, which they often resembled. See *index* and chapters V., VI., VII., VIII., IX., X., XI. and XII.

¹¹ I., pp. 84, 85 : 360; but especially pp. 68, 69, where it is seen that the learned de Laveleye admits as much regarding these Aryan races.

But this beautiful government employment was always endangered and threatened by the system of slavery; and finally almost submerged during the conquests which in millions reduced laboring people to slaves of war.

There was an idea prevailing among political economists of antiquity that revenues for the expenses of the state ought to be derived from state ownership and husbandry of slaves. Why not, said Xenophon and Diophantos.¹² The slaves are property of government. Whatever their labor produces is, therefore, income for the government; slaves are tools, machinery, implements of labor, nationalized. Our evidence confirming such a condition of things covers the two centuries immediately before the conquests. It is true that the Lyncurgan state of Sparta was earlier. We have already given an exhaustive description of that unparalleled iniquity,¹³ namely the nationalization of the man-machine, purposely however, leaving for this second volume of the Ancient Lowly the part relating to the nationalization of slaves as tools or implements of labor.

This nationalization of slaves as implements of labor was a rasping source of competition against the organizations of freedmen or what we may call emancipated slaves, doing business for themselves under the Solonic law. These, contrary to the will of the slave owners and the slaveholding states, grew prodigious in numbers and political power, the right thereto being accorded them by some clause in that celebrated statute, which was so mutilated at the time of the conquests, both on the slab of the Prytaneum at Athens and the Tables of law at Rome, that its exact words are unknown although Gaius has

¹² Xen., *De Vectigal.*; but consult Bücher, *Aufstände der unfreien Arbeiter*. S. 18; "Wahrscheinlich in diese Zeit, oder wenig später (B. C. 400), fällt das Projekt des Diophantos, sämtliche Handwerke durch Staatsklaven betreiben zu lassen, wie dies zur Zeit des Aristoteles in Epidamnos wirklich geschah (Aristot., *Pol.*, II., IV. 13). Da Aristot. mit Bezug auf das communistische System des Phaleas spricht so können die Worte τὸὺς τὰ κοινὰ ἐργαζομένους nur so erklärt werden, wie im Textegeschehn d. h. von einer der modernen ateliers nationaux im Wesentlichen entsprechenden Einrichtung. Die öffentlichen Arbeiten bloss den Sklaven zuzuweisen, wie Stark, bei Hermann, *sec.* 42, 8, will." etc.

One has also to read the remarkable work of Xenophon, *De Vectigal.*, passim on the Public Economics of Athens to fully understand the inhuman proposition. The state slaves were to be jobbed out to mine contractors at Laurium and the price of their daily labor some two or three oboles a day each, was to flow into the state treasury!

¹³ See Vol. I., pp. 61, 69, 94, 101, sq., also pp. 527, 528, sqq., giving a review, and 559.

preserved fragments of the main form,¹⁴ and two valuable old inscriptions confirm it.

This hideous competition of the more ancient government slaves as tools or instruments of labor, took the place, in many respects, of the modern inventions, labor-saving machines and implements, which the socialists wisely require that the public own and control in the interest of mankind to do the work now performed by wage slaves. In some countries, as in Epidamnus, the only labor performed was that of slaves, mostly belonging to the public. How could a trade union have existed there? We must conjecture that none existed. In Sparta the Helots were compelled to perform all work, while the people lounged about in easy indolence. The Helots were state property, or labor saving implements of the rich and arrogant public, and were treated as we treat inanimate machines. In cases where they became too numerous, and on account of their sufferings, sometimes causing them to become rebellious and dangerous, they were often secretly murdered.¹⁵ In our former chapters it has been recounted how the primitive fathers possessed the right of killing their slaves, many of whom were their own children. The slaves being, according to the *lex deorum* or *lex civilis*, of the same races, the same color, the same manhood, the same natural intelligence, also possessed the same pride, the same humanity. To be ground down into the dark pit of a subjugation which made them menials of irresponsible tyrants who could at will, and without fear of arrest, plunge into their innocent hearts the deadly dagger, at any time and under any pretext, was a danger worth guarding against. As a consequence we hear of many organizations of the slaves themselves, for mutual protection and enfranchisement. Dr. Foucart, the learned academician of the school of inscription at Paris, has published a valuable work, all the evidence for which he takes from inscriptions, showing the surprising fact that these poor slaves sought the protection of their tutelary deities and actually and in great numbers sold themselves

¹⁴ So very important is this great Solonic Dispensation, which it is now certain became the foundation of Christianity instead of the Mosaic law, that although we quote it, I., p. 127, note 87, we reproduce it as taken in the Digest, XLVII., tit. xxii., leg. 4; see *supra*, p. 43, note 3.

¹⁵ I., pp. 87, 98; 102, 107. Systematic assassination, 107, note 46, quoting Thucydides; also I., 528, 529.

to a god, he procuring the money by a loan from his eranos, the communistic brothers of which agreed to take their pay for such loan, in the future labor of the emancipated slave who was held by them under a species of vas-salage until his labor had cancelled the debt. We shall give an inscription in a note showing the legalized form of these amazing transactions, which prove to have prevailed to a vast extent, from before the conquests down to the Nieine epoch of the Christian era: Cleon, son of Cleoxenes, has sold to the Pythian Apollo, a male body the name of which is Istæus, a Syrian by birth, for the sum of four hundred franes, on the condition that Istæus is to be free, and that no man shall lay hands on him during his whole lifetime. The shrewd point is that he is sold to a god by the eranos, the mode of which we shall hereafter fully recount, proffering the money by a previous stipulation with the slave who is a member, and also with the owner. If they sold him to a human being amenable to the laws, then, under the laws of the state he would still belong to a person; but by transferring him to a divinity, an imagined being, awful protector, presiding deity, and rendering the price to his shrine which everybody knew was the state, or if it was in some obscure place, transferring the price to the kuriakos or temple of the divinity worshiped by the eranos, then, under the law, the transfer would legalize the man's emancipation. The priest of the god handed the owner the money at the shrine.

Masters and fathers alike were feared;¹⁶ for the law gave such an undisputed right to kill them at pleasure. During these days of constant danger the poor slaves sometimes ran away. But even in extreme cases like this they had recourse to some propitious god or goddess who took them under a grateful shelter, and no man dared invade the divinity's portals and awfully frowning environs. Foucart has made some extraordinary discoveries of this strange fact, or at least, he has written for mankind, the long dead epigraphs into the living tongues.

¹⁶ *Digest*, I. vi. sec. 1: "Igitur in potestate sunt servi dominorum. Quæ quidem potestas juris gentium est; nam apud omnes peræque gentes animadvertere possumus. dominos servos vitæ necisque potestatem fuisse." Cf. Heinecius, *Syntaxis Antiquitatum De patria potestate et de nuptiis*: Recte Imperator, s-c. 2. *Inst. h. t.* 'Jus,' inquit: 'potestatis, quod in liberos habemus. proprium est civium Romanorum. Nulli enim alii sunt homines, qui talem in liberos habeant potestatem, qualem nos habemus.' Quamvis enim apud Persas etiam

We give in a note the newly found Andanic inscription. The meaning is as follows: "Let runaway slaves take refuge in the temples, and occupy a place set apart for them by the lords. Let no one receive such fugitives, nor nourish nor give them work. Should any one do contrary to these directions let him be held to pay the owner twice the value of the slaves besides the fine of 500 drachmas. The lord must judge on the subject and deliver to slave owners those slaves whose case is bad."

A very important question comes in here. Who was this *kurios* or lord? We venture to suggest that this is a most important question. The new source of historic information is crowding reluctant science into view, verifying that he was a chief and a powerful official of the unions of the ancient lowly under the law of Solon. Where seen in the myriad organizations of Rome under the law of Numa, now proved to be the same as that of Solon, he was generally called the *quinquennalis*. He is destined to come out of the pit of oblivion to which he was relegated and to again shine forth as the great and phenomenal power which made Christianity a success; and we shall prove in subsequent mention that he is the prime fulcrum over which is to be drawn the diametrically opposite meaning between a history of Christianity and a history of the Church. It is now established that most of the greater characters, such as Stephen, James, Paul, Peter, Luke, Zachias, John, Clement, Pudens, Titus, Phœbe, Aquila and Priscilla, Lydia, Narcissus, Apelles, Philologus, Julia, Tryphena, Claudia, Sergius Paulus, Timotheus, Philemon, Epaphras, Tychicus, Onesimus, and many others, were *kurioi* or lords in the one or the other sex, having charge of the business concerns, often of rich and powerful societies. Their names are often found on inscriptions of such societies, not in a religious but, in a business sense, and identified as the self-same personages with those mentioned in the apostolic writings.

parentes in liberos imperium satis durum et fere tyrannicum exeruerint, filii suis tanquam servis usi, teste Aristotles; *Eth.*, VIII., 12." Cf. likewise Macrob., *Saturn.*, II., 5, who refers to Herod's slaughter of the infants. Dionysius of Halicarnassus confirms this, II., 26: "Ὁ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων νομοθέτης ἀπασαι, ὡς εἶπαι, ἔδωκεν ἐξούσιαν πατρὶ καθ' υἱόν, καὶ πρὸς παντὰ τὸν τοῦ βίου χρόνον . . . ἐὰν τὲ ἀποκτείνῃται προσηρῆται." And again, *Colex Just.*, VIII., tit. xlvii., lex 10: *Patribus . . . jus vitæ in liberos necisque potestas olim erat permissa.*" Josephus, *Antiqu.*, XVI., 7, in his story of Herod, Seneca, *De Clem.*, I., 17: "Quis non Væd. um Pollutione pejus oderat, quam servi sui, quod murenas sanguine humano saginabat."

In future chapters we shall give this evidence and accompany it with verbatim quotations of the original anagrams and epigraphs.

We say the whole transaction of pre-Christian emancipation, from servitude and even the protection of run-aways, was under auspices of a good divinity, which the poor always claimed to possess and which the great Solonic dispensation most nobly accorded them. It is true that the public law of the state gave them no such favor; but ancient lawgivers were superstitious and dared not regard this old statute with other than reverence. It was never repealed until A. D. 363, by the Council of Laodicea.

The transfer of a slave to the tutelary god was accompanied with a regular receipt.¹⁷ It has been shown by men of the French School of Inscriptions and the Epigraphical Seminary of Archæology attached to the University of Vienna, that a slave thus emancipated, through his sale to a god was far more secure, and his release from bondage more effective and satisfactory than his redemption, direct, from a master by will or otherwise. The solemnity of the performance; vows before the altar; presence of the kurios or lord of the union, the presence of the senators; majesty of the law making witnesses compulsory; the engraving of the ceremony into stones of the temple; the law so regulating that if the master tried any means of his re-enslavement the freedman could call help and use force; the stipulation with the god at the portals of his gorgeous temple that he was to be free to the end of his life—all these made the transaction very

¹⁷ Foucart, *L'Affranchissement des Esclaves, par vente à un Dieu*, p. 3, mentions an inscription (*Inscriptions recueillies à Delphes*, No. 73): "Ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἀπέδοτο Κλέων Κλεοξένου τῷ Απόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ σωμα ἀνδρείον ὃ ὄνομα Ἰστιάσις, τὸ γένος Σύρον, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου μῶν τεσσάρων, ἐφ' ὅτε ἐλευθέρων εἶεν, καὶ ἀνέφαπτον ἀπὸ τὸν πάντα βίον." This was, in the years of the conquests, no fictitious sale. Formerly the formality of emancipation was fictitious; for it seemed to be rigidly severe and august. The slave had to remain actual property of the god, vested in the care of some mortal man of high rank (see account of it in Vol. I., pp. 277, 278, notes 1, 2, 3); λῶς οἰκίτης θεοῦ (*Euripides, Andromed.*, V., 1089). But there came such multitudes of emancipations that the slaves, being freed from men, were likewise freed from gods; i.e., were at perfect liberty and became too many to bother the gods. The slaves got this redemption money from the union to which they belonged, the name of which was the eranos. They agreed to mortgage their bodies, which really meant their labor, to the union, until the same was gradually amortized when they became free. This very fact proves that their own unions were pledged to find them work and take care of them.

binding and not at all easy to be forgotten. It has long been known that by some process too occult for the historian, a vast emancipation of slaves filled the world with innumerable freedmen and that this process was in vogue when Homer wrote or recited his *Odyssey*. We have however explained that no mention is made of freedmen in the *Iliad*, showing the *Iliad* to be the oldest.¹⁸

Thus from very early times we find distinct traces of two religions and two sets of gods; one favoring and the other destructive of human liberty, and two distinctly defined systems of political economy; one peaceful, industrious, lowly, under the tutelage of Saturn, Nemesis, Dionysus, Minerva, the other warlike, arrogant pretentious, living in bloodthirst and destruction. The poor slaves in millions, protected by their good divinities, were frequently encouraged to run away and hide in the temple which in those times was always a residence,¹⁹ and such was the law or superstition that no man or other god

¹⁸ I. l. p. 80, where this curious if not significant conjecture is referred to Granier de Cassagnac.

¹⁹ Foucart, *Affranchissement des Esclaves*, etc., p. 13, gives the inscription of Andanie, (vide Wallon, p. 211). It reads: Φυγάμον εἰμεν τοῖς δούλοις. Τοῖς δούλοις φύγαμον ἔστω τὸ ἱερόν, καθὼς ἂν οἱ ἱεροὶ ἀποδείξωσι τὸν τόπον, καὶ μηδεὶς ὑποδεχέσθω τοὺς δραπέτας μήτε σιτοδοτεῖτω μηδὲ ἔργα παρεχέτω. Ὁ δὲ ποίων παρὰ τα γεγραμμένα, ὑπόδικος ἔστω τῷ κυρίῳ τας τοῦ σώματος διπλασίας ἀξίας καὶ ἐπιτιμὸν δραχμῶν πεντακοσίων. Ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς ἐπικρινέτω περὶ τῶν δραπετικῶν, ὅσοι κα ἦνται ἐκ τας ἀμετέρας πόλεως, καὶ ὅσους κα κατακρίνει παραδῶτω τοῖς κυρίοις ἂν δὲ μὴ παραδῶτω, ἐξέστω τῷ κυρίῳ ἀποτρέχειν ἐχοντι." Many inscriptions prove it.

Foucart, *Affranch.*, p. 9, "Καὶ τὰν τιμῶν ἔχει πάσαν. Although every trace of the methods of these transactions does not appear in inscriptions yet some of them are more elaborate. The master, or owner, accompanied by the slave, presents himself before the great temple of Apollo at Delphi, passes the grand exterior altar, and advances toward the great portal or door, but does not cross over the threshold. Priests meet them and the slave is led up to the god. In presence of senators (political government employees) and a certain number of witnesses, they pass over to, and pay the owner, the price agreed upon, and receive the benediction, a sort of ceremonious oratory, pronounced by the two parties, viz: "Καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον ἔλαβε ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁδοῦ κατὰ τὸ μεγα θύρωμα." (No. 288, of *Inscr. Recueilles à Delphes*). It is a solemn ceremony. Soon after, the formality had to be inscribed (Nos. 345, 376, 409), winding up with: "Τούτα δὲ ἐγένετο ἀνά μέσον τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ." It was an awful solemnity in presence of the god and the prelates. Foucart, *id.*, p. 49, speaks of certain restrictions to the liberty of the persons thus sold. The fact is, Apollo and many others of these august immortals were originally living men, owning great numbers of slaves, and according with the more ancient barbarism it was customary for such despots at their death and funeral to have a certain number of slaves killed in order that they might accompany their master as servants, after death. There can be no doubt that this transfer to the god was originally an awful solemnity (See I., Chap. *Spartacus*, *init.*). The wretch being bought for an attendant to his majesty after death, and that originally such human sacrifices were killed so as to watch and guard the master's manes in the other or the nether world. By gradual differentiation, however, mind outgrew this barbarism. Instead of a horror, the emancipation got to be genuine liberty of the slave, and the process became a great benefaction. (Nicolaus Damascenus, in Athenæus, iv., 153; Valer. Max., *De Spectaculis*, 7. Cf. I., p. 277, note 1, on the *Tragedy of the Forum Boarium*).

dared enter this asylum to molest them. In the inscriptions, asylums of refuge but not of charity, are found at Delphi, Teos and many places where the great Dionysan artists' unions existed in Asia Minor; and it turns out that the trade unions were generally the owners of a temple, that the members used this temple to live in, or at least, for their managers and other officers to live in, and this sacred abode was made a refuge and asylum for both bond and free. These temples and seats of refuge, of business and of living economies are now proved to have been innumerable; to have operated scrupulously under the provisions, directions and specifications of the aged and revered Solonic law; and in course of time, when the master came, to have been used by, converted into, and made a refuge and asylum for, the true and original propaganda.²⁰ But there were no hospitals in early times because of the universal prevalence of the unions. We hear of little or no starvation through lack of employment before A. D. 300, and there was no dispensing of charities known. This was because the thriving people for the first 200 years, were self-sustaining brotherhoods of initiates. It was after the attack of the optimates upon them that we hear of hospitals. There were many asylums of refuge but they must not be mistaken for poor houses or hospitals.²¹ Several inscriptions

²⁰ In our more recent researches upon this important fact we have gathered much corroboratory information which will be produced in proper place and form. For the present see I., pp. 147, 257, and 142-4, with note 34. There was another temple of retreat for fugitive slaves at Megara near Athens, Thucyd., III., 69, says: "Ὁκοδόμησαν πρὸς τῷ Ἡραίῳ καταγύγιον διακοσίων ποδῶν, πανταχὲ κύκλω οἰχήματα ἔχον κάτωθεν καὶ ἀνωθεν . . . κλίνας κατασκευάσαντας, ἀνέθεσαν τῇ Ἡρᾷ." Here in a few words is a description of an asylum with floors above and below, beds, etc., for comfort, in a *κατῳγιον* or hospital dedicated to Juno. No regular hospitals however existed, because these are based on the charitable, eleemosynary system which did not come into the world until hundreds of years afterwards and are instrumentalities of feudalism. The ancient asylums were describing were places of refuge, mostly for unfortunates, such as runaway slaves, and were protected by a god. Of the *ξενῶνες*, *νοσοκόμια*, *πτοκοτρόφια*, *ὀρφανοτρόφια*, *βρεφοτρόφια*, *μεροντοκομία*, *paramonaria* (Cod. Just. I., tit. III., leg. 42, sec. 6) of the, degenerate eleemosynary system, we shall later in this work give a proper account.

²¹ The temple of Isis at Pompeii recently exhumed, is remarkable. Formerly it was pagan and its members were socialists with a common table and a communal code of life. At the time of the catastrophe, A. D. 79, it was a Christian Church. It had a garden surrounded by walls, which was the *τέμενος*, or seat of the *Θεῖος*. There was a tree, several buildings, etc. The temple of Zeus Labraundos had 5 cells of which we shall speak later; it was called the *πρόστων*; it also had a front or *ἀνώμα*, a *ναὸς* which was the residence of the divinity, *οἰκητήρια*, residences of the officers, larger rooms for all, *οἶκος*, *οἰκία* or *τόπος*. This at Pompeii was a veritable habitation for common use of the membership.

are found which are deceptive. One fragment at Rome speaks of an asylum as if it were Christian; but closer inspection proves it to have originally been a temple of Juno, although now placed to the credit of the Christians. The date is still a matter of speculation with the savants, most of whom call it a Christian find. It is to be borne in mind that at the time of Spartacus, and ages before, there were asylums which served as resorts for runaways; and of course, when the Christians came, and their terrible persecutions began, they would naturally seek these warm and kindly retreats for protection, although they were dedicated to Pagan gods.²²

We bring these points under contribution to show the grievances of the outcasts; for all mankind deprived of the full fruits of labor in those remote ages as well as now, are treated as outcasts in this history. Under the inequitable law of entailments upon primogeniture which gave the first-born son the property, and consigned the others to beggary and dishonor, making slavery a natural result as the oldest and first of human plagues with these concomitants of scuffles, strikes and rebellions among such wretches, co-operation for escape from the wrath of the legalized patrician class was indispensable.²³

The same grievances which held the workers, from whose labor all their tormentors lived, was also rife among the Semitic races, and their resistance through strikes, turmoils and organizations was felt in all countries and all ages, wherever and whenever the hovels of that era found them. As was stated in the first volume of this work, only the history of the working people of the great

²² Orell, No. 1512. "Fragmentum repertum Interamnie Prætoris." Orell's remarks: "Rarissima sit mentis in lapidibus, asyloꝝ quæ sub Christianismi incrementa, ac prius tortasse, ad ævum scelerum impunitatem videntur esse sublata." He is speaking of the frag of this *Asylum Junoni*. Cf. *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VIII, p. 377, *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, Chapter 2, 23-24. "Jesus with Mary and Joseph wandering in Egypt without friends, went into the temple of Satrinen city, called the capital of Egypt, which was open and welcomed them." Though this story is apocryphal the antiquity of the documents is evidence of the customs prevailing at the time it was written. But new and unexpected value is of late attached to them, since they are found to accord with inscriptions now and then discovered.

²³This statement is confirmed by the learned Academician, M. Cagnat, without the slightest reserve. See *Vie Contemporaine*, for January, 1896. In fact, the resistance of the working or enslaved classes must have been great for we are informed by Athenæus, *Deipnosophista*, VI., 264, that there was an old law forbidding the ownership of slaves in Phocis, 499 years before Christ. It gave way to the pressure, however, so that in B. C. 360 there were some slaves there held in bondage.

Aryan blood was attempted, leaving the Semitic to be pursued in this, and consequently little mention was made of perhaps the greatest, earliest and most remarkable strike on record—that of the Hebrew race in Egypt. Of this we can here make only a brief allusion preparing the reader to better understand the causes and significance of the Roman conquests.

The whole Exodus of the Jews from the tyranny of slaveholding Pharaohs was a pure strike, beginning, so far as we have positive information, with the grievance that their cruel masters forced them to make brick without giving them the straw or other material wherewith to execute their compulsory and hateful task.

The Mosaic dispensation was one of slavery²⁴ whereas the Solonic dispensation is proving itself more and more, through the inscriptions recording its vast organization, to have been a veritable vehicle of emancipation of slaves and of equalization of mankind; and it will show itself to have been much the better of the two. Though the records are dim, yet the fact is at least coming to light that about one half of the Jews endorsed Mosaism and the remainder went with Solon.

The Romans early conceived a possibility of destroying their thus growing and dangerous proletarian neighbors. It required but a stroke of reason based on the purely competitory idea of the survival of the strongest and most cunning, to point out to them that in order to kill off the people whom they saw so powerfully organized in self-defense, they had but to incite their spirit of patriotism and their economic notions about working for their own government on a large scale. The plan was to inflame the whole Roman state in the direction of warfare against all the outstanding states. There were Greece, Spain, Africa, Macedonia, Epirus, Asia Minor with Syria, Sicily

²⁴For words of Moses on the slaves, see *Levit.*, xxv., 44: "Both thy bond-men and thy bond-maids which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are about you; of them shall ye buy bond-men and bond-maids." Homer, *Iliad*, xxi., treats the slaves as mere animals; "Πολλούς ζωούς έχον ήδ' έπείρασσα." Between 300 and 400 years before Christ, Aristotle regarded slaves as men now do inanimate labor-saving machines. They were mere tools without sense; and he declared that there could be neither common interests nor fellowship between master and slave: . . . "Φιλία δ' ούκ έστι προς τά άψυκα ούδė δίκαιον' αλλ' ούδė προς ίππον ή βοών, ούδė προς δοϋλον ή δοϋλος ούδεν γάρ κοινόν έστιν' ο γάρ δοϋλος έμψυχον όργανον, τό δ' όργανον άψυχος δοϋλος. ή μεν ουν δοϋλος, ουν έστι φιλία προς αυτον, ή δ' άνθρωπος." κ. τ. λ. (*Eth. Nic.*, viii., 13, p. 1161).

and Palestine. The great Solonic law had organized the proletariat of all these countries. It was at that moment rapidly turning them into socialistic communities. Never were they more thrifty than on the eve of the conquests. The organizations were rapidly emancipating their slaves. A new code of political economy in the world was being inaugurated by them. A vast sympathy had been created by their brotherly love. They had learned to love and care for each other. They were strictly industrial. Their unions had become international and economically intertwined. Precisely the same principles, rules and methods prevailed in all, regardless of boundary lines. They manufactured and sold goods through a co-operative mutuality. They had agents working for these economic purposes, in every quarter; and their whole vast scheme was inculcating the most equalizing and democratizing spirit. Everywhere alike among Jews and Gentiles these excellent characteristics cropped out and were forming a noble and self-sustaining brother and sisterhood over the world.

But there was neither money, personal glory nor lordships in such a scheme of political economy. Those born to the patrician estate, the grandees, the rich and arrogant saw in the system their complete overthrow.

Under Appius Claudius the above plan was conceived of their extermination; and the indications are that it was resolved upon when the great political event occurred which Livy designates the *solitudo magistratum per quinquennium* through which it was tested after a five years' political conflict between the poorer people and the rich, that the patrician class, or lords were losing control, being all that time without a senate to represent them in the parliament of the nation.

The Numan unions, provided by the great law of organization, with the votive franchise, unlike the non-voting trade unions of the present day, though socially their membership was incomparably more degraded and lowly, had carefully worked their economies both from an industrial and a political point of view. As a consequence they were capable of keeping up among themselves an intense interest which for ages held them in close compact together. Their object was to so far master the

political situation as to obtain the public work from the government; and we are here informed by Livy that they held the *œdiles*, officers well known to be about equivalent to our modern commissioners of public works in cities, in power, by outnumbering their opponents at the comitia or polls.²⁵ This is the greatest and most important discovery in the history of the trade unionism.²⁶ It being directly coupled with that period in Roman history acknowledged by our encyclopedias to be the most critical and important moment in that great nation's life,²⁷ we cannot pass it by without a review of the circumstances. The unions were everywhere; in city and country and their influence was great. Levasseur assures us²⁸ that

²⁵ The ruins of Pompeii are not the only evidence recently coming to light on this political function of the organizations of the ancient workingmen. It is now proved by fresh discoveries of inscriptions with dates varying from 300 B. C. to 200 A. D., that this lever of success was enormously practiced in Greece and Asia Minor. Sometimes they got work from the state religion. But it was the same thing; since temples were state or government buildings and priests were government officers. Consult Waltzing, *Hist. Corporations Professionnelles*, I., pp. 70-71; "Les collèges étaient dit-on, des corps publiques plutot que des corps industriels . . . ils construisaient les temples, fabriquaient les ustensils et les vases sacrées; les flutistes assistaient les prêtres et les magistrats dans les sacrifices et ainsi de suite. Les collèges étaient donc destinés d'abord et surtout au service de la religion et de la cité, et c'est précisément pourquoi on rapport leur institution à Numa." (Cf. Dirksen, p. 21). Again, Waltzing *id.*: "Plusieurs de ces métiers étaient indispensables à la guerre, et suivant Dirksen, l'état n'aurait permis à l'origine que les collèges utiles au culte ou à l'armée."

²⁶ Dionys. Hal. IV., 17, assures us that the unions which he calls *λόχοι*, made arms during the conquests for the Romans: "Δύο μὲν ὄπλοπιῶν τε καὶ τεκτόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν σκευαζόντων τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον εὐχρηστά." And again, VII., 59: "Δύο λόχοι τεκτόνων καὶ χαλκοτύπων καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι πολεμικῶν ἔργων ἦσαν χειροτέχναι." Again, Oehler, *MS.*; p. 3, No. 5: "Decelea—B. C. 396: "Erwähnen möchte ich den Demoneidebeschluss, C. I. Athenæ, IV., 2, 841 (306-5 v. Chr.), der *θίασοι* als stattliche Unterabtheilungen nennt, (gefunden in Deceleia), und den Beschluss der Peiraïenser gegen die *θίασοι*, C. I. A. II., add., 5736." It is extremely important, showing that they were under state employ.

²⁷ Appleton's *Amer. Cyc. Art. Roms.* Speaking of the changes caused by the plebeian ascendancy at that time says: "These changes were the most important events of Roman history."

²⁸ Levasseur, *Hist. Classes Ouv.*, I., p. 5 sqq. According to Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv., I.; xxx., 43; Plutarch, *Numa*, 17; Florus, I., 6; Dionys. Hal., IV., 43, the numerous colleges, or trade unions of early Rome were political fully as much as religious; and in that early time they were somewhat respected. Of this, Florus, I., 6, says: "Ab hoc populus Romanus relatus in censum, digestus in classes, curiis atque collegiis distributus. They were powerful at the time of Tarquinius Superbus; for Dionysius of Halicarnassus, IV., 43, says: "Συνόδους τε συμπάσας, ὅσαι ἐπὶ κογιτῶν ἢ φρεαταστῶν ἢ γειτόνων ἐν τε τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐφ' ἱερά καὶ θυσίας πάσας κοινὰς, προτείπε μῆκετι συντελεῖν, ἵνα μὴ συνιοντες εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ πολλοὶ βουλῶς ἀπορρήτους μετ' ἀλλήλων ποιῶντα περὶ καταλύσεως τῆς ἀρχῆς." They became perfect in organization. Again, through Livy, *Hist.*, IX., 30, B. C. 301, A. U. C., 443, we have a story of a model strike of the musicians, see *infra*, Ch. III. The musicians employed by the government struck work because, on account of the great expenses of the Semnite wars it was reducing her to straits. There is an inscription (Oehler, *MS.*), showing that the government employed union labor at Decelea as early as B. C. 396, immediately after the Pologonesian war. (See I., p. 134 and note 1 showing the causes). It caused jealousy and protest.

Servius Tullius overturned the old aristocratic form of government instituted by Romulus to give the liberals more privilege. He accorded to the artisans political rights, an enormous lever of power. According to this, the first voting workmen began their voting under this law, the wording of which is lost; but we know that Numa, long before, had given them the right, as well as the advice, and perhaps a demand, to organize, and that his statute is the celebrated *jus coeundi*, corresponding exactly with the Solonic law spread upon the Twelve Tables of Rome. As shown in the turmoils, B. C. 379-3, time of the *solitudo magistratum*, this political action of the organized workers created unspeakable jealousy of the rich and hitherto dominant patricians. It was an attack on their very existence as magnates of the realm. It threatened eventually to extinguish them. Following the true instincts of labor organization, the workingmen began by voting into power those only who were pledged to secure them steady work, and these were the *ædiles*, or commissioners of the public work.²⁹ Thus they secured the work directly from the paternal government which they dearly loved. To all intents it was a vast socialist movement, its object being identical with that of the socialists of to-day. By it the people, the public, the state, became owners, managers, employers, paternal economists and care-takers of both the inhabitants and the goods of society, and this is socialism. By means of a loud noise about the impending war, like an incursion of a neighboring state, the patricians, glad of an excuse for turning a social into a bellicose scramble, worked their cajoling oratory over the unsuspecting plebeians, furnished them with abundance of government work making war implements, and accomplished their ends.

It will be claimed by those who read history in the old way as taught by our institutions of learning, that

²⁹ "Comitia præter ædilium tribunorumque plebis, nulla sunt habita;" Livy, VI., 35, fin. A most remarkable verification of our suspicion that war was improvised to distract the thus politico-socially organized lower classes from their powerful political hold which threatened the life and existence of the aristocracy, now follows in the next paragraph of Livy. The 35th chap. ends with the quoted statement regarding the *solitudo magistratum*. The 36th begins as follows: "Alia bella opportune quiescere: Veliterni coloni, gestientes otio, quod nullas exercitus Romanus esset, et agrum Romanum aliquoties incursavere, et Tusculum oppugnare adorti sunt. Eaque res, Tusculanis veteribus sociis, novis civibus, opem orantibus, verecundia maxime non patres modo, sed etiam plebem, movit." etc.

this startling announcement, so revolutionary of political economy based upon the competitive system, is vague and debatable. Even these reluctant ones admit the evidence of the stones. It is true that those workers never published histories of their career. They wrote in another way. If they are proven by over fifteen hundred political inscriptions on the walls of buildings, forts and fortifications of Pompeii to have done so about the time of the Apostles, they certainly must have done so at the time compassed by Livy's acknowledgment.

Again, there is the certainty that many other inscriptions have perished. Cagnat boldly declares that in all the cities it was the same. At Pompeii they could not perish because, covered by the preserving deposits of lava,³⁰ they were kept dry and safe, so that to-day they come out fresh and in a state of good preservation.

Domaszewski, in an article on the public roads and thoroughfares of those times, citing two inscriptions of the time of Sulla, about B. C. 81-56, makes it appear that the colleges were well equipped and organized.³¹ It must be borne in mind that we are not attempting to convey the idea that during the Roman conquests an effort was made to exterminate the organizations of labor in immediate Rome itself. The task was first to kill off the more dangerous growth of socialism in Asia Minor.

The patricians needed the organizations. Their skill in the arts was for the time transpiring, wanted to man-

³⁰ See I., pp. 390, 391. Orell. 4265; Momms., *D: Coll. et Sodal.*, p. 59; Romaneli, *Vigilio, Pompeii*, I., p. 276, who offer remarks, giving proofs positive. One election stone reads: "Marcellinum Aedilem, lignari et plostrari rogant, ut facietis;" meaning that the woodworkers and wagoners nominated Marcellinus for superintendent of public buildings and works, and want you to vote for him. For the remarkable number of inscriptions of elections, found at Pompeii and the statement that it is above fifteen hundred, see Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, I., p. 169: Les artisans de Pompéi, dont le Sénat avait supprimé les collèges sous Tibère, étaient quand même restés unis et prenaient une part active aux élections. Pompéi, venait d'élire ses duumviri *jure dicundo* et ses deux édiles quelque mois avant la terrible éruption que l'englutit au mois d' Août., 79. La lutte avait été ardente, ces hautes fonctions avaient été chaudement disputées; les murs déblayés après dix-huit cents ans portent encore environ quinze cents affiches électorales, où les sociétés et les particuliers recommandaient leurs candidats. Un grand nombre de ces réclames émanent des collèges professionnels. On a trouvé celles des orfèvres (*aurifices universi*). *C. I. L. IV.*, 710;" and quotes nine other trades.

³¹ *Eranos Vindobonensis*, pp. 61-64, *Cura Viarum*. Of the fury of Sulla against the unions and their membership we shall speak in future. It is certain that Cæsar during that time befriended them and that they remembered it, by voting him a superintendent of public works; for he furnished them important jobs (Plutarch *Cæsar*), repairing and constructing the Via Appiana. For more on this valuable contribution of Domaszewski, see later. Consult same in *index* to Vol. II.

ufacture darts, javelins, slings, swords, knives, all the footwear of the countless soldiery, clothing, bedding, tents and rams and basilisks, for battering down walls and all the accoutrements of the garrison. When bridges and war buildings were wanted these workmen were to be employed. The navy with its large equipment required large numbers of the best workmen. Such labor could not be entrusted to slaves. The oarsmen were generally slaves, but long experience had shown that free mechanics were more efficient and reliable. Rome's first requisite before setting out on her huge conquests and work of centuries, was to obtain the aid of the old unions of labor, carefully and skillfully organized under the specifications of the Solonic dispensation. If she could, by utilizing their skill, secure the mastery over the world it would then be time to turn upon these benefactors and likewise compass their extinction. The enemy to be beaten by the wars of the conquests were small kingdoms here and there, an occasional great republic like Carthage, and various peaceful, nomadic tribes. In doing this the grasping money power with its law *de jure quiritare* giving them a right to crave and scream for more, precisely as that hideous gorgon is doing at this day, furnished an excuse for the iniquity. Besides, the lords of the gens families who claimed to have been born possessors of the wealth which the labor of those they detested had produced, joined with the money power in the proposition to murder off the human race. But it must begin by first killing out the *jus coeundi* in outstanding states. Involved in this plan of internicine grasp was the idea of wheedling the home unions at Rome, by flattering them with an offer of still more government work.

But what about the similarly organized workers of the kingdoms and republics to be destroyed? They were to be conquered, killed or sold into slavery, their organizations broken up and annihilated and the wealth their labor had for ages been accumulating was to be seized and dragged to Rome; for the existence of organized labor outside was even more dangerous than that inside the city.

Such was the plan of the Roman conquests, and many a mark prompts the suspicion that to attack, insult, brow-

beat, rob and destroy the beautiful civilization inherent in the great Solonic dispensation, was deliberately decided upon, even though the doing of it involved the extinction of the most useful factors of mankind. This plan, and this alone would satiate the greed of screamers for nobility ; and it was the only thing that could be devised to perpetuate the false claims of lords who alleged that they were heirs to thrones, gilded trappings and the mastery over slaves. This vast and destructive work was actually carried out.

It is not our province to write a history of the conquests. Suffice it to say that it resulted in no good. It did not make the conquered governments and people better. They were in most cases thriving in organized industry and yearly improving in peaceful economies and enlightenment. Brutal attacks upon them by the great bully always ended in their apparent destruction ; for wherever they survived it was by hiding in secret seclusion. In Gaul there was, before the conquests, a mowing and reaping machine which, according to several ancient writers worked well.³² What became of it? Like the genius of the organized skilled mechanics of that fair country, it was blotted out. Many of the valuable inventions, such as that of the red and purple dyes were likewise blotted out of existence, never to be recovered. Mean jealousies instigated restricting laws against them. Besides this, the skilled artisans who held their inventions a secret and as trade unions, applied their skill and art toward producing those beautiful and useful things, were bodily seized, carried away from their happy vocations, and sold into hopeless slavery never to return. Grim war entered their peaceful homes and thriving unions and dispersed their children, prostituted their women, enslaved the representatives of skill, and the managers of myriads of secret unions, prosperous under the aged and sacred law. The vast wealth which was being accumulated by those peaceful industries was seized and transported to Rome to enrich senators and other money-getters. The immense values known to have existed before these wars were inaugurated were swept

³² For a description of the ancient reaper, see I., p. 539, and note 109, quoting Pliny and Palladius.

away. Splendid cities were depopulated.³³ The wars raged to the death on every hand. The human race was threatened and largely destroyed. The ruinous ambition of Xerxes which, in unison with the Carthagenians a few years before the time of Appius Claudius, had aroused the spirit of warfare, likewise contributed to excite the Romans, furnishing them some excuse for their exterminatory havoc. The growth of the socialistic spirit all over the Semitic world frightened the monarchs everywhere. Kings and money-holders hated the thrifty, brilliant Jews. About the time those conquests began to rage there was a feeling of universal uneasiness among the wealth-owners and the crowned heads who went hand in hand the same as now. Xerxes the emperor of Persia, taking advantage of the great population which had for 300 years thrived under this peaceful industrialism until the brotherhoods became an organized, wealth-making factor, reciprocally working and voting for each others' good under what Dirksen denominates "a common table and communal code," conceived the idea of mustering an army large enough to conquer the world. The story is told, and excellent critics, such as Wallace, and many others believe it true, that he actually mustered 3,000,000 men. They met defeat. Within a year this vast army of soldiers largely levied from the common ranks, were either dead or in the hideous captive slave pens.

Simultaneously with Xerxes and the human hyena, Appius Claudius, there was a portentous warcloud gathering at old Agrigentum in Sicily. Gelon was the Sicilian tyrant. Hamilco the Carthagenian general attacked him at Himera and the combined forces of one of the world's greatest naval battles numbered more than 600,000 men.

³³ The great city of Corinth, at that time one of the largest, most wealthy and busy in the world was almost exterminated. In the 4th century before Christ it possessed 680,000 inhabitants; *l.*, p. 193. It is known that Rome turned her most brutal savagery against it and in B. C. 146 sacked and reduced it to ashes. An effort was made at restoration and it had regained somewhat by Paul's time. Quite a number of cities lost their existence along the Adriatic, being annihilated by these inhuman conquests. Several also in Magna Græcia, Sybaris among others, are lost and stricken from the maps of the earth. Corioli, whence the patriot Coriolanus, a thrifty and splendid place, was attacked by the conquests, destroyed, and its brilliant civilization, thrifty unions with their voting membership and rival institutions, fell into ruins and was lost from Roman geography. In fact its very site is lost: . . . "Zerstört und schon in der späteren Römerzeit spurlos verschwunden." Mayers *Königsaufzüge L. Corioli*, in v. *Corioli*.

The victory was with the Aryans; and the Semitics with a supposed invincible Carthaginian prowess went down, soon to become a prey to Roman conquest.

On that same day, in a gulf of the same sea, Themistocles met the vast naval forces of Persia, numbering as many, at the renowned carnage of Salamis; and the Semitics went down by unknown thousands, never again to rise. It was the memorable battle of Salamis, B. C. 480.³⁴

These two great events prepared Rome with another pretext for bloody work of ages. Lactantius³⁵ says that Seneca divided Rome into periods of growth: infancy and early education under Romulus, boyhood under the kings; under Tarquin it grew strong enough to burst its bonds of slavery and throw off the yoke of tyranny. When Rome had finished the Punic wars she had become fully adult. But when Carthage, long her rival in power, was destroyed she stretched out her hand by land and sea over the whole world, until, having subdued all kings and nations, the war materials failed and she abused her strength by which she destroyed herself." Thus with Polybius, Seneca thought the Roman conquests were the beginning of her downfall.³⁶

As few of the cities and countries of these times took a correct census of population we can best judge of their population by the armed forces they were able to bring into the field. Sybaris in Magna Græcia, a city which in those times had a circuit of six and a quarter English

³⁴ Herodotus, VII., 158. It is supposed the forces of Gelon consisted of both a land army and a navy: "Γέλων δὲ πολλὸς ἐνέκευτο λέγων; . . . Ἀτιμῆς δὲ πρὸς ὑμέων κურῆσας οὐκ ὁμοιώσσομαι ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' ἑτοιμὸς . . . δικροσίας τε τριήρας, καὶ διαμυρίου ὀπλίτας, καὶ δισχιλίην ἵππων, καὶ δισχιλίου τοξότας, καὶ δισχιλίους σφενδονήτας, καὶ δισχιλίους ἵπποδρόμους ψιλούς· σίτον τε ἀπάση τῇ Ἑλληνῶν στρατιῇ." κ. τ. λ.

³⁵ *Divine Inst.*, VII., c. 15. He informs us that Seneca wrote these and many other things of great interest, which have been lost.

³⁶ Polybius, *Histories*, XVIII., 35. According to Polybius, Rome began to degenerate about B. C. 146, the year of the sacking and inexcusable extinction of the great and prosperous city of Corinth: *Encyc. Brit.*, Vol. XIX., p. 427, Stoddart, Phil. On the horrors of the conquests, Granier de Cassagnac, *Hist. Classes Ouv.*, p. 488, says: . . . "soulever les esclaves. Les guerres continuelles avaient fini par épuiser la population de la race libre et par donner à la population de la race esclave une redoutable prépondérance." And repeats the following from Seneca, *De Clem.*, I., c. 24: "In senatu, dicta est, aliquando sententia, ut servos à liberis cultus distingueret. Deinde apparuit quantum periculum immineret, si servi nostri numerare nos cepissent." Of course this was regarding the slaves of war taken captive in the conquests. But Polybius, IV., 81, fin., speaking of the tyrant Nabis, fifty or sixty years earlier, talks of the downward tendency of Rome: ". . . πλείστοις δ' ἐπάλαισαν ἀναδασμοῖς καὶ φυγαῖς μικροτάτης δὲ δουλείας πείραν ἔλαβον, ἕως τε Νάβιδος τυραννίδος· οὐ τὸ πρῶτον οὐδὲ πύθομαι δυνηθέντες ἀναχέσθαι ῥαδίως αὐτῆς," κ. τ. λ.

miles,³⁷ was able to send into the field against Croton, another city not far away, likewise destroyed by the conquests, an army of 300,000 men. Croton had 100,000 soldiers. Tarentum where Spartaecus careered on his memorable campaigns, had a great population at the time of its capture by the Romans; for no less than 30,000 of the brave people were taken prisoners and reduced to slavery. All this region of lower Italy had been converted to the practical socialism of Pythagoras, and the appearance is that the people were very prosperous and wealthy. One section, with a large population had no slaves; and there is reason to believe that Croton, Sybaris and many other rich and flourishing places had well-nigh solved the social problem when the desolating wars of the conquests struck them with the blight of murder and greed, and eliminated them from the geography of the earth. Somewhat akin to the Roman conquests, and like the truculent furies of Xerxes and Hamilco, occurring as it did in the same century, was that useless 30 years conflict called the Peloponnesian war. It began its murderous ravages 20 years after the two epochal battles of Salamis and Himera, and raged 30 years, with almost unabated fury until Athens was overcome. The population of the human race was being seriously threatened when Appius Claudius tore open the gates of the temple of Janus at Rome, and spoiled all the grand peace-dreams of Numa and Tullus Hostilius.

³⁸ The island of Crete contained a large and thrifty population, from the days of Homer down to these conquests. Under Minos, its ancient king, who was esteemed "the wisest of legislators of antiquity," these peaceful people prospered in their enormous manufacturing industries and their commerce with the continent and the neighboring islands. Many inscriptions

³⁷ Πεντήκοντα σταδίοι Diod., XXI., c, 9; Strabo, VI., p. 405. Other large cities in this region, after flourishing for centuries, fell. Strabo, VI., p. 429. For the holocaust at Tarentum, Livy, VI., 12; xxii, 16; "Mihi miraculo fuit" Dionys. Hal., ed. Franckfurt, 1536, folio, pp. 74, 78, 79. For other mention of the conditions, see I., chap. ix., *Eunus*, init.

³⁸ Isocrates, *Panegyrics and Orations*; Wallace, *Numbers of Mankind*, p. 57, giving his own valuable remarks on statements of Athenæus, VI., 20. The island of Ægina only 180 σταδία, (20 Eng. Miles) in circumference, had 470,000 slaves shortly after these wars began to career. Strabo, VIII.; Plutarch, *Lycurg.* Athenæus, VI., 272, took his valuable data from Aristotle,

recently found there show them to have been well organized. The population was reduced to a few thousand disappointed and heart-broken wanderers, and their brilliant civilization went down.

The governments instituted in the place of those destroyed were inferior and contemptible. In lower Italy where the socialistic philosophy of Pythagoras had for ages prevailed, the régime of Rome caused a veritable revolution. In those countries war had been done away with so completely that when Pyrrhus entered that region with his conquering forces, he found the innocent, peaceful people so unfit for his savage and murderous habits that he disbanded the socialists and their communistic code and common table, and set up the old competitive mode of life which in the end, only served the Romans whom he was fighting. Their history presents a spectacle of degeneracy from the lofty philosophy of Plato and Socrates, down to a rehabilitation of the old competing forms.

The whole episode sums up in a recital of the most horrible series of infamies the world has known—a murderous and unprovoked assault upon, and highway robbery of, a score of innocent peoples, organized in trades of skill, living in intermutual communities, having a self-sustaining spirit, without hospitals, degrading charities or beggary; all working together for mutual happiness and comfort. We leave it to Gibbon to recount how Rome proved incapable of profiting by these acquisitions. It is true, Rome preserved the aged royalty and the false dignity of a slave-based aristocracy; but her proud gens families degenerated and lost their foothold one by one, her mighty conquests sank into murderous civil wars, her republic fell to the Cæsars; enormous wealth seized by individual army officers from the struggling conquered, and the mouldering ruins of their victims, were carried on the backs of innumerable slaves to make millionaires of generals and stock jobbers; and in A. D. 193 Rome was disgracefully sold at auction to Didius, the highest bidder, glutted with this thus gotten wealth of plunder and able to bid a thousand dollars for each man of the savage prætorian guard!

So much for a system which has proved a failure. Let us see what can be said of the parallel system of Solon

which through these vicissitudes of carnage still lived, lives on forever, and is proving a modern success. The Roman conquest was a colossal and desperate effort to defend and perpetuate the aged competitive system which was being undermined and attacked by the great Solonic dispensation.³⁹ This law was engraved into stone or brazen tablets, originally in Greek, a short time after the death of Amasis, a pharaoh of Egypt, having been borrowed from him by Solon on his wide wanderings in search of the best practical methods of political economy, and later translated by a commission from Rome sent to Athens for that purpose. Its Latin paraphrase was again engraved and formed the eleventh of the celebrated Twelve Tables of Rome. During the first ages of that unparalleled massacre of humanity, the conquests, it was secretly and ruthlessly torn down; but so powerful were the sanctity and religious scruples of the Jove-worshipping Romans who dared not exterminate what they sincerely believed to be a decree of that majestic god, that there lingered several scraps, legible, but battered and outraged, which survived the havoc of the conquests so that we have to this day in the Digest of laws, immortal, sacred, glorious, the foundation rock of Christianity. Under its guardianship millions of slaves, the product of both seizure, and entailment of property upon primogeniture, were enfranchised and the poor without class distinction were made comfortable, self-supporting and happy. The conquests appear to have been a desperate attempt to destroy this vast and far-extended Solonic dispensation.

Whether the laboring classes of modern times are willing to learn wisdom by this recital of long occult facts remains a momentous question. We know that the same hatred of them still exists. Monarch, president, capitalist still views with fear all attempts of labor to organize on a political basis. "Avoid politics" has been their constant cry. Appius Claudius, 400 years before our era said to them: "don't go into politics." The duke of Arcos told Masaniello, the revolted fisherman; "don't go into politics." Queen Elizabeth to her laboring subjects: "fly

³⁹ For our elaborately written opinions of the failure of the competitive system in the world, see *Human Appliances*; also Vol. I., pp. 496, 571, 573, see *index*, v. *Competition*.

politics." Kinsella, the Brooklyn editor, imploringly advised the writer of this book: "don't go into politics nor lead your people into that blind and dangerous infatuation."

But the champions of money, inheritance and prurient greed read us no lecture on how those noble fathers: Solon, the wisest of the seven wise men, Numa the incomparable king, and Moses, the father of an undying code, inscribed the votive franchise upon their laws of government. The voting clause has never failed; it can never fail; and yet in this dawn of its modern success we see on every hand millionaires growing up out of labor's earnings and amid the immoral reekings of pelf, the brigandage of a competitory civilization, the subordination of recreant evidence, the bribery of politicians, the soaring of corrupted youth to wealth and power, this political lever is threateningly used to enlarge standing armies, muzzle the press, and is insidiously preparing to again strike the workman down, fearing his socialism and his voting unions. The dangerous old weapon for their future use against him is again, as in the ages of the past, the murderous standing army.

CHAPTER II.

REVOLUTIONS AMONG SEMITIC RACES.

STRIKE OF MOSES AND THE JEWS—ESCAPE FROM EGYPT.

Most Ancient and Enormous of all Strikes and Labor Rebellions—One Million Involved—The Exodus—Comparison with Eunus and Spartacus—Stinging Lash of the Slave Drivers upon the Backs of an Innocent and Enterprising People—Strange Story of the Straw and Stubble—Unreasonable Demand of a King Squeezing Them beyond Endurance—Rebellion against it of the Mildest Nature—Struck Work and Ran Away—Pharaoh and his Military Hosts in Hot Pursuit—Almost Incredible Providential Rescue—Red Sea Opens and lays bare a Path for the Hebrews but Flows back and Engulfs the Pursuers—Discovery of a Mummy of Same Pharaoh Casting Doubt—Number of the thus Emancipated Given in Exact Figures—Reflection on the Prodigious Magnitude and Effects of this Strike—Law of Moses the direct Result of it—Proof that Violent Resistance is Productive of Good—World of Labor Forced to Bow in Reverence and Respect to Moses and the Jews.

In the first volume of this work, as plainly expressed,¹ only the great Arion races, including the populations of Europe could be considered. The scheme included ten important strikes and bloody insurrections known among the working people of antiquity, leaving for a future volume an account of the struggles of the Semitic and more eastern peoples. A skeleton of the great trade organizations was also given.

Among the labor turmoils it would be unfair not to mention the greatest and most celebrated strike and fugi-

¹ Vol. I., p. 526, *Ancient Lowly*.

tive slave episode on record, namely, the Exodus, or escape of the Hebrew families from the galling slavery to which they were condemned by slaveholders of Egypt.² In writing the history of labor one is often questioned regarding the construction to be put on the events, and the names given them. We have boldly and steadfastly persisted in calling things by their right names. The great wars by the gladiator Spartacus, which, the escape of the Jews from Egyptian slavery alone excepted, was the hugest on record and the greatest in the annals of the Aryan family of mankind, we designated a well defined labor strike. It was a bold venture. But the venture has been thoroughly approved by the public. If, then, the stoppage of work by the Israelites under the aggravating circumstances we are going to recount, was a historical affair of any kind it was that of a genuine strike.

The grievances causing the strike undertaken by the Hebrew race was the almost indescribable cruelty of that Pharaoh and his creatures in refusing them a mild petition made to the monarch, by two chiefs of the tribe, for permission to go to some wooded retreat where they could celebrate in honor of Jehovah, according to their beloved custom. The petition seems to have been a very mild, courteous and reasonable one. Moses and his brother Aaron were the delegates. The king granted them an interview, but evidently with much haughtiness and condescension. When they respectfully presented to him their plea on behalf of great numbers of poor and kindly desposed people, jaded to the last stage of deprivation, bad food³ and overwork, he bluffed them with the usual mannerless guffaw and disdain in the same insulting and exasperating manner as it is done

² On the dates of this event there is a disagreement of authorities, as to whether it occurred in the latter part of the 14th or early in the 15th century before Christ. The *American Cyclopædia* publishes a carefully written article on "Hebrews," which contains the following words: . . . nor of their exodus, which, according to some of the most celebrated Egyptological critics, Wilkinson, Bunson, Lepsius, etc., took place in the last quarter of the 14th century B. C., while according to distinct biblical passages, I., *Kings*, vi., 1, it must have happened early in the 15th." It is dated at B. C. 1455 in Meyers *Konversations Lexikon*, in verbo "Juden," init., and the origin of the nation, B. C. 2000, or at least, its primitive existence under Abraham.

³ Garlic, onions, rice and a sort o' peas, were the food used by the Egyptian slaves. See L., p. 446, where Herodotus *Euterpe*, 125, is quoted giving the statistics of food consumption and costs for slaves who built the Egyptian monuments.

to-day. But Moses was not a man to be turned down so easily. He mildly insisted on behalf of his countrymen. And what was the answer he got from the magnate? "Wherefore do ye lead the people from their work? Get you unto your burdens." "And Pharaoh commanded the same day the task masters of the people, and their officers, saying. 'Ye shall no more give the people straw to make brick, as heretofore. Let them go and gather straw for themselves.'" "The petty taskmasters or slave drivers—and we cannot understand this to mean Hebrew overseers, but rather Egyptian hirelings or government appointees, who were heartless in their pride of petty power—then drove these poor people into the desperate task of furnishing themselves with a commodity necessary for making brick. Of course the making of brick with straw as a material to cause the earth and plaster to adhere until placed in the kiln is a very natural thing, especially where the bricks are burnt or dried in the hot sun, operating in tropical regions as a brickkiln. We are suspicious that in order to make this more difficult to do, the Egyptian workmen against whom these Semitic slaves were competing, took care to gather away as much of the straw as possible so that to obtain it was an impossibility; for we are told in the same chapter that they had to ransack the country in quest of stubble, an inferior commodity, answering the same purpose. The Bible language crowds it into few words: "Let there be more work laid upon the men that they may labour therein."

On the whole it was a most cruel and barbarous mode of tyranny. The spirit of the brave rebels against such realistic spectacles of impudent and recreant power. It was too much for the manhood of the Hebrew to brook. He called the aid of the great Father to solace him in his innocence. He had done nothing to merit treatment so utterly beyond the bounds of reason and even beyond the boundary lines of the brutal slave code. He rebelled and invoked the protection of his tutelary divinity in whose gracious embraces all those credulous beings of the ancient lowly believed and supplicated themselves. Nothing could be more natural.

⁴ *Exodus*, V., 4. The fifth chapter contains a complete account, giving many details.

The Book of Books now recounts and expects us to believe a long list of impossible things whether we will or not, about the descent upon earth of the mighty Jehovah, the scourge of frogs, the pestilential waters, the murrain that infected the cattle of Pharaoh and left unscathed the herds of the Hebrews;⁵ the pillar of clouds by day and the streams of fire by night; the opening of the waters of the sea to let them safely pass to a land of freedom and the closing of the frowning chasm upon the chasing Egyptian host, and its extermination.⁶

This is a remarkable example of a strike in enormous proportions. The demand of the unreasonable tyrant that they should continue the manufacture without pay, as slaves, and at the same time furnish part of the materials, was a piece of heathenism so mean and rapacious as to tax our belief. Yet even now a spirit of hatred exists among the drivers of those who labor, which often exhibits itself to be as venomous and uncompromising. The Israelites could not possibly comply with such an outrageous order; for it required that they should make as many bricks as before; and a clause in the sacred history shows that a suspension of the burdensome task did not take place until they had actually scoured Egypt in search of straw and stubble wherewith to comply with this cruel and ferocious edict. When the stubborn monarch had shown by his revengeful spirit that no concessions could be expected, no lenity given, and all hope of escape was lost, they struck work in a vast mass amounting in all to considerably more than half a million.⁷

⁵ *Exodus*, chapters VIII. and IX.

⁶ An inscription has been recently found showing that Pharaoh himself did not perish, or if he was drowned his body was recovered. We were unable to see and examine this curious find for ourselves, but we quote a letter from one of the Egyptologists who are engaged by the British School of Archaeology, and who send their accounts of every important discovery to London for publication. The Cairo letter appeared Aug. 5th, 1881, in the *London Times* and is as follows:

In a cave discovered at Deirel Bahar, near Thebes in Egypt, were found in 1881, thirty-nine mummies of royal and priestly personages. Among them was King Ramises II, the third king of the 19th dynasty, and the veritable Pharaoh of the Jewish captivity. It is very strange that he should be here among a number of other kings if he had been lost in the Red Sea. The mummy is wrapped in rose-colored and yellow linen, of a texture finer than the finest Indian muslin, upon which are strewn Lotus flowers. It is in a state of perfect preservation.

⁷ *Numbers*, I., 46; "Even all that were numbered, were six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty;" i.e. 603,550.

It is difficult for the finite mind to compass the possibility of a huge and peaceful escape from armed hosts of a wealthy and populous country, controlled by a great and frowning king whose countless warriors, armed with gleaming spears and daggers, with fiendish yells of vengeance, raging in pursuit, without feeling a submissiveness to an awful omnipotence, and collapsing back to a credulous avowal that the power which rescued them was that of God. True, the birth of science, still but a tottering infant, wraps the mind with doubt and we waft into a vortex of incredulity, while university students too narrow to probe, lecture around us and explode empiric thunders, flourishing as a certitude things windily expressed and not made positive, haggling up the conclusion that no God exists; that no miracle visits earth; that nothing unexplainable ever yet guided the hand of man; that all the stories of traditionists having done so, were traps to inveigle the silly, and sweeten the bait to capture and to devour the flesh of fools. Be it so. We are not discussing this. We are talking of the strike from work, of near a million workmen and their safe convey by some superhuman hand, some guidance as of a wonder-god, and of the foundering of hosts of savage and hyena-like pursuers who become engulfed, while the innocent fugitives escape to a dry land of safety—a story that has come credibly down to us in the histories and the traditions of a dozen tongues.⁸

Strikes are energetically described to us as an economic failure, an all round disaster both to employers and workmen wherever they occur. Did this strike turn out a disaster to the Hebrew race? On the contrary. The very first result from it was the enactment of the law of Moses, which for the poor was the best and wisest ever written until the time of Solon. By following the same sacred record we shall find Moses pioneering his immense family to the foot of a mountain where they

⁸ For the various legends, traditions and histories of this people the first is their own, which is to be found in the Old Testament and afterwards, their Gamara of the Talmud contains more points. The *Antiquities* of the Jews by Flavius Josephus, written during the last decade of the first century of the Christian era; some *Contributions* by Maimonides and a great number of modern historians and commentators. A new and unsought source of Jewish history is now cropping out from the *inscriptions* which are being gathered from every land anciently inhabited by these unconquerable and in most respects consistent and valuable people, and these inscriptions, as a general thing do nothing but corroborate and verify the written history.

rested from their fatiguing toils. The great deliverer and statesman himself, ascended the mountain and there upon tablets,⁹ in an almost exactly similar manner as they afterwards chiseled the tables of Solon's law at Athens, and of the decemvirs at Rome, the Hebrew statesman and labor leader or lord, chiseled with his own or some important hand the celebrated statute which was to be the basis of the Mosaic dispensation.

We shall therefore proceed with our history of the Semitic side of the ancient lowly with the profoundest respect for the law of Moses. It is true it was a dispensation of slavery; but in those remote ages this was an all-prevailing institution, even considered just and indispensable by a large proportion of the slaves themselves. There is a vein of feeling and kindness pervading the Mosaic law.¹⁰ It was a code too competitive and too faulty, however, to pioneer humanity into anything like a perfect and successful political economy where no hunger, inequality, or slavery could exist; but it was a magnificent forerunner of socialism already firmly begun and to our certain knowledge, legalized some eight hundred years after Moses flourished. This socialism, of which the great law of Moses was the forerunner, is to be for the most part our theme of investigation in this work.

That the law of Moses originated in a strike of working men and working women in Egypt no one will attempt to deny. That strike, and the rebellion of the Semitic family of mankind, then, was the turning point in the direction of socialism which was to redeem the world; and a foothold of the law, in spite of the chronic hatred of a murderous competitive system which has proved a failure, is now seen more and more legibly imprinted as we study it in its steadfast growth and powerful politico-social organization all over the enlightened world.

⁹ *Exodus*, xxiv., 12; "And the Lord said unto Moses, come up to me into the mount and be there and I will give thee tables of stone and a law, and commandments which I have written; that thou mayest teach them." When afterwards the tables of laws were broken into fragments another set is recorded, *Exodus*, xxxiv., 1: "And the Lord said unto Moses; hew thee two tables of stone, like unto the first; and I will write upon these tables the words that were in the first tables thou breakest."

¹⁰ For a summarized paraphrase of the law of Moses, see l., pp. 43-46 For the full law itself see *Leviticus*, xvii—xxvi.

CHAPTER III.

MORE STRIKES IN EGYPT.

STORY TOLD IN HIEROGLYPHS.

HEBREWS not the only Egyptian Strikers—Three Thousand Years ago—Unions on Public Work at that Time—Pharaoh as a Merciless Employer—Starving the Men—It was not long after the Exodus—Birthplace of Free Masonry—Practice of Engraving Records on Stone—Queer Strike in Asia Minor—An Inscription Tells of a Mighty Strike of Bakers in Magnesia a Semitic City—All Told out on the Stone—No other Account of it Known—Great Disturbance—Cut off the Supply of Bread—A Bread Famine—Intervention of the City Council—Strikers Arrested—Their Union Broken up and its Members Forced to Furnish Bread without a Trade Union—Powerful Proof that they were under Government Employ—Great Union of the Musicians—A historic Proof that they were Employed by Governments—Music treated as a Trade—Story of an Important Strike of these Artists—Three Centuries before Christ—Like Moses and his Hebrews they Struck Work by Running Away—How they were Caught—They Ultimately Won—Full Quotations from Livy—Power of the Lord of their Union—Marching off under their Old Red Flag—The Way the Politicians Outwitted Them—Yet They Accomplished their Purpose—All under Guise of Religion though they Cared Only for their Bread and Comforts—Admitted a Pure Strike by All Commentators.

THE tendency, on the part of the laboring classes in Semitic Egypt, to strike and protest against the severity of masters was by no means confined to the Hebrews who had been reduced from peaceful agricultural pursuits, to slavery. There is an inscription, not long ago made known by Maspero, showing another important strike of

workmen who were engaged on the pyramids in those days of thankless drudgery.

The Egyptologist relates that more than 3000 years ago a great and winning strike of the masons working on public works, occurred. It appears that in Egypt, under the pharaonic dynasty, the skilled artisans were organized and that, like the Romans with their collegium and the Greeks with their *eranos*, they were employed upon the public works. These were slaves and prove the truth of their inscriptions assuring us that slaves were organized. But even admitting that this coveted government employment was better than that to be obtained outside, which, so far as we have investigated this subject, is always the case, still nothing but a scanty pittance was given and the men had grievances amounting to starvation as is shown in this inscription.

M. Maspero, who, with his colleagues was engaged in digging up and deciphering the picture writings and hieroglyphics scrawled on the masonry of temples, pyramids and sphynxes, found an account of a pure strike of the masons. Condensed and rendered into English it gives the following curious information :

“On the tenth of the month, builders at work on the temple, rushed out, and sat down behind the chapel, exclaiming: ‘We are hungry; and there are yet eighteen days before the next pay-day.’ They would not work until the king agreed to hear their complaints. Two days later, Pharaoh went to the temple and ordered relief given to the masons; but on the sixteenth day they struck again. On the seventeenth and eighteenth days they also refused to work. On the nineteenth day they broke loose and raised a mob at the governor’s palace and finally got their demands.” The Athenian state slaves are also known to have received monthly pay in the same manner.

This is an account of a pure strike which occurred soon after the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt. Every evidence points to the probability that these masons, hod carriers, mortar mixers and laborers possessed at that early age, B. C. 1100, a powerful organization; and as men investigate the shadowy subject of free-masonry and trace this trade back to the temple-building enterprises of king Solomon, unearthing its inventions of the lost

art of brick-making at Nineveh, and probing the antiquity of pyramids and temples of ancient Egypt, they strike at the fountain head of a vast hierarchy of the masonic art stretching back beyond the dawn of recorded history, where freemasonry must have had its birth, its imperishable organization and its abiding place.

Innumerable inscriptions collected from every corner of the ancient world, Syria, Mesopotamia, Greece, Sicily and Etruria are being gathered into the museums. They bring proof that of all the ancient trades, this of the masons enjoyed primitively the highest organization, independence and enlightened power. Amasis, according to Herodotus,¹ required that workmen should be able to give an account of how they got their living on pain of death, and they had to be organized to do it. Thus it is impossible to imagine that the masons engaged at starvation wages upon the temple where this strike occurred, were not among the organized groups.

The Egyptian hieroglyphs are furnishing other strike records. There was a practice among the Semitic as well as the Aryan peoples, of engraving upon stones some record of important events. This habit which is now known to have been compulsory in many states, was especially prevalent among the ancient labor unions; and through it we now derive most of the valuable information for their history.

One such stone has recently been found in Syria, likewise a Semitic province. It shows a strike of the bakers of Magnesia, on the river Meander; and because the brief inscription which records it, does not explain the story of the grievance it is used by writers adversely, as if to prove that the labor element in those times was lawless and dangerous.

But let us relate this interesting story. The account, so far as we have it in monumental testimony, shows that at a far off date, nobody knows when, but evidently centuries before our era began, the bakers in the old

¹ *Euterpe*, c. 177. See I., 338, note 14, quoting Plutarch, *Solon*, showing that rganization about 900 or 1000 years before Christ was compulsory in Egypt. The words of Herodotus on the origin of the law of Solon, *Euterpe*, 177, are as follows: "νόμον δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι τόνδε Ἄμασις ἐστὶ ὁ καταστήσας ἀποδεικνύει ἕτερος ἐκώστων τῷ νομάρχῃ πάντα τιὰ Αἰγυπτίων, ὅθεν βιοῦται· μὴ δὲ ποιεῦντα ταῦτα, μηδὲ ἀποβαίοντα δικαίην ζῶην, ἰθύνεσθαι θανάτῳ. Σόλων δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος λαβὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῦτον τὸν νόμον Ἀθηναίωσι ἔθετα· τῷ ἐκείνοι ἐς αἰεὶ χρέωνται ἐόντι ἀμώμῳ νόμῳ."

cities, Magnesia and Paros, who were organized under the law of Solon, on account of some grievance not defined, struck work and refused to bake and bring to the regular market the usual supply of bread.² The authorities of the city, in all probability the city council which resembled a board of aldermen, being notified of the disturbance, convoked an extra session, and the *agoranomos* or clerk of the public works, as was later the case at Ephesus, when Demetrius rebelled against the preaching of Paul, delivered a speech to the people protesting against the strike; and the whole thing resulted in the ringleaders of the strikers being arrested, their trade organization being temporarily if not permanently suppressed, and the bakers being compelled by force to fur-

² C. I. G. 2374 e, (in Vol. 2, page 1074).

EDITOR'S REMARKS:

Pari in arce, marmor olim muro insertum; cum commentairo ed. Thierschii Comm. Acad. Bavar.), class. philos. et philol. a 1835, p. 599-632. et in tabula, quae addita est, lithographica. In sinistra paucae litterae desunt, quod lapis ibi accisus est; praeterea foramina insunt vss. 45-49, et 65, ante vocem ultimam, unde exiguae ibi lacunae, tractusque lapis est vs. 29, quare ibi aliquot litterae tantum dimidae extant, quas lamina representavi integras. Vs. 60 ΕΠΑΓΓΑΕΑ cet, est in tabula Thierschii, sed fortasse non in marmore.

- Τύχη αγαθή. *Εδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, Μυρμιδῶν Εἰ . . . ου εἶπεν'
- 5 'Ἐπεὶ οὖν Κίλλος Δημητρίου ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὢν καὶ συμφέρων τῇ πόλει πρότερόν τε ἀγορανομίας ἤρξεν τὴν ἀρχὴν καλῶς τε καὶ δικαίως καὶ ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς νόμοις, ἐφ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν αὐτὸν ταῖς ἀρμοζούσαις τιμαῖς'
- 10 κατασταθεῖς τε καὶ ἐπ' ἀρχόντος Γόργου τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπερέθετο τῇ φιλοπονίᾳ, τὴν πάσαν σπουδὴν εἰσενεγκάμενος, ὅπως ὁ δῆμος ἐν εὐετηρίᾳ καὶ
- 15 θαφιλίᾳ ὑπάρχῃ χρώμενος ἄρτοις καὶ ἀλφίτοις ὡς ἀξιώτατοις. καὶ βελτίστοις, περὶ τῶν μισθῶν ἐργαζομένων καὶ τῶν μισθουμένων αὐτοῖς ὅπως μηδέτεροι ἀδικῶνται ἐφρόντιζεν, ἐπαραγκάζων κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς μὲν μὴ ἀθετεῖν,
- 20 ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον πορνεύσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις τὸν μισθὸν ἀνευ δίκης, τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν καθήκουσαν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιήσατο, κακοπάθειαν οὐδε μίαν περικαμψας, ἀκόλουθα δὲ
- 25 πράττων τοῖς τε νόμοις καὶ τῇ τοῦ βίου ἀνατροφῇ καὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς αἰς ἤρξεν πρὸ τῆς ἀγορανομίας· ὅπως οὖν καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνεται τὰς καταξίους τιμὰς ἀπονέμων τοῖς ὑπεριτιθεμένοις πρὸς αὐτὸν τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ, ἀγαθὴ τύχῃ,
- 30 δεδόχθαι ἐπαινεῖσαι Κίλλον Δημητρίου καὶ στεφανώσασαι αὐτὰν χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ καὶ εἰκόσι μαρμαρινῇ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ
- 35 περὶ τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ἀνειπεῖν τὸν στέφανον Διονυσίων τῶν μεγάλων τραγῳδῶν τῷ ἄγωνι, δηλοῦντας τὰς αἰτίας, δι' ἃς ἐστεφάνωκεν αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος, τῆς τε ἀναγορευόμενης τοῦ στέφανου ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς ἀρχόντους ἐφ' ὧν ἀν πρότερον
- 40 Διονυσία τὰ μεγάλα ἄγωνεν. ἐπελθῶν δὲ καὶ Δεξιόχῳ ἐπὶ μὲν ταῖς τιμαῖς ταῖς ψηφιοζόμεναις τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ εἶπεν εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ δήμῳ, τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον τὸ εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῆς εἰκόνης δῶσειν αὐτός· ὅπως οὖν
- 45 καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν κατασκευασθεῖσα σταθῇ τὴν ταχίστην ἐν τῷ ἀγορανομίᾳ οὐ ἂν φαίνεται αὐτοῖς μηδὲν βλάπτουσα τῶν ἀναθημάτων, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀναγραφῆν εἰς στήλην λιθίνην σταθῇ παρὰ τὴν εἰκόνα, ἐπιμεληθῆναι Δεξιόχον, καθὼς ἐπαγγέλλεται.
- 50 Δισκοροί. *Εδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, Εὐμένης Εὐμένους εἶπεν·
- 55 'Ἐπειδὴ Κίλλος Δημητρίου ἐν τε τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὢν διατελεῖ περὶ τὸν δῆμον καὶ πᾶν τὸ συμφέρον πράσων καὶ κούη τῇ πόλει καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν Κίλλῳ, νῦν τε πολέμαρχος αἰρεθεὶς καὶ τυχεύων αὐτῷ τῷ ἱεράνευ τοῖς Δισκοροῖς ἐν τῇ θυσίᾳ τῇ γινομένη τοῖς Θεοξενίους, βουλομένος συνεπαύξειν τοῖς θεοῖς τὴν πανήγυριν καὶ ἀπαντας μετέχειν τῶν ἱερῶν, ἐπελθῶν τὸν δῆμον ἐπαγγέλλεται δημοθυνηθεῖν ἐν τοῖς Θεοξενίοις'
- 60 δεδάχθαι τῷ δήμῳ ἐπαινεῖσαι Κίλλον Δημητρίου ἐπὶ τε τῇ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς
- 65 εὐσεβίᾳ καὶ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβίᾳ, καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐνοίᾳ τὴν δὲ δημοθυμίαν συντελεῖσαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ.

nish bread in future for the regular supply. This was no bread riot but a strike, such as frequently occur among the trade unions now.

We give the inscription in a footnote¹³ and the paraphrase of its meaning may be interesting. It is the excellent one roughed out by Dr. Waltzing: "Authors do not speak of these strikes, but epigraphy furnishes a curious example. At Magnesia, on the river Mæander, the bakers mutually agreed to cease supplying the market, and trouble broke out in consequence. At what date it occurred is unknown.¹⁴ The Roman governor whose name is lost, intervened and his edict, ratified at a session of the senate of Magnesia has been partly preserved. Consulting only the interests of the city, the governor did not wish to treat the strikers with rigid severity as he might have done. He hopes that his edict will suffice to render them wiser in the future. He forbids the bakers to form any more *hetærae* or trade unions and orders them to regularly furnish the necessary bread. Any baker who shall associate himself with meetings, or who shall again excite sedition leading to trouble, or who shall secrete himself, or any one who shall furnish another with a hiding place, will be severely punished."

- ³ *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellenique*, VII., 1883, page 504, No. 10: ". . . . δὲ καὶ κατὰ συνθήκας ὥστε κινεῖν ἐνίοτε τὸν δήμῳ εἰς ταραχὴν καὶ θορύβου ἐνπιπτει διὰ τὴν σ . . . ὄγον καὶ ἀορασίας τῶν ἀρτοκόπων ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγορᾷ στάσεων, ἐφ' οἷς ἔχρην . . . τοὺς μεταπεμφθέντας ἤδη δίχην ὑποσχεῖν.
- 5 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον τῆς τούτων τιμωρίας μᾶλλον προτιμᾶν ἀναγκαῖον, ἡγησάμεν διατάγματι αὐτοὺς σωφρονίσαι. Ὅθεν ἀπαγορεύω μὴτε συνέρχεσθαι τοὺς ἀρτοκόπους κατ' ἑταιρίαν, μὴτε πρεσβυτικότητας θρασύνεσθαι, πειθαρχεῖν δὲ πάντων τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινῆ συμφέροντος ἐπιτακτομένοις καὶ τὴν ἀναγκαῖαν τοῦ ἄρτου ἐργασίαν ἀνενοεῆ παρεχεῖν τῇ πόλει. Ὡς ἂν ἄλλῳ τις αὐτῶν τὰ ἀπὸ τούδε ἢ συνῶν παρὰ τὰ διηγορευμένα ἢ θορύβου τινοῦς ἢ στασεως ἐξάρχων, μεταπεμφθεὶς τῇ προσηκούσῃ τιμωρία κολασθήσεται· ἐὰν δὲ τις τολμήσῃ τὴν πόλιν ἐνεδρεῦναι ἀποκρύψαι αὐτὸν, . . . δος προσσημειωθήσεται καὶ ὁ τὸν τοιοῦτον δὲ ὑποδεξάμενος τῇ οὐτῇ τιμωρία ὑπεύθυνος
- 15 γενήσεται. Ἐπὶ πρῶταίως Κλ. Μοδέστου, μνηστὸς Κλαυδίου δ', Βουλῆς ἀγορευῆς εἰς ἄλλο μέρος, Μαρκελλεῖνος εἶπεν, τῆσδε ἀπουσίας τῶν ἐργαστημάρχων γνω. στὸν δεῖγμα χθὲς Ἑρμείας ὁ πρὸς

¹⁴ Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, p. 191, seems to think this strike of the bakers an inimical onslaught against good order because it was the plea of the governor to suppress it with a violent hand, in order that the inhabitants might be furnished their bread with regularity. We are inclined to think that the supply of bread for this city might have been a public function for there was no other source whereby to supply them. It looks very much as though the baking trade was one of the public industries and that the unions were employed as in any other of the public works. See Cagnat, in *Vie Contemporaine*, Paris, Jan. 1896: "La seconde (grève) eut pour théâtre Magnesia," etc., and proceeds with the narrative. He says it was the sacred strike because he supposes it to have been very ancient. Oehler, in *Eranos Indobonensis*, p. 280, says: "Ich verweise auf die Inschrift aus Paros, C. I. G. 2374 c, in welcher der Ἀγοραῖος (Aedile or clerk of the market), belobt wird, weil er dem Strike der Arbeiter ein Ende gemacht hatte. In dem Strike der Bäcker zu Magnesia am Mæander musste wegen der deshalb entstandenen Unruhen, der Statthalter interveniren." *Bull. Hell.*, VII., 505, 10."

The making of music is, in the sensible construction of language, a profession and a trade. Under the Solonic as well as the Numan law of labor organization, music was considered a trade, just as much as the work of the braziers or potters; and if the story of another strike details the facts, their skill was employed by the government. Another point discernible is that a remarkable amount of manhood and an amazing independence is exhibited; for these bold musicians dared face the political authorities, a thing seldom seen among government employees at the present time.

During one of the Samnite wars, in the year B. C. 309, and at the moment when the Romans wanted more money than they could collect, the censors issued a refusal to permit the collegium of musicians, or musicians' union to play at the feast of Jupiter at the expense of the city. It had been their annual custom to play at the shrine and as they had always been lavishly rewarded they took it for an unwarrantable deprivation.⁵ Besides this, being voting unions, they belonged to a powerful political body of many trades who elected into power the commissioners of the public works. These in turn, appointed them to jobs under government employ. Braced by the justice of their right, they called upon their quinquennalis, or lord-master of the unions, who convoked their advisory board. On deliberation it was voted to resist the penurious demand and strike work, let the consequences be what they would. At the head of their military column, their red vexillum proudly waving at the front, they set up a march with this well-known flaming red banner to a distant town, across the Tiber. They were aware that

⁵ Livy, IX., 30, *fin.* The musicians, following the regular customs of the ancient lowly, worshiped at the shrine of Minerva, not of Jupiter. He was the god of the grandees and of wealth. She was the patroness of labor and economic thrift. The cause of the strike originated in an effort of the governing powers to suppress them; and as the state was in the habit of hiring these musicians for its feasts of Jupiter, the nobles thought best to begin their tyranny at this feast. But Minerva, goddess of art, was the shrine the musicians bowed to. Festus says: "Is dies testus est tibicinum qui colunt Minervam." It was the 13th of June. Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, I., 201, says: "Minerve était aussi la patronne des autres collèges de musiciens." Her temple was on the Aventine Hill. Varro, speaking of them says: "Tibicines tum feriati vagantur per urbem et conveniunt ad ædem Minervæ." Waltzing, *ibid.*, p. 201: "Minerve était donc leur patronne. Ils avaient aussi, de temps immémorial, le droit de célébrer un banquet sacré au temple de Jupiter Capitolin, mais on ne nous dit pas si ce repas avait lieu pendant la même fête." Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, vi., 16, verifies these statements.

the superstitious Roman aristocracy would not dare to offend Jupiter their great protecting divinity to whose honor, not that of their own goddess, Minerva, were to be devoted these celebrations of music and praise. They judged correctly. But being straightforward and ingenuous, they knew only the honorable and manly way to win. They were not adept in the tricks of politicians, and as a consequence got outwitted just as they were outwitted on a vaster scale by similar cunning, described in our chapter on the Roman conquests. The methods of this trick, as told by the historian were as follows:

The Senate of Rome sent a commission to the neighboring town of Tibur, now Tivoli, whither the strikers had marched in a body, to ask of the political council of the place, its co-operation and intercession, with a view to induce the musicians to come out of their sulks, return to the feasts and give Jupiter the music for nothing. The reception was friendly. Negotiations were immediately opened with the strikers; but in vain. The workmen were uncompromising. All solicitations were refused. It was now the very day before that set for the feasts. Fear that the gods would envelop them with wrath began to make Romans tremble. A stratagem was agreed upon. The musicians were to be asked to give a concert. At that pompous display they were to be inveigled into accepting potations which they seldom refused. Stuffed with wine, and when all were unconscious with inebriation they were to be taken bodily in cushioned chariots back to the eternal city and landed safely at the Roman forum, where all was in readiness for the sacrifices of the morrow. In the early dawn the sacrifices would begin. It was a cause of great sport for thousands. The multitude is a greater moral power to

⁶ *Vexillum russeum*, see Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, I., p. 80: "Il s'agissait bien de supprimer les collèges; mais c'était une interdiction spéciale émanant du pouvoir administratif, non une loi générale. Cohn raisonne *a fortiori*: le consul rappelle au peuple qu'il ne peut tenir aucune assemblée sans que le *vexillum russeum* flotte au Janicule et sans être présidée par un magistrat; à plus forte raison d'autres réunions populaires sont défendues." He here quotes Livy, xxxix, 15, as follows: "Majores vestri ne vos quidem, nisi cum aut vexillo in arceposito comitiorum causa exercitus eductus esset . . . forte temere coire voluerunt; et ubicunque multitudo esset, ibi et legitimum rectorem multitudinis censebatur debere esset." There can be no doubt that the true grievance causing the strike was a highhanded effort of the powers to suppress the union of musicians. It certainly failed. Neither can there be any doubt that when the strikers marched in a body to Tibur, they marched under their beloved red flag.

the workman on strike than the councils of the great. And when they awoke from their stupor and found themselves suffused with a friendly hurrah of nearly all the population of Rome gushing with flatteries around them, then they imbibed the full force of the joke by which they had been outwitted. They consented to play, but not until a stipulation was agreed to permitting them, annually in the future, to hold a jubilation, the 13th day of June, and march with their red flag and carnival uniforms through the streets, clothed with an accredited permission to solicit contributions for their benefit.

This surprising concession to them by the senate was fully equivalent to a complete success. Their strike had been won; for such a privilege accorded them in legal form was to go into practice the very next year and remain available forever, bringing them annual tribute, comfort and respect.⁷

⁷ Livy, IX., 30, 9: "Tibicines, quia prohibiti a proximis censoribus erant in æde Jovis vesci, quod traditum antiquitus erat ægre passi, Tibur uno agmine abierunt: adeo ut nemo in urbe esset qui sacrificiis præcineret. Ejus rei religio tenuit senatum; legatosque Tibur miserunt, ut darent operam, ut hi homines Romanis restituerentur. Tiburtini, benigne polliciti, primum accitos eos in curiam hortati sunt, uti reverterentur Romam: postquam perpelli nequibant, consilio, haud abhorrente ab inginiis hominum, eos adgrediuntur. Die festo alii alios per speciem celebrandarum cantu epularum causa invitant et vino, cujus avidum ferme genus est, oneratos sopiunt; atque ita in plaustra somno victos, conjiciunt, ac Romam deportant. Nec prius sensere, quam, plaustris in foro relictis, plenos crapulæ eos lux oppressit. Tunc concursus populi factus, impetratoque, ut manerent, datum ut triduum quotannis ornati, cum cantu atque hac, quæ nunc solemnitas est licentia per urbem vagarentur, restitutumque, in æde vescendi jus iis qui sacris præcinerent. Hæc inter duorum ingentium bellorum curam gerebantur." Cagnat, *Vie Contemporaine*, Jan. 1896. "La première (grève) eut lieu à Rome quand les joueurs de flute qui soutenaient de leurs monulations le chant des prêtres officiants, se retirèrent, à Tibur. Ils voulaient par là protester contre un arrêt des censeurs qui leur déplaisaient." Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, p. 201.

CHAPTER IV.

NABIS.

THE LAST OF THE EPHORI.

NABIS—A Semitic on the Rampage in Greece—How a Slave of the Conquests Overwhelmed his Oppressors—Chilon the Wise Inventor of an Unwise Measure—The Ephori—How Their Tyranny Destroyed the Laboring People—They even Ruled and Threatened Kings—Hated by the World—Nabis, the Syrian Slave Rises by his own Energy—Becomes a Cunning Military Officer—And Turns his Energies toward Extinction of the Ephori—The Ephori Described—Their Trained Assassins—How they lurked in Hedges with Sharpened Daggers—Plutarch's Account—Workingmen their Victims—Systematic Decimation of their Numbers—Working People as Tools of Labor—Nabis Swears to Exterminate the Ephori—His Wild Cruelty—Carnage among the Rich—Their Money Distributed among the Poor—Robbed Rich to Feed the Poor—Nabis Invents the Murderous Manakin—An Infernal Machine in Woman's Form—Springs fixed to Daggers that Stab the Lusty Princes who Embrace Her—Quotations from Polybius—Apega, Wife of Nabis was the Name of this Murderous Automaton—Nabis Becomes Tyrant of Sparta—Aristotle on Nationalized Tools of Labor—How Tools in Human Form were the Same Then, as Our Labor Saving Tools To-day—Fearful Competition of Such against the Free Labor Unions—The Tyrant takes their Part—His Wife and Many Ladies Work with Him—Strives to Restore the old Socialistic Form—Rings of Women who Assist him in Robbing the Rich—Imaginary Horrors, and Superstition Among the People—Ghosts and Spectres Believed in—Assassinated through Intrigues of Philopæmen—Result of his Life-Work—Final Extinction of the Ephori—They Never Rose to Power again—Vengeful Life-Work of Nabis Accomplished.

THE two strikes just given, are put down by Dr. Waltzing and others as the only ones which in historic or monumental records appear as exact specimens of the modern strike. In the first volume of this work we gave the prin-

cipal uprisings of freedmen and slaves, such as those of Eunus, Spartacus, Athenion and others as genuine strikes, and the response to this venture was a kind and unexpectedly appreciative one from the reading public; and as a result, to still further please, we shall mention in this volume several more, which occurred among Jews and other Semitic races in antiquity. These when mentioned at all are classed as turmoils and uprisings. We shall continue our categorical arrangement of them under the more dignified term strikes. They were not political disputes over boundary lines; they were not racial questions; they were not bursts of individual ambition. They were struggles for existence; bloody, perhaps, even terrible convulsions of physical and mental power of enslaved, overburdened and insulted workingmen, to wrench themselves loose from an otherwise hopeless destiny. It is thus that the strange story of Nabis, unworthy, though thrilling in death and devastation, comes back to us in modern history.

Away back in undatable antiquity, perhaps Lycurgus was yet living, there thrived a great character, one of the seven wise men of Greece. His name was Chilon—an oracle of a sort known now as walking cyclopedias. Many an apothegm current to-day is traced to him. It was Chilon who first said: "Man, know thyself; and it was he who died of joy on hearing of his son's victory at the Olympic games. But the kind hearted readers will falter in their admiration of one deed of Chilon. He was the inventor of the slaves' tormentor, the Lacedæmonian Ephori. We cannot retouch the ephori here but refer to their work as already told in our first volume. This set of tyrants continued in southern Greece for fully 400 years, and by the appearance of such records as we possess, only met extinction through the merciless excoriation they received about B. C. 207, when Nabis, whose name, like that of Spartacus and Clodius, has been for ages covered with bitter contempt, rose against them and scoured them from the earth.¹

Of this Nabis, unmentioned by modern historians and even by the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, we should know

¹ For a record of this institution, see I., in *index*, "Ephori," pointing out the pages on which we have set forth Plutarch's history of them.

nothing but for the unimpeachable authority of the historians, Polybius, Livy, and a few animadversions of the anecdotal commentators of ancient history, who lived before the reign of Constantine.² It is a remarkable story, very similar to that of Eunus; the more so in that there is strong evidence to prove that, like Eunus, he was a Semitic from Syria. In our opinion, after having studied the strangely recorded probabilities, this man Nabis was a member of an eranos in one of the towns of Syria; and that, like Eunus, he was forcibly taken as a military slave in chains to the Peloponnesus early in the second century before Christ. Directly or indirectly he appears the victim of the conquests: first as a slave of war and then as a rebel against the ephori who ruined the communism of Lycurgus, and was finally, like Eunus, murdered during those Roman wars.

The useless brutalities of the ephori, which Chilon attached to the system of Lyeurgus are recounted to us by Plutarch.³ A systematic method of arming young men

² Bücher, *Aufstände der unfreien Arbeiter*, S. 91, who takes his information principally from Polyb., IV., 81, from which we duly quote, *infra*: "Hier war nicht durch Restauration zu helfen; ja bei dem hohen Grade sittlicher Verkommenheit nicht einmal durch Revolution. Und doch führten die Verhältnisse nach dem misslungenen Versuche des Chilon eine soziale Revolution der aller entsetzlichsten Art herbei, als der Wüterich Nabis (206-192) in Sparta und Argos die Reichen tödtete, die Heiligthümer plünderte und Häuser, Aecker, Frauen und Kinder der Ermordeten an die zur Freiheit aufgeruteten Heloten und ein aus allen Enden der Welt zusammengelaufenes Gesindel vertheilte." Livy, xxxii., 38, again speaks of the work of Nabis: "Deinde, ut frequenti concione non aspernatos modo, sed abominatos etiam nomen tyranni audivit, causam se spoliandi eos nactum ratus, tradere, ubi vellet, urbem, Philoclem jussit. Nocte, ignaris omnibus, acceptus in urbem est tyrannus. Prima luce occupata omnia superiora loca, portæque clausæ. Paucis principum inter primum tumultum elapsis, eorum absentium direptæ fortunæ; presentibus aurum atque argentum ablatum; pecuniæ imperatæ ingentes." And continues his description of the avarice and cruelty.

³ Plutarch, *Lycurgus*. The description of the duties of the ephori, in secretly arming young men with daggers and ordering them to waylay the Helot slaves who performed the labor on which the Spartan republic, or model eudæmonia fed and luxuriated, is graphically told in l., pp. 104, 105, with an exact translation of Plutarch's words in the context. The same adhered, down to the days of Nabis who had been trained in the Lycurgan ideal, but who rebelled against it. According to Xenophon, *De Republica Lacedæmoniana*, Lycurgus was himself the founder of the ephoralty. It is probable that such cruel butchery as it produced was not intended by Lycurgus, and that this exquisite improvement was added later by Chilon, who in inventing instrumentalities of murder made himself immortal, according to the belief and wishes of the powers of individual wealth.

The ephori are known to have existed in India and to have been powerful and influential enough to be classed by Megasthenes as the sixth of the seven great classes or *μέρη* of that country. Strabo, from the lost work of Megasthenes, 707, 48, says. "Ἐκτοὶ δ' εἰσὶν οἱ ἐφοροὶ ταῦτοις δ' ἐποπτεύειν δέδοται τὰ πραττόμενα καὶ ἀναγγέλλειν λάθρα τῷ βασιλεῖ συνεργοῦς ποιουμένοις τὰς ἑταίρας, τοῖς μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει τοῖς δὲ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ τὰς αὐτοῦ καθίστανται δ' οἱ ἀριστοὶ καὶ πιστότατοι."

with daggers, and placing them in ambush along the ways leading to, and from their labor and from these dark hiding holes, pouncing cat-like upon a man or a squad of men and women and with dæmoniac delight and gruesome legality spilling their innocent blood, may seem to some readers a just and merited scheme for obliterating the crime of poverty and punishing the affront of manliness. Yet this history of Nabis casts for us a dim light upon the fact that those poor Helots and slaves of the conquest long afterwards were keenly sensitive to a manhood daring to assume itself nobler than the official murderer lying in wait for their blood.

Be this as it may, the world of sympathy cannot but feel that there was a doleful excuse for Nabis and his organized legions, for cutting the throats of rich men.

Besides giving the details, a synopsis of the doings of this man, so far as obtainable, should be presented. In doing this we shall depend upon Polybius, who was born in one of the towns where Nabis careered, and at about the same time. This town was Megalopolis. We also have Livy, who wrote just at the close of the Roman conquests, Plutarch, whose authenticity is never called into question, and the Saturnalia of Macrobius. The synopsis reads about as follows: and in it we see the ferocious characteristics of nearly every one who, in those early times attempted to restore or create better conditions for the poor and oppressed by resorting to the barbarous, animal methods that lurk in the reasonless impulses of irascibility and concupiscence.

Born in Syria, of Semitic parentage, about B. C. 225; captured in the wars of the conquests by a misfortune similar to that of Eunus; dragged to Megalopolis and sold to a rich citizen, about B. C. 212; worked himself into the good graces and confidence of swarms of Helots and other surviving slaves of the Peloponnesus; and on the death of Mechanidas, succeeded through some unrecorded luck in elevating himself to be the tyrant of Sparta. He caused the young son of the deceased king to be assassinated; demanded excessive exactions from the rich, many of whom he murdered; invented diabolical engines of torture to squeeze money from the object of his hate, one of which was the celebrated automaton

or manakin woman which in his drastic delight he called his wife Apega, that embraced her victim with human smiles and courtesy, compassed her arms about him, and drawing him to her breast loosened the tripspring which thrust a score of sharp daggers into his heart;⁴ extorted money thus, with which to carry out his purposes, and therewith to secure mercenaries.

In this manner Nabis thought to restore the old, but unforgotten communism of the ancient Lycurgus by exterminating the hated ephori. Philopœmen, the Magalopolitan general forced him to a truce; he returned to the assault; great distress; Rome interferes and rushes to the aid of Philopœmen and they, with the combined armies of Greece and Rome, secure his overthrow and assassination, in B. C. 192. Total career of Nabis as a rebel and tyrant covered about 16 years.⁵ The episode of Nabis, and the terrible conditions are referred to by Macrobius.⁶

Here then was a man of a high order of genius, maddened by insult which for months he had been obliged to bear, trained at his home like Eunus to the charms of

⁴ Polybius, XIII., 4. We have at our hand the paraphrase of Casaubon from which, for facilitating the interest of the reader, we extract, rather than from the original Greek: "Idem Nabis machinam quoque, si tamen ea machina est discenda, talem struxerat. Simulacrum muliebree erat, pretiosis vestibus adornatum; formæ similitudine Nabidis uxorem arte eximia referens. Quoties civium aliquos tyrannus ad se vocabat, ut pecuniis ees emungeret . . . Equidem fortasse quod cupia persuadere tibi non valeo; Apegam vero hanc (id nomen Nabidis conjux habebat), puto tibi persuasuram simul hæc ille dicebat, et statim aderat simulacrum de quo sumus locuti. Tum autem tyrannus ubi e sede mulierem excitasset, per speciem comitatis dextram prehensens, utraque manu collocutorem amplectebatur, ac paulatim ad pectus admovebat. Erant autem illi cubiti ac brachia ferreis clavis plena, quos vestis occultabat. Similiter etiam in mammis infixos habuit clavos. Quando igitur brachia impresserat dorso mulieris, mox organis quibusdam attractum intendebat ac paulatim ad mammas adjuccens, eum qui premebatur omne genus voces cogebat edere. Atque hoc modo multos eorum sustulit, qui pecunia dare recusabant."

⁵ "N. wurde (106-107), Tyrann von Sparta, nachdem er sich mit den Gegnern der Freunde der Ephoren, wahrscheinlich den Heloten, vereinigt hatte, und Alles während 12-15, Jahre zerschlug, und wurde endlich (192) von Philopœmen getödtet. "Meyers *Konv. Lexikon*.

⁶ Macrobi., *Saturnaliorum Libri*, I., xi., 14, 15; . . . "Domini enim nobis animos induimus tyrannorum et non quantum decet sed quantum licet exercere volumus in servos. Nam ut cetera crudelitatis genera præteream, sunt qui, dum se mensa copis et aviditate distundunt, circumstantibus servis movere labra nec in hoc quidem ut loquantur licere permittunt, virga murmur omne compeccit et ne fortuita quidem verberibus excepta sunt, tussis sternutationum singultus magno malo luitur. Sic fit ut isti de domino loquantur quibus coram domino loqui non licet. At illi quibus non tantum presentibus dominis sed cum ipsis erant sermo, quorum os non consuebatur, parati erant pro domino porrigere cervicem et periculum imminens in caput suum vertere."

In the same dissertation he feelingly says (xi., 12, fin.): "Non potest amor cum timore misceri."

brotherhood, flowing with sympathy for the felicities of socialism, who arrives in his chains in the Peloponnesus. He finds himself surrounded by slaves who had been subjugated to be tools of the very plan of communism instituted by that ancient lawgiver.⁷ They could discuss the grievance together and through that discussion be made aware that though the idea of the original Spartan socialism as conceived by Lycurgus was good, yet its recipients, the Pericæci and the Spartans or Laconians, were alone those whom that law could cover. All the Helots, three to one in proportion, were abject and detested slaves; mere labor saving machines to keep the masters alive and Aristotle hoped that shuttles, spinning wheels and quillers might some day propel themselves.⁸

Such was the terrible reminder which must have exasperated those poor men. They were three to one in numbers as compared with the "Blessed" ones who really enjoyed this socialism. They themselves were the compulsory implements which socialism of all ages required to be nationalized; and sure enough, they were nationalized—the nationalized tools of labor! Nationalizing the tools of labor is the great political demand of socialism to-day. But what of tools made of blood and bones! Implements of production and distribution of the resources of mother earth! Aristotle is the immortal who first thought of the nationalized, inanimate tool as an imple-

⁷For a description of this injustice, see I., pp. 101; 106, 526 sqq.

⁸Aristotle, *Pol.*, A., IV., 4: "Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἡ κτήσις μέρος τῆς οἰκίας ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ κτητικὴ μέρος τῆς οἰκονομίας (ἀνεὶν γὰρ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀδύνατων καὶ ζῆν καὶ εὖ ζῆν), ὥσπερ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ὠρισμέναις τέχναις ἀναγκαῖον ἂν εἴη ὑπάρχειν τὰ οἰκεία ὄργανα, εἰ μέλλει ἀποτελεσθῆσεσθαι τὸ ἔργον, οὕτω καὶ τῶν οἰκονομικῶν. Τῶν δ' ὄργανων τὰ μὲν ἄψυχα, τὰ δ' ἐμψυχα, οἷον τῷ κυβερνήτῃ ὁ μὲν οἰαξ ἄψυχον, ὁ δὲ πρῶρεὺς ἐμψυχον· ὁ γὰρ ὑπηρετὴς ἐν ὀργάνῳ εἶδει ταῖς τέχναις ἐστίν. Οὕτω καὶ τὸ κτήμα ὄργανον πρὸς ζωῆν ἐστίν, καὶ ἡ κτήσις πλήθος ὀργάνων ἐστίν, καὶ ὁ δούλος κτήμα τι ἐμψυχον, καὶ ὥσπερ ὄργανον, πρὸ ὀργάνου, πᾶς ὁ ὑπηρετὴς. Εἰ γὰρ ἠδύνατο ἕκαστον τῶν ὀργάνων κελευθὲν ἢ προαισθανόμενον ἀποτελεῖν τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔργον, ὥσπερ τὰ Δαιδάλου φασίην ἢ τοῦτοῦ Ἡφαίστου τρίποδος, οὓς φησὶν ὁ ποιητὴς αὐτομάτους θεῖον δύσεσθαι ἀγῶνα, οὕτως αἱ κερκίδες ἐκέρκιζον αὐτὰ καὶ τὰ πλήκτρα ἐκινᾶριζεν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἶδει οὔτε τοῖς ἀρχιτεκτοσὶν ὑπηρετῶν οὔτε τοῖς δεσπόταις δούλων. Τὰ μὲν οὖν λεγόμενα ὄργανα ποιητικὰ ὄργανα ἐστίν, τὸ δὲ κτήμα πρακτικόν· ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς κερκίδος ἑτερόν τι γίνεται παρὰ τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτῆς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐσθήτος καὶ τῆς κλίνης ἡ χρῆσις μόνον. Ἐτι δ' ἐπεὶ διαφέρει ἡ ποίσις εἶδει καὶ ἡ πράξις, δεόνται δ' ἀμφοτέραι ὄργανων, ἀνάγκη καὶ ταῦτα τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν διαφορὰν. Ὁ δὲ βίος πράξις, οὐ ποίσις ἐστίν· διὸ καὶ ὁ δούλος ὑπηρετὴς τῶν πρὸς τὴν πράξιν. Τὸ δὲ κτήμα λέγεται ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ μῦριον. Τότε γὰρ μῦριον οὐ μόνον ἄλλου ἐστὶ μῦριον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλως ἄλλου· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κτήμα. Διὸ ὁ μὲν δεσπότης τοῦ δούλου δεσπότης μόνον, ἐκεῖνον δ' οὐκ ἐστίν· ὁ δὲ δούλος οὐ μόνον δεσπότην δούλους ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλως ἐκεῖνον. Τίς μὲν οὖν ἡ φύσις τοῦ δούλου καὶ τίς ἡ δύναμις, ἐκ τούτων δήλου, ὁ γὰρ μὴ αὐτοῦ φύσει ἄλλ' ἄλλου, ἀνθρώπος δὲ, οὗτος φύσει δούλος ἐστίν. Ἄλλου δ' ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπος, ὅς ἂν κτήμα, ἢ ἀνθρώπος ὢν. Κτήμα δὲ ὄργανον πρακτικὸν καὶ χωρισόν."

ment of labor. Xenophen could not ascend so high. We of more modern ages wanted two thousand years of experience and study. Then we began to make inanimate tools. The hideous money power immediately seized and appropriated them and now we clamor for socialism; for a return to the old nationalized tools or implements of labor which Nabis raved and ravaged fair countries to set free. We are bound to drift back to the self-same beautiful communism of Sparta only with the improvement suggested by Aristotle and championed by Nabis, namely that the machines and tools be changed from the quickened human to the inanimate mechanical form, and that the three to one be exchanged for an exact proportion of equality to all.

As we study this history we are more fully informed regarding the grievances concomitant upon entailment in primogeniture, with its concentration of products upon the individual. The ephori were five secret despots, or supreme judges of the system invented and instituted by Chilon, the wise man of Greece, 400 years before, who, as Plutarch tells us,⁹ trained a certain number of young men as assassins, and ordered them to be ready at any moment, with daggers, to waylay these nationalized animate tools and butcher them in sufficient numbers to keep down the labor force to a schedule tabulated at their political councils. These ephori or supreme judges were the target against which Nabis directed his relentless hatred. They were a supreme bench clothed with boundless authority.

From the description of this man at our command given by the various authors, it seems probable that he contemplated the extermination of the rich, and the restoration of the proletarian race in the same manner as promised them by Aristonicus the heliopolitan at Pergamos half a century later; but he seems to have been the most cruel and bloodthirsty of them all. The country was laid waste and the propertied people reduced to great suffering. Vast sums of money, and values of every kind were taken from the rich and given to the poor. The Roman conquests were raging and that empire, already in its youth, showed signs, by this back-acting recalcitrancy of Nabis, of sure decay.¹⁰

⁹ Plutarch, *Lycargus*, but see I., p. 105, where Plutarch's story is repeated.

The historian Livy devotes many pages of his valuable history to a description of this strange man, and he seems to be of the same opinion with Pyrrhus that impelled him to break up the socialistic peace habits of the people of Magna Græcia on the event of his conquering invasion of Italy. There was, in those times but one idea of manhood and manliness, and it was based on the bellicose and concupiscent characteristic. The tender sympathies engendered by socialism and sober reason inherent even in the Lycurgan form of government and which had their home in the common table and the communal code attacked and destroyed by Pyrrhus, were perhaps, too fine and noble for the governments of that day. Yet they are now known to have existed to an enormous extent in the secret, organized unions flourishing under the law of Solon.

But Nabis, who knew of all these graces could only rage and rave in quest of blood, vengeance and common robbery. His particular and most successful methods were tricky schemes. In several of these he outwitted the Roman Consul, Quinctius Flaminius, in the year 197, and forced him to accept his terms. There is an account of his laying waste the valley of the Eurotas which contained the celebrated cliff, or rock of Taygetus, from whose heights the old Spartans in carrying out the law regarding race culture, used to throw their cripples, blind ones, and malborn infants, such as could not pass examination of the judges, to be jammed to jelly and a terrible death on the sharp flints below. The life of Nabis, aside from his wars and bloody incursions, is full of weird stories. Goblins and ghosts had their haunts in many a hiding hole of mountain and cave where he lurked with his doughty band, and whence he pounced upon some rich man, or other victim he hated. The shudder that is abroad, inspired by the modern resurrection of socialism, falsely conjuring up another violent division of money and goods, is believed to be a descent

¹⁰ Polyb., IV., 81. (Paraphrase of Casaubon): "Cepitque eorum respublica magis magisque in dies retro sublabi, ac ferri in pejus; ad extremum ærumnas plurimas, seditionesque intestinas sunt experti; repetitis agrorum divisionibus atque exiliis sæpissime sunt agitati; acerbissimam denique servitutem servierunt, ad Nabilis usque tyrannidem; qui tamen olim ne nomen quidem ipsum tyrannidis terre poterant. Sed Lacedæmoniorum res antiquitus gestas, atque aleo pleraque omnia illorum in utramque partem multi edisseruerunt: verum evidentissima omnium illa sunt, quæ post eversam funditus antiquam Rempublicam a Cleomene sunt consecuta."

of a wild old horror inspired by this great robber communist; for tradition is tenacious when ghouls and caco-demons penetrate our superstition, and wraiths and lur-lothrumbos ripple our domestic peace. Down through ages of competitive havoc the proletarians, blinded by ignorance, and the wealth-owners dodging conscience, have crouched in murky niches of the earth to shudder over some baseless belief in furies, gorgons and bogies which all the time have been their friends.¹¹ History has left enough of the true nature of Nabis to show that beneath, and inspiring every wolfish act he perpetrated, there trembled some impulse which aimed to give the world more humanity, justice and equality.¹² While it appears true that he terrorized Greece and thrilled Rome with his schemes to kill off the rich, and aimed at the deracination of the ephori who, true to the instincts of the money and property power, had survived the original communism of Lycurgus, yet he possessed military and business ability in a large degree and had learning enough to deliver before his adversary, the Roman Quinctius, a speech so bold and able that Livy has quoted it entire.¹³

The story of this man, if we except his reported treachery and cruelty to the rich against whom, according to all the authors, he was relentlessly furious, bears some appearance of his having been another Drimakos and not very far from the same time; since the dates of their death are not more than forty or fifty years apart. It is true that the struggle of Nabis was not the first attempt at the overthrow of the ephori. It is also ascertained that the Romans, true to the purposes of property,

¹¹ Livy, xxxviii, 34 *fin.*; "Nulla tamen res tanto erat damno quam disciplina Lycurgi, cui per septingentos annos assueverant, sublata." These words were written in connection with the story of Nabis. Consult Strabo, IV., 112.

¹² Livy, xxxii., 40, *fin.*, explains the methods of his irascibility; "Et Nabis, firmato prasidio Argis, Lacedæmonem regressus, cum ipse viros spoliasset, ad feminas spoliandas uxorem Argos remisit. Ea nunc singulas illustres, nunc simul plures genere inter se junctas arcessendo, blandiendoque ac miuando, non aurum modo iis, sed postremo vestem quoque mundumque omnem muliebrem ademit."

¹³ Livy, xxxiv., 31: "Si ipse per me, T. Quincti, vosque, qui adestis, causam excogitare, cur mihi aut indixissetis bellum, aut inferretis, possem; tacitus eventum fortunæ meæ, expectassem. . . . Nunc cum vos intueor, Romanos esse video, qui rerum divinarum fœdera, humanarum fidem societalem sanctissimam habeatis. Quum me ipse respexi, cum esse spero, cui et publice, sicut ceteris Lacedæmoniiis, vobiscum vetustissimum fœdus sit, et meo nomine privatim amicitia ac societas, nuper Philippi bello renovata." And he defends himself against the aspersion that he has changed his plans.

upheld the ephori.¹⁴ They were to the ancients what the bench is to the moderns, always ready to judge in favor of the rich. The richest man in Greece was he whom they were always ready to serve.

Nabis was not the first to attempt the overthrow of the ephori and their powerful institution. Some of the kings hated them. Agis III. had already made an attempt to destroy them. Cleomenes, just before Nabis, had risen against and stifled them. But wealth is underhanded and full of secret tricks; it worked Roman influence and the ephori crawled out again.¹⁵ Lastly came Nabis and he made a French revolution of it. He struck right and left and with a two-edged sword. As if to parry with the wit of its old enemy, he invented death-traps and engines of devilism which throttled and jabbed with manakin and broadaxe, reddening the rivulets with blood; and on careful survey it looks as though there was neither rich man nor woman nor ephor left to rebuild the hideous institution. It sank to rise no more.

One thing however, all agree to: Nabis set free, and divided his booty with, thousands of slaves and poor freedmen in every part of his dominion, a fact recorded by the historians and commentators with ineffable disgust.¹⁶ No matter what the pretensions of writers may be that the ephoralty after Nabis, continued to exist, it seems to have disappeared from Sparta and Argos and is lost to the pages of history.

¹⁴ I., chap. vii., pp 163-177, where all that is known of this extraordinary emancipator, Drimakos, is carefully recounted.

¹⁵ Myers, *Konv. Lex.* in v. *Ephori*: "Ihrer Macht erlag König Agis III., (350-330), bei seinem Versuch, die Lykurgische Verfassung wieder herzustellen; Kleomenes, III., (236-221), began seine Reform des Spartischen Staatswesens mit Aufhebung des Ephorats (223); doch ward es nach seinem Sturz (221), wieder hergestellt."

¹⁶ Pausanias, *Discriptio Græcæ*, iv., 10, sec. 352: "Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ ἀπηλλαγμένους Κλεομένους ἐπανάσταται τύραννος Μαχανίδας· ἐκείνου δὲ ἀποθανόντος Νάβις ἀνέφην σφίσιιν αὐθις τύραννος. Ἄτε δὲ οὐ τὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀναρπάζοντι αὐτῷ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱερὰ συλῶντι, ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ χρήματα τε ἀφθονα καὶ ἀπ' οὐτῶν στρατιᾶ συνέϊλεκτο. Τοῦτου τοῦ Νάβιδος Μεσσήνην καταλαβόντος Φιλοποίμην καὶ οἱ Μεγαλοπολίται νυκτὸς ἀφίκοντο τῆς αὐτῆς. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Σπαρτιάτης τύραννος ἀπῆλθεν υποσπονδός."

CHAPTER V.

SOLONIC DISPENSATION.

VAST SYSTEM OF TRADE UNIONS OVER THE WORLD.

IMPORTANCE of the new Discovery of them—Their Remote Origin—Solon, Numa and Amasis the first in their Known History—Ancient Law of the Twelve Tables—Pre-Christian Christianity—Based on Mutual Help and Love—Countries where they Existed—All followed One Model—Their Common Table and Communal Code—The Prytaneum—Patterned after the City—City in Theory Modeled after the Family—Authority of Dirksen—The Competitive System Reversed—Respect for Religion—Microcosm of the Future Perfect State—Enmity of Wealth Against It—Herodotus Quoted—Why the Unions had to be Secret—took the Military Form—Secret during a Thousand Years—Reverence to the Great Law-Givers so Great that no Enemy Dared Molest them—After their Amalgamation with the Christians they became Still More Secret—Why—Sources of Information—Much through Strabo and Arrian from Lost Works of Megasthenes, Onesicritus, Nearchus, Aristobulus, Aristotle.

THERE is nothing in the history of political economy of so great importance as the new discoveries regarding the ancient *jus coeundi* for labor organization under the Solonic law. Though known, it has been dropped from the curriculum of college studies. There was no money in it for the individualist. It was the great incrustated diamond of future wisdom. Yet this is a phase involving a hitherto unknown side of human life.

Without a doubt this great law was but an effect, not a cause, of that organization. Labor organization has existed from remote antiquity and was powerful away back in the prehistoric ages. But with us, we know little

or nothing of it earlier than the promulgation of the Solonic dispensation, which in our scheme, must include the almost contemporaneous one of Numa Pompilius, king of Rome. In fact, there are many things in evidence corroborating Plutarch's suggestion that the two men lived at the same time, and were agreeably acquainted with each other. We have already written abundantly regarding this, quoting the original as prescribed in the XII Tables and mentioned by Gaius,¹ and do not propose to dilate further, but proceed at once to a thorough description of its extent and influence over humanity.

The most important disclosure resulting from these investigations is the fact that there are three distinct eras or æons of Christianity, and three distinct histories—first, that of pre-Christian Christianity; second, that of the apostolic planting in the unions, exhibiting a surprising difference between a true history of Christianity and a history of the church; and third, that of the church after it struck down the Solonic unions. In this scheme of hitherto unwritten origins we write nothing of the church, being content with the more instructive study of the fundamental planting. The two are distinctly apart.

A thousand proofs, archæological and written, now attest that the strange moving power which long afterward became known as Christianity was no other than the plant or the inherent existence of that phenomenal force which swept the world and built up a new era of human civilization. It was that organization of brotherhoods under the enormous scope and influence of the Solonic dispensation.

No one will understand this amazing announcement who does not know the internal and beautiful nature of that dispensation.

There was little or no difference in the manner and objects of these organizations among the various sections and languages of the world. They very much resembled trade unions. Following the religious nature of all ancient states they almost invariably had some shrine or another to worship at, but before they endorsed the faith

¹ Digest, XLVII., tit. xxii., lex 4, taken for the Pandects of Justinian, from Gaius, lib. 4, a l Legem duodecim Tabularum, quoted in Vol. I., p. 127, note 87, and again in this volume.

of Christians, the gods they chose as their guardians or protectors were majesties of the lowly. They worshiped only the tutelary divinities of the outcasts of mankind; most distinctly not those of the rich. About the time of Christ the process of emancipation from slavery which we have already noticed and shall more fully describe showing it to be their own work, was so great that about one half of the homeless world were struggling as freedmen and women, entirely dependent upon their labor, manual or intellectual, for a living. They differed from present trade unions in that they were political. It is now established that they were voting unions. The law known as the *jus coeundi* or right of combination, gave them the ballot; and it is this privilege, legalized by Solon, which men have profited by, and are using to-day in their political progress through the world. The liberty-loving and progressive republics of the present age little understand that they are derived from the laws and practices of the ancient slaves.

In Greece, Asia Minor and the islands where Greek was spoken, these labor organizations were called *eranoi*, *thiasoi*, *orgeones*, *hetairæ*, *sussitæ*, *synodoi*, *koina*, and a few other terms which mean about the same thing; they are phases of the *jus coeundi* or right of combination recognized by Solon, Amasis and Numa, as a legitimate means of living, strictly for the laboring poor.

In Rome and Latin-speaking countries they were called *collegia*, *sodalicia*, *conlegia* and various other names, but their tenets and modes of procedure were almost exactly the same as those of the Greeks.

In Egypt and the Semitic countries these unions of the industrial and poorer classes are less known by name, especially in the Coptic language; although the darkness involved in this remark may yet be cleared away under the constant progress made by Egyptologists in their researches which are continually disclosing new records from the monuments. The discovery in Egypt of strikes of slaves and freedmen who bravely met and outwitted the Pharaohs, is sufficient evidence that they were very powerful. The principal name by which they were known, not Coptic but Greek, was *Therapeutæ*, an association closely allied to the Essenes. Later, the Egyptians had similar organizations, which under Chris-

tianity assumed a certain monastic and painfully degenerate form. They were all derived from the original *jus coeundi*, long existing but first promulgated through inscriptions upon the celebrated Prytaneum at Athens, and a few years later translated into Latin and honored by being engraved upon one of the Twelve Tables of Roman law.²

In Palestine, including old Phœnicia, the same establishments are known as *essenæ*, *ossennæ*, sometimes *therapeutæ*, *Nazarænai*, *Cainites* and *synodoi*.

Throughout Gaul, Spain and Africa, and as far to the northwestward as the British Islands, and as far north-eastward as Germany they generally assumed the Latin names of *collegia* and *sodalicia*, although traces are found of the German half-civilized *Lupercalia*.

All these various confraternities, no matter what the the name or race, possessed the same tenets and quite frequently they are found to have been linked internationally together. There are inscriptions and other records which show that in times of famine, pestilence, or war, when certain districts flourished while their distant neighbors and brothers were suffering, convoys were sent with provisions, money, medicines and social comforts for their rescue. This was done as late as the apostolic age; for several times provisions, money and comforts were conveyed from Asia Minor to the brotherhood at Jerusalem, and from Ephesus and Corinth to groups in Macedonia, showing the value of Mutual help among the poor and struggling people.³

Another important thing is that their plan of political organization was, by law, based on the scheme of political organization of the city of Athens. To some extent this plan followed the city in its economic scheme;⁴ but as the city in ancient times, as now, was formed after

² See chapter II. of this volume.

³ Acts, xi., 29; xxiv., 17; Rom., xv., 25, 26; I. Cor., xvi., 1; II. Cor., ix., 1, 2, 5; II. Cor., viii., 3, 4; Tertullian, *Apol.*, xxxix. That such economical reciprocity was constantly going on among the unions, is shown quite profusely in the inscriptions. Mommsen, Oehler, Waltzing and several others have admitted that the one described by Tertullian was a regular collegium.

⁴ The Roman state guaranteed the labor organizations the communistic form, the same as it was found in the Prytaneum of Grecian cities, as well as a common table: Dirksen, *Zwölf Tafel Fragmente*, 21: "Der römische Staat vergönnte ursprünglich lediglich den Gewerben, die den Bedürfnissen des Krieges und des Gottesdienstes Zunächst fröhnten, seinen unmittelbaren Schutz und eine selbständige Communalverfassung."

the competitive idea which ruled everything, the social movement could not follow it, but swung off in the direction of communism. According to this rule which was adhered to for many centuries, the trade unions formed their organizations after the model of cities of the outside world.⁵

But it must not be understood by this, that it was a political organization like that of the outside world. Far from it. The plan followed the Solonic law of labor organization and was accordingly secret, and entirely different otherwise; for it had a common table, always held property common and followed a communal code. It is true that certain parts of the ancient city permits of a common table. The Boulé at Athens, a council, like that of our boards of Aldermen in cities, was furnished with a common table, around which many a great proposition regarding the good of the city, or of the country, was discussed while partaking meals. In this respect the Solonic organization was patterned exactly after that theory of the ancient city.

But as to the communal code, it was different; and the difference was based upon the fact that a great gap yawned between the citizen and the humble class. Citizens owned all private property. Members of these organizations were not citizens; they were often slaves, but more frequently freedmen⁶ struggling for a mere privilege to live on the earth. Hated by everybody, to them it was the great question of bread from day to day; and their organization was logically economical rather than religious, as some of the epigraphists would fain have us believe. Many have already discovered and confessed this error.

The great organizations of trade and labor unions, therefore, under the Solonic law, however much the enemies of human rights may argue to the contrary, were purely economic ones; in fact, the law of Solon so recognizes, and makes a specification that the workmen

⁵ Dig., III., 4; Gaius, *libro tertio ad Edictum Provinciale*, 1; "Quibus autem permissum est corpus habere collegii societatis sive cujusque alterius eorum nomine, proprium est ad exemplum reipublicæ habere res communes, arcam communem," etc.

⁶ The *Eranoi* admitted foreigners, freedmen, slaves and women. Some were composed of women entirely. On this, for full and indisputable evidence, see Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, p. 5.

and common people who are to give an account of themselves as told by Herodotus, as to how they got their living, for purposes of the census compilation or otherwise, should be organized. Everything was economic. Religion of course, was highly respected. Indeed, everybody was religiously inclined; and they consequently believed in the powerful influence of their gods, and served them with punctilious obeisance.

A critical inspection of all evidence obtainable—and it is growing year by year—obliges us to admit that the original and ancient scheme of this organization was that of the good, pure, well regulated family;⁷ that in the minds of great men, such as Cadmus, Moses, Lycurgus, Solon, Numa, Pythagoras, Socrates and his followers, and if we may suppose an incarnation of Saturn, of Dionysus, of Minerva and such tutelary powers believed to have been once living men and women before whom these lowly organizations worshiped, the state and the city themselves were modeled from the pure and holy forms of a just and loving family. This was the microcosm. It was the great pre-Christian-Christianity.⁸

Here lies the kernel of the vast phenomenon of an era of Paganism which was a failure; of an era of Christianity which is slowly proving a success. The money power or greed of property destroyed the microcosm—the city and the mutuality bearing the stamp of eternal life. They became its victim. We now know that for a thousand years it fought and struggled to destroy the great

⁷ For an exhaustive discussion on this subject, see Oehler's article *Bουλή* in the Cyclopædia of ancient conditions and literature, entitled *Pauly-Wissowa*, Vol. III., pp. 1020-1037. The Prytaneum was the most democratical forum of the Boule. Here, as in the council rooms of all the Solonic labor unions, we find the common table and the communal code. It may almost be compared with the microcosm of a state which took the well regulated family for its pattern. And such the pattern shows them to have been.

⁸ It is a mistake to suppose the Solonic organizations to have been exclusively religious. They were economical. It does not follow, because the inscriptions constantly talk about religion of the "ἱεροποιος;" that they were necessarily religious organizations. The whole life of Socrates is proof of this. He was a member of one of these organizations and yet he was not overstocked with religion. He was an economist. All references to him by Plato and Xenophon prove this; and in Plato's *Crito*, Socrates, on his deathbed, doubts the existence of an immortal soul. Many of the recently discovered epigraphs make no mention of religion. Foucart, *Associations Religieuses*, pp. 29, sqq., shows three *θιασσοί* of Sabazios at the Peireios which clearly mention ἱεροποιος, priest or priestess. See his nos. 24, 27, 30, 32. Again, p. 31, of *id.* top, is a quote from epigraph No. 30; lines 5-19, showing that no religion of whatever sort was in their minds—only the economic good. Here is a striking illustration that what is meant by religion is only that of the economical good to the common membership.

law and its organization. But in this last effort it failed. Solon⁹ and the immortals still shed their tutelary influence; the family in all its adamantine brilliancy still shines; the organization is here; and imperishable hope and economic activity survive and grow with the æons of experience.⁹

Under the Solonic dispensation, then, the family was to be the central pattern or model of the city, and the labor organization was to be patterned after the family. It was to have its common table, at the head of which sat the father or lord of the household. It was to be composed of the father, the mother and the children. All were to be treated exactly alike. Each was to have enough. Each was to do his or her share of the labor of support. None were to have things from which the others were excluded. As in the family to-day, they were to eat at the common table. All honored and loved the father and lord who in turn reciprocated; the mother and children were to love one another. Contentment, liberty, development, happiness and plenty resulted.

Another remarkable characteristic of those ancient unions was that they took the military form. They were distributed in brigades, companies and tens. This was a very early form. We hear of it first in Numa's arrangement, nearly 600 years before Christ, and the system was written up by Varro and Pliny, proving that it was exactly the plan of the military formula of the Roman army, and it was this method of military science under which the Roman conquests were carried out.

Still another peculiarity of the labor organizations was that they were secret. All through the vista of a thousand years during which time we know them, they were strictly a secret order. This habit of secrecy proved of great value during persecutions. Being legalized by a law so much revered, they were seldom molested, except when persecuted on account of their political activities. Then it was that their discipline of profound secrecy proved of greatest value. After the amalgamation of the Christians with them their secrecy was so

⁹ Herodotus, "Euterpe," (II.), 177, after showing that Amasis, a Pharaoh of Egypt, nearly 600 years before Christ, instituted a law for his census which Solon reënfacted at Athens, says: "Σόλων δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος λαβὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῦτον τὸν νόμον Ἀθηναῖοις ἔθηκε· τῷ ἐκείνοι ἐς αἰεὶ χρέωνται εἶναι ἀμύμφη νόμου."

great that for ages they maintained themselves in spite of the most searching detectives of the Roman police the world over; and the evangelizing agents continued the preaching of their original doctrines and ideas until at last they assumed the mastery and conquered the Roman world. Thus the dispensation of Solon extended through lands now known as Italy, Greece, Asia Minor, Macedonia, Palestine, Spain, Northern Africa, France, England, Ireland, Wales, Austria Hungary, Bulgaria, Servia, the countries coursed by the Danube and those of European Turkey.¹⁰

By our own good fortune in having the descriptive and historical geographies of Strabo and Arrian, we are in full possession of information regarding the existence of these unions in India. This information is gleaned from the histories, travels and geographies of Magasthenes, Nearchus, Aristobulus, Onesicritus, Eratosthenes and other very ancient writers who were sent out on extensive expeditions, some with Alexander the Great, and others by order of the Pergamenian kings, in the third and fourth centuries B. C. The works of these writers are themselves unfortunately lost, but Strabo and Arrian quote them. This subject of India is so little known, and yet so thoroughly explained by them that we next devote an entire chapter to it.¹¹

¹⁰ A singular example of these ancient institutions is seen in the bakers' unions of Paris, to-day, *Rapport, Office du Travail*, 1893: *Alimentation; The Bakers*. Varro, *De Lingua Latina* shows that the Roman colleges or unions of trades were so arranged; and at Paris, to-day, the boulangers, have their brigadiers or foremen of the "gang" of bakers heading the statistical schedules of wages, pp. 70-83. For a description of this, see Polybius, *Historia*, vi., c. 39, giving the arrangement of the Army. On his account of their use of the σημαία, σημεία φοινικα, vexillum, or red banner under these arrangements, see Vol. I., p. 467, note 5, quoting Polybius, vi., 39.

¹¹ For interesting information on the origin of our term "Indo-European," consult Rudolf von Thiering's *Vorgeschichte der Indo-Europäer*, in *Die Zeit*, Vienna, Vol. II., No. 21, S. 119.

CHAPTER VI.

INDIA'S BROTHERHOODS

EVIDENCE NEVER SEEN IN HISTORY.

THE Lost Books—Handed Down to us through Strabo and Arrian—Megasthenes—Other Men's precious, Lost Geographical Books—Valuable Account from B. C. 350—Theory of a Sunken Continent—Adverse Criticism of Strabo Refuted—The Hamadryad—Story of the Modern Capture of One—Monster of Deadly Poison—King Sandrakotta—Indian Dwarfs—Government of India—Its Labor Organizations—The Indian Olympus—Mount Nusa—Its Brotherhoods—The Colony of Dionysus—A Cradle of the Unions—Roman Conquests Struck them when they Struck Damascus—Blades of Damascus blocked out in India—Indian Brotherhoods Divided into Seven Parts—Their Complete Delineation—Farmers, Hunters and Herdsmen—Skilled Artisans and Workers on Exchange—Great Value and Importance attached to them—All in Government Employ—Exempt from Military Burdens—All Land owned by the State or Society—The Useless Military Factor—The Ephori and their Spies—The Solonic Form of Labor Organization—It Gave Original Law and Dominated the Career of Industry—Bartholomew Sent there to Preach the Gospel—Peter supposed to have also Spent Years in India.

The organizations of the Solonic law and dispensation stretched beyond Asia Minor. They crossed Assyria and the Euphrates and were suffused among the populous regions of the Ganges, the Indus and the Burrempooter.

The first indications we had of this were gotten by reading, in our researches after the evidence of inscriptions and other ante-Nicene literature, of the doings of certain Christian Saints, not only those in the Testament or the Talmud, but apocryphal writings of the early Petrine period, which like the histories of Diodorus and Josephus, were held by a literary censorship in contemptuous abeyance, apparently because they were not in line with the purse-achieving ambitions behind a scheme that overthrew much of the good work

of a great personage; the founder of an era which followed Solon and Numa. Like the accurate listings of Diodorus and Pausanias these are soon to be searched after and re-read, as containing inestimable gems of truth and light.

One of these discarded records is found in the Apostolic Constitutions;¹ and is proof that, true to the words of Megasthenes and Arrian, there must have been a fine and perhaps an exalted civilization in India which still existed between three and four hundred years afterwards, when visited by Bartholomew and Paul. That these men planted the Gospel into the social orders described by Strabo, there can be little doubt. We shall prove that all the apostles and evangelists planted their faith into the already existing economic societies of laboring people in every known country of the earth, and that the task assigned to Bartholomew and a few others was in India.

Strabo, who excerpted from Megasthenes, Eratosthenes, Aristobulus, Onesicritus, Nearchus and others, whose works are unfortunately lost, gives us a complete account of the condition and influence of these societies, and more than once he comes squarely out and explains their organization, showing that they were identical with those in the west. In a few cases they even worshiped the very tutelary deity chosen by the societies of Asia Minor and the Piræus.

A few words should be said on the geography of India and its relations to the Roman conquests, which began about the time of Alexander the Great. It is believed

¹ "Ante-Nicene Fathers," Vol. VII. p. 492, note 5, "Bartholomew (a deacon) preached the Gospel according to Matthew, to the Indians, who also has been buried in India." Hippolytus, "Refutatio Hæreticorum," I., c. 22, speaks of the Brehmans (probably the Bramans) who lived on the banks of the Ganges, and were peculiar in their habits. But as high an authority as Neander, "Hist. Church," I., p. 81, Eng. trans., Boston, says Paul also went to India on one of his evangelizing tours. This is full of meaning; for he could not have penetrated those unknown regions had it not been that there were friends there. Strabo and Arrian, as we shall show, clear the mystery up. Powerful brotherhoods existed in India. They were of the Cybele and Dionysian sort, such as turn out to have been very numerous in Asia Minor, Macedonia and Greece. They held important political control; for the laws of India gave them favors and exemptions. Paul certainly went from Damascus to Arabia, which Neander conjectures, at that time stretched as far eastward as India, (p. 81). But the most astonishing verification of Paul's travels in India is the inscription of Avircius Marcellus, found at Hieropolis. See our elaborate account, pp. 638, chap. xviii., where we give the Greek in full and a running paraphrase.

by some that there was a continent stretching between southern Hindostan and Africa, and that it was sunk by an earthquake; and theorists go so far as to place the Garden of Eden there and not in Central Asia east of the Caucasus range.² Professor Haeckel, in his great work entitled a History of the Creation, starts out with a delineation of man, on the assumption that he originated in the land of the lemures, that branch of the simian tribe found to be the closest in physical and perhaps intellectual organism of the human race; and he even furnishes us with a set of plates exhibiting the land of the lemures, as he calls the sunken continent and places it in the Indian Ocean, between Hindostan and Africa. The opinions of this learned professor and scientist are worthy of a careful investigation. It would place the supposed Garden of Eden in the waters of the Indian Ocean! Haeckel, designating this lost continent the land of the lemures and placing it in the Indian Ocean, brings out beautiful maps of the voyages of the various tribes of men, and presumes a common origin to have been in this now sunken region. They diverge from this common center into Europe, Africa, Asia and Australasia; the tribe of Ham, going to Africa, the tribe of Japheth to Europe and the tribe of Shem to Asia. This, he believes to be the only solution to the mystery of the creation, and the Garden of Paradise. Man had been thankless and God cursed the very region of his creation and submerged it in the depths, so that the locality of the original eudæmonia is lost in the onciromantic mists of doubt.

But our knowledge of India so far as we have it from Megasthenes and Onesicritus, and through them by the works of Strabo and Arrian who read their books before being lost, is entirely from the modern basis. The land of India when Strabo wrote was very nearly as it is now.

A few anecdotal notes may here profitably be inserted,

² Ezekiel, xxix., 10: "Behold, therefore, I am against thee, and against thy rivers and I will make the land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate from the tower of Syrene even unto the border of Ethiopia." For the location of this tower, see Smith's "Bible Dictionary," art. "Syrene," I., p. 657. Regarding the supposed earthquake that sank the continent, consult Prof. Haeckel of Jena, on the "Land of the Lemures." Smith puts it as the southern limit of Egypt: "From India even unto Ethiopia," "Esther," I., 1: viii., 9, mentioned by Smith, p. 658. This of itself is Bible authority that Eden is now sunk. This land was Cush, and was far south.

testing the reliability of Strabo.³ In his descriptive geography, written about the time Christ was born into the world, he speaks of a monster serpent which he denominates the ophiophage.⁴ He means the hamadryad which was said to live on trees, darting down upon and killing other snakes as well as animals and men. It was the great Cobra de Capello, the death snake of the ancient Druids. Strabo quotes as authority, Megasthenes and Nearchus. The monster is given as seventeen to nineteen feet long; an oviparous serpent only known in the dense woods and wilds of India, beyond the Ganges. It belongs to the elapines, not the vipers; it is more poisonous. It lies among the dark branches, like the anaconda. When a deer or hare or even other reptile, or a human being, ventures unsuspectingly up to the tree she noiselessly drops her whole length and weight upon him, head downward, and the first thing felt is the poisonous fangs filled with virus which far exceeds in deadliness any venom known, producing almost instantaneous death. After this she proceeds to coil like the boas about the prey, crushing its bones, and with her saliva, like the constrictor, prepares it for deglutition.

No serpent of the cobra race of such enormous size having been noted by travelers since Strabo's time, the usual criticism interposed, of doubters who not knowing all, assume to know too much, and the geographer's account was laughed at as an empiricism. After more than two thousand years from the days of Megasthenes, the French have penetrated the regions described, and a recent expedition of survey and adventure succeeded in 1890, in capturing an enormous female hamadryad about eighteen feet in length, lying in a coil upon her eggs, which it appears are incubated in the manner of fowls. An Indian boy of the wildest ledges, and darkest forests, informed the hunters of the monster's lair; but

³ Meyers, *Konvers. Lexikon*, in verb. *Megasthenes*; Griech. Geschichtschreiber, ging 295 v. Chr., als Gesandter des Seleukos Nikator an den indischen König Sandrokottos und sammelte dort material für sein Werk, "Indika," aus dem Arrian und Strabon entlehnt haben. Die noch vorhandenen Fragmente sammelten Schwanbeck (Bonn, 1846), und Müller, in *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, Bd. 2, (Paris, 1848).

⁴ After telling of the water monsters seen by Nearchus, he proceeds (*Geog.*, paragraph 706), to tell of the greater Cobra, 16 cubits long: "Εἰ δὲ μὴ τὸ πολὺ τοῦ πλῆθους ὑπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων διεφθείρετο, κἄν ἐρμηωθῆναι τὴν χώραν. Καὶ τὴν μικρότητα δ' αὐτῶν εἶναι χαλεπὴν καὶ ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ μεγέθους, τὴν μὲν δὲ τὰ δυσφύλακτον τὴν δὲ δ' ἰσχύν, ὅπου καὶ ἑκκαίδεκαπῆχεις ἐχιδνας ὀράσθαι."

so great was his terror that nothing could induce him to accompany them farther than a distant rock in range with their glasses, from whose top he pointed her out to them, and after taking his hire, fled in fear to his home. With great caution they crawled up to a distance within range of their rifles and although she suspected and towered to full height in her watch, the attitude but made her body a surer target and she fell pierced with bullets to the base of the ledge which formed her hiding place. The skin has been preserved.

Strabo who, like all the old anecdotal writers, tells a good story now and then, mentions the Indian pigmies, spoken of by Homer; but he gives us no assurance of the legend's truth.⁵

In connection with this falsifying depreciation of the flippant scholars and more dangerous cyclopedists we may also here pay a much deserved debt of credit to another ancient author, Orosius, whose history and geography have been very long discounted, but whose statements after centuries of contempt are now being sought as exceedingly valuable by the savants of our academies. This man knew of the great lake Victoria N'yanza, thousands of years lost but rediscovered by Speke in 1882; for he tells us in the introduction to his book against paganism that it was vast and was known as the source of the Nile.⁶

Arrian declares in his *Indica* that the Indians did not fight; and cites assertions from the great work of Megasthenes, which he read. He thinks the true reason was that nobody molested them. But Strabo gives the full account of the causes of this exemption and explains it sufficiently to assure us that Arrian only looked super-

⁵ Strabo, *Geog.*, 711. Under Sandrokontus they were πεντασπιθάμοι, i.e., 38 inches in height. Some were only τρισπιθάμοι, 23 inches tall. They waged wars on the cranes, geese, pheasants, also very large, i.e.: χηνοειγάθαι. These dwarfs were without noses, and breathed through two little holes above the mouth, "ὡν τινὰς ἀμύκτηρας, ἀναπνοὰς ἔχοντας μόνον δύο ὑπὲρ τοῦ στόματος." Are these, barring the exaggerations, not the same as the modern dwarfs, of the Philippine Islands murdered by the Spaniards? There still dwells a race of pigmies in the Island of Formosa of which considerable has recently been written, much resembling those in size; Arrian, *Indica*, p. 318, (J. Gronov., Lugd., Bat.).

⁶ Orosius, *Historiarum Libri Septem Adversus Paganos*, Caput II., 17; "Fluvium Nilum, qui de litore incipientis Maris Rubri emergere videtur Hunc aliqui auctores ferunt, haud procul ab Atlante habere fontem, et continuo arenis mergi; inde interjecto brevi spatio, vastissimo lacu exundare, atque hinc oceano tenus, orientem versus per Æthiopica Dcserta prolabi, nusque inflexum ad sinistram, Ægyptum descendera."

ficially upon the matter. Strabo in preserving the geographies of Megasthenes, Aristobulus, Nearchus, Onesicritus and Eratosthenes, has conferred a valuable contribution which people are now beginning to appreciate. From him Murli Manohar wrote us an article, making a pointed argument for socialism. He says that at an early period a splendid form of government existed in India whereby all the people found remunerative and guaranteed employment.⁷ The workmen had it their own way. They were protected by the great king Sandrokottus, who benignantly reigned as a father governs his loving family, being exempt from all dangers and burdens of war. They were employed on public works, all land remaining the property of the state. They divided the time of labor into three parts: eight hours for labor, eight hours for recreation and instruction and eight hours for sleep.

We also possess a certain amount of monumental evidence for India, although the epigraphists seem not as yet to have extended their scientific investigations as far as India.⁸ This, when accomplished, may bring corroborating evidence of our theory of the early planting in India, of trade and labor organizations, under the Solonic statute. But we already possess enough to make it certain that in some parts of India this was the case. We now proceed to the evidence of Strabo.

There was a mountain, Nusa by name, which seems to have been the Indian Olympus, honored by being the seat of the great god Dionysus, guardian and protector of the useful classes of mankind, the workers. He was a giver of joys. The city of Nusa was situated at the foot of the elevation of the same name, and is sometimes called Mount Meros, the birthplace of Bacchus. The Bacchic brotherhoods inhabited and cultivated the valleys and worked the mines and other resources of wealth which existed around about. True to the customs of

⁷ See *Article in the Nineteenth Century*, for July, 1891, p. 49, No. 173. This writer extracts evidence likewise from Ælian and comes to the conclusion that the state was socialistic 400 years before Christ and employed labor on a vast scale, which he recommends.

⁸ "Νῦσαν Διονύσου κτίσμα." Strabo 637, *ad fin.* For definition of Bacchus or Διόνυσος, see Liddell, *Gr. Lex.*, in *verbo* Βάχκος, who is honest enough, after all the defamation which was begun against this grand mythical character by the ecclesiastical writers who could not trump up any method among their schemes, by which to talk down the ancient lowly, if they adhered to a name representing a principle so sublime.

the proletaries, they were all organized confraternities taking the thiasos of Greece as their pattern. They appear to have been a colony from some unknown part of the world, but as their organization and habits were the same as in Asia Minor, little doubt can exist that they were from the extreme west of Asia and near the Mediterranean Sea. Strabo, who was born B. C. 60 and lived 84 years, wrote about them while Christ was growing up to manhood; but as he got his information from Megasthenes who had written 300 years before, the colony was already old. He tells us of a colony of people who formed a settlement here, and had their carnivals under Dionysus, whose palace was in the mountain, and who was himself "the ennobler of mankind and giver of joys, as symbol of generation and the productive principle of nature"⁹

We are now prepared to proceed with Strabo and Arrian's beautiful descriptions of the socialism which existed during the reign of the good king Sandrokottus, at the time Megasthenes visited these regions of India.

The socialistic colony of Nusa was a Dionysan settlement of eranists of Asia Minor, who were at that age very numerous. It would appear from Strabo's paragraph, 688, that the people of India were cultivating this Dionysus, "the ennobler of mankind and the giver of joys;" and there can be no doubt that his cult was greatly furthered by the eranos, a prime organization under the Solonic code. Onesicritus, the chief pilot of Nearchus, whom Alexander sent on the celebrated sea voyage from the mouth of the Ganges to that of the Euphrates, is authority for the fact that the cult of this humanizing divinity was pursued with vigor in India.

It is thought that Nusa was the cradle, perhaps the central home of the organizations, being, as we have seen from a remark of Strabo, a colony of Dionysan unions from Greece or Asia Minor, that Nusa was but one of a thousand. Dr. Lightfoot whose authority is highly appreciated, acknowledges the brotherhoods of

⁹Strabo, 687 *fin*: "Ἐκ δὲ τῶν τοιαύτων Νυσαίουσ δὴ τινὰς ἔθνος προσωνόμασαν καὶ πόλιν παρ' αὐτοῖσ Νῦσαν Διονύσου κτίσμα, καὶ ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆσ πόλεωσ Μηρόν, αἰτιασάμενοι καὶ τὸν αὐτόθι κισσόν καὶ ἄμπελον, οὐδὲ τούτῃν τελεσίκαρπον." Ἀπορρεῖ γάρ ὁ Βότρυσ πρὶν περᾶσαι διὰ τοὺσ ὄμβρουσ τοῦ ἄδην Διονύσου δ' ἀπογόνουσ τοὺσ Συδράκασ ἀπὸ τῆσ ἄμπελου τῆσ παρ' αὐτοῖσ καὶ τῶν πολυτελεῶν ἐξόδων, βαχικῶσ τὰς τὲ ἐκστρατείασ ποιουμένων τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τὰς ἄλλασ ἐξόδουσ μετὰ τυμπανισμοῦ καὶ εὐανθοῦσ στολῆσ ὅπερ ἐπὶ νολάξει καὶ παρὰ τοῖσ ἄλλοισ Ἴνδοῖσ."

India to have been numerous and socially influential 300 years before Christ.¹⁰ Damascus, a neighboring center of the unions of trades, especially that of cutlery, had the thiasotic and eranic method under the great law, and these are known to be very ancient. The unions manufactured blades and many varieties of cutlery out of the celebrated Damascus Steel, and it is known that the bars came from India.¹¹ Like the Phœnicians, they held their art a secret so that their unions might live upon and transmit it for ages and as they supposed, forever. But the Roman conquests struck Damascus with a withering blight. Modern research likewise discloses much that is valuable on ancient India in literature. One of the kings possessed a library which is said to have been so bulky that a thousand dromedaries were required to move it, and its librarian required a hundred men to place it in new quarters.

We now come to the testimony of the ancient authors already mentioned, as their works have been handed down to us through Strabo, Arrian and others.

Politically, morally, economically and socially, India was divided into seven parts.¹² These parts may be said

¹⁰ Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 390, quotes from Megasthenes, admitting that he traveled through that country; but he knows nothing of the business of the *κυριοι*, as agents of thriving *κοινα*, who combined missionary work with business, now proved by inscriptions not at Lightfoot's command. Pantæus whom he mentions, p. 390, note 1, was evidently one of these; quite possibly also, Apollonius of Tyana. Lightfoot is here writing of the Essenes, an economic ass'n. Consult also Arrian, *Indica*, VIII., 1; Porphyry, *De Abst.*, IV., 17, as presented by Stobæus, *Ecl.*, III., 56, who is likewise found to have mentioned the Indians and their economic organizations. Lightfoot quotes Clement of Alex., *Strom.*, I., 18, p. 359. Speaking of the various schools of Indian thought, he brings in the *Σαρμάναιοι Βάκτρων*, and distinguishes two kinds of *Γνωμοσοφισταί*, alluding to Megasthenes. There were the *Σαρμάνας* or *Γαράμνας*, κ. τ. λ. Bardesanes also tells of brotherhoods in India. There was later a sect of Bardesan Gnostics there. But the evidence all shows that the associations were originally inspired by economic rather than sacred motives, in India as elsewhere. The practical commonsense of Strabo is of great value in disabusing our minds of this widespread error: "Καὶ οἱ νῦν δὲ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου πλείοντες ἐμπορικοὶ τῷ Νεΐῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀραβίῳ κόλπῳ μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς σπάνιοι μὲν καὶ περιπεπλευκάσι μέχρι τοῦ Γάγγου, καὶ οὗτοι δ' ἰδιώται καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς ἱστορίαν τῶν τόπων χρήσιμοι," κ.τ.λ. Strabo, *Geog.*, 686. The Indians had an established communication with western people; but contrary to Dr. Lightfoot, who regards it as less than it really was, since it was the interacting, secret business societies that engaged in it and not the open world.

¹¹ See *Amer. Cyclopædia*, on *Damascus Steel*, where Niebuhr is shown to have attempted to explain the celebrated art, supposed to be lost. It was here that the early church, or original *κυριακή*, *κυριοικός*, or house of the lord was established. Damascene ornamentations, invented by Glaucus of Chios, B. C. 490, got supplies from India. A high state of trade unionism could permeate India from here very readily.

¹² Strabo, p. 703, *fn.*: "Φησὶ δὴ τὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν πλήθος εἰς ἑπτὰ μέρη διηρηθῆσαι."

to represent classes; for there are no indications that the undemocratical and degrading classes existed as to-day. People now, of one caste, will not eat at the same table with those of another; and it may be said that this was the feeling which existed at Rome among the optimates; but it is fully proved that in Rome and all cities and countries where the Solonic unions existed, the reverse is the case when their brotherly love melted away the social barriers between slaves and free men.

The first of the seven classes consisted of the philosophers.¹³ They were, however, considered workers for the state, and occupied what now are called positions under the civil service. They were the educated class who worked at calculating the prospects of the government, and helped the king in his work of state. They planned the revenues, watched the process of the incomes, from planting to harvest, and the breeding of animals, and every year there was a common council held with the king on the best measures to pursue during the forthcoming year.

Under class second came the farmers or tillers; but as all the land belonged to a socialized state, the farmers worked it on shares, taking a fourth of the product and their pay in kind.¹⁴ These farmers enjoyed complete exemption from military service and were known as immunes. There was a law by which they enjoyed protection from injury, which seems to have amounted to something like insurance against injury of health and accident.¹⁵ While others must fight, these only plow and hoe without risk.

The third class consisted of herdsmen and hunters. These kept the cattle and other animals for the market.¹⁶ They also freed the land from birds and beasts that destroy the seeds of the social farm lands, before being subdued by tillage. They were trustees of the common

¹³ Strabo, *ibid.*, 703: " καὶ πρώτους μὲν τοὺς φιλοσόφους εἶναι κατὰ τιμὴν, ἐλαχίστους δὲ κατ' ἀριθμὸν χρῆσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἑκάστῳ τοὺς θύοντας ἢ τοὺς ἐναγίζοντας, κοινῇ δὲ τοὺς βασιλέας κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην λεγομένην σύνοδον, καθ' ἣν τοῦ νέου ἔτους ἅπαντες οἱ φιλόσοφοι τῷ βασιλεῖ συνελθόντες ἐπὶ θύρας ὅ τι ἂν αὐτῶν ἕκαστος σιντάξῃ τῶν χρησίμων ἢ τηρήσῃ πρὸς εὐετηρίαν καρπῶν τε καὶ ζώων καὶ περὶ πολιτείας." κ. τ. λ.

¹⁴ Strabo, 704, *ibid.*: "μισθοῦ δ' αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τετάρταις ἐργάζονται τῶν καρμῶν;" *id.* 703, 40, *fin*

¹⁵ Strabo, 704: "Δεύτερον δὲ μέρος εἶναι τὸ τῶν γεωργῶν, οἱ πλείστοι τέ εἰσι καὶ ἐπιεικέστατοι ἀστρατεία καὶ ἀδείᾳ τοῦ ἐργάζεσθαι, πάλει μὴ προσιώντες μηδ' ἄλλῃ χρεῖα μηδ, ἀχλήσει κοινῇ, πολλάκις γοῦν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τόπῳ τοῖς μὲν παρατεταχθεὶ συμβαίνει καὶ διακινδυνεύει πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους," κ. τ. λ.

lands.¹⁶ We are not definitely informed as to the exact shape of organization these hunters and herdsmen enjoyed. We know that they were combined in powerful economic unions and that they were legalized by the state and favored, as necessary to the well-being of community and of the king, and like the farmers, exempt from the burdens of war. Large numbers of hunters' unions are being found in the inscriptions of Asia Minor and the Italian provinces which will be dwelt upon later in this work. The people coming under the designation of hunters and herdsmen are said to be of the *koinos*, which not only means a society working in common for mutual benefit and protection, but also generally indicates the common table, judging from the language of Strabo and Arrian.

His fourth class consists of the skilled workers in the technical arts, and the dealers.¹⁷ Singularly enough these go together according to the provisions of the Solonic law, as preserved by Gaius who took it from the XII Tables of Roman law, and wrote it down as his opinion that it was a translation from the original statute of Solon himself.¹⁸ In other words, the artisans or skilled mechanics not only did the mechanical work of manufacture on an enormous scale, for the community under direction of the commissioner of public works, but they were credited with and performed, all the work of manufacturing implements of war. The state needed swords, darts, spears, also engines for breaking down and destroying walls, arches, and other defenses. It employed the mechanics to construct such implements and to engineer them in times of war. Thus the state employed labor. It also wisely exempted them from open combat and the burdens and dangers of war. They were too valuable to be murdered off at wholesale. Skill and genius are

¹⁶ Strabo, 704, 41: "Τρίτον τὸ τῶν ποιμένων καὶ θηρευτῶν, οἷς μόνοις ἔξεστι θηρεύειν καὶ θρεμματοτροφεῖν ὡνία τε παρέχειν καὶ μισθοῦ ζεῦγη· ἀντί δὲ τοῦ τῆν γῆν ἐλευθεροῦν θηρίων καὶ τῶν σπερμολόγων ὀρνέων," κ. τ. λ.

¹⁷ Strabo, 707, 46: "Μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς θηρευτὰς καὶ τοὺς ποιμένας τέταρτον φησιν εἶναι μέρος τοὺς ἐργαζομένους τὰς τέχνας καὶ τοὺς καπηλικούς καὶ οἷς ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἢ ἐργασία· ὧν οἱ μὲν φόρον τελούσι καὶ λειτουργίας παρέχονται τακτὰς, τοῖς δ' ὀπλοποιοῖς καὶ ναυπηγοῖς μισθοὶ καὶ τροφαὶ παρὰ βασιλέως ἐκκειντὰ· μόνω γὰρ ἐργάζονται· παρέχει δὲ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα τοῖς στρατιώταις ὁ στρατοφύλαξ, τὰς δὲ ναῦς μισθοῦ τοῖς πλέουσι ὁ ναύαρχος καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις."

¹⁸ *Digest*, XLVII., *Tit.*, xxii., *lex.* 4: "Sodalis sunt qui ejusdem collegii sunt; quam Græci ἑταιρίαν vocant. His autem potestatem facti lex, pacificationem quam velint, sibi ferre; dum ne quid ex publica lege corrumpant. Sed hæc lex videtur ex lege Solonis translata esse," etc.

precious and it was so recognized. Thus again, precisely as told us by Murli Manohar, a state managed the labor. It operated mechanical shops and factories on a large scale. Can any one suppose for a moment that the workmen did not have a powerful political organization as in Rome, at Pompeii, in Asia Minor, composed of voting unions? It is proved by recent discoveries at Pompeii that trade unions exerted every effort at the elections to secure the choice for managers in the city's business, of those who were pledged to bestow upon them the public work. It is fortunate that we have a Strabo who so plainly exhibits the key to otherwise submerged facts of ancient socialism.

Then we are introduced to the useless factor of state, the military; and they occupy the fifth class in Strabo's enumeration. He plainly tells us that this fifth class is composed of the fighters, whose time, outside of active warfare is devoted to drill and drink.¹⁹ There are some remnants of military organization preserved to us in the inscriptions. These will contribute, so far as they go, to the widespread influence of Solonism in another chapter, and it may be that this fifth class of the Indians possessed it, but it is doubtful. They were probably, as they have always been, simply the regular national prætorians and standing army, including the king's body-guard, as worthless as they were expensive, and like the drones consumed the products of those who formed the second, third and fourth classes of that country.

The sixth class consisted of the ephori, or king's spies and judges whose business was to watch and secretly report all current events to the king. They were clothed with power, and had a watch over the economic matters of the organizations at home, and the military affairs of the field. But their work, like the old Spartan ephori, was secret and doubtless they were as badly hated, and in the end overthrown. Nabis fought them. It was this set whom Appius Claudius of Rome organized the army and the conquests to defend; and we are awakening

¹⁹ Strabo, 707, 47: "Ἡέμπτου δ' ἐστὶ τὸ τῶν πολεμιστῶν, οἷς τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐν σχολῇ καὶ πότοις ὁ βίος ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ διαιτωμένους ὥστε τὰς ἐξόδους ὅταν ἡ χρεία ταχέως ποιείσθαι, πλὴν τῶν σωματῶν μηδὲν ἄλλο κομίζοντας παρ' ἑαυτῶν." M. Cagnat, while working among the military remains in Atrica for the French Academy, discovered evidences of a military *collegium* arranged in regiments, companies and decades, after the ancient plan.

now, once more to discover that the "richest" are they whom modern supreme courts are coldly handing down their august decisions to defend.²⁰ No matter what the justice of a Paulus, an Ulpian, or a Franklin might prescribe, the verdict of these modern ephori gages to the same occult, mephitic goddess, smiling on the "richest men" who at any moment stand ready to buy blandishments for the purblind people they cajole or auction off to the highest bidder, as did old Didius who outbade and struck off Rome to get the imperial toga. Thus it was that Rome wheeled her conquests against Nabis, and in defense of the ephori, though they were a supreme bench which at times unnumbered ordered out their trained assassins to butcher the laboring people.

Finally, we have the true aristocrats, who must not mix their precious blood in marriage, with workingmen. These were councilors and special commissioners of the king, who met at regular periods for consultation.²¹

Thus it is seen that in far off India there was a crude scheme of political socialism based upon the wise trade unionism of Solon, deeply permeating the state.

We have already shown that this vast organization followed the form of a well established municipality, the original idea of which was patterned after the family. Many cities in Greece and elsewhere had this ancient form and often possessed the prytaneum where a common table existed, at which workingmen, as well as councilors and jurists could receive food. Whether this common table was in vogue so far away as India, we have only enough evidence to form a stray suspicion; the color of the evidence points to the conclusion that it must have been so.

²⁰Consult chap. iv., *supra*, p. 91, giving the uprisings of Nabis against the ephorate and for the restoration of the old Lycurgan dispensation. Note 7. *fin.*, contains Strabo's words on the ephori of India.

²¹Strabo, 707, 49: whose seventh and last class might have laid the foundation of their downfall. Such a description as Strabo gives looks bad. He says: "Εβδομοι οἱ σύμβουλοι καὶ συνέδροι τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐξ ὧν τὰ ἀρχαία καὶ δικαστήρια καὶ ἡ διοίκησις τῶν ὄλων. Οὐκ ἔστι δ' οὔτε γαμειν ἐξ ἄλλου γένους οὔτ' ἐπιτήδεμα οὔτ' ἐργασίαν μεταλαμβάνειν ἄλλην ἐξ ἄλλης, οὔδ' ἐπιλείους μεταχειρίζεσθαι τὸν αὐτὸν πλὴν εἰ τῶν φιλοσόφων τις εἴη ἑασθῆαι γὰρ τοῦτον δ' ἀρετὴν." This last, and be it said, worthless set crown the descriptions of both Strabo and Arrian who agree. Their pernicious inculcations, backed by the ephori, were alone enough to destroy the otherwise fine organizations in India.

CHAPTER VII.

RAGE AND HAVOC.

CONDITION AT CLOSE OF THE CONQUESTS.

WRANGLES over the Spoils—Extent of the Havoc of Conquest—Murderous Standing Army—Roman Generals brought Spoils in their Own Name—Countless Slaves of their Conquests—Sulla's Massacre of 50,000—Unions fell Victims of their own Duplicity—Judicial Murder by Crucifixion of 400 Innocents—Mostly Semitics—Story reconstructed—Heartlessness of the Senate—Plea to Save them Overruled—Savage Speech of Cassius—Law Enforced—Awful Agonies—Workers Dangerously Maddened—Longed More ardently for Promised Redeemer—The Carpenter Already Born—Endorse His Plan of Salvation—The Slave Marts—Cheap Humanity—The Poor longed for the Right of Marriage—Power of Inscriptions and Anecdotal History—Cruelties of Paulus Æmilius—Still more Secret—Seized and Thrown over Precipices—Ingratitude of Men who lived by Others' Toil—What better were Such than Brigands—Pre-Christian Martyrs—Socrates an Example—Two Persecutions of the Jews—Their Good Character made Them a Target of Hate—Great Advantage of the Common Tables—An Ancient and Revered Institution—Jews of Antioch—Roman and Pagan Hatred of them—Story of the Maccabees—Defeat of Syrian Generals—Power of the Congregation—Futile Effort to Break up the Mosaic Dispensation—Ferocious Massacre of the Hebrew Race at Jerusalem—Best Author puts Number Murdered at 1,100,000—Sanguinary Fury—Sad Loss of Arts of Damascus Steel, Crimson Dyes, Imperishable Inks, Pigments and Many Inventions Ascribed to these Truculent Deeds of Savagery—They were Secrets of the Unions—Property whereby they lived, and which Died with Them—World's Irredeemable Losses.

WE must apprise our readers, however painful the obligation, of the terrible conditions among which the working people were suffering about the time of the appearance of the strange and extraordinary character whose name stands at the head of a new era, and whose

personage is, and bids fair to remain, a prototype of the hopeful, the practical, the economical and the inspired. A name never blasphemed, and strange to record, never to this day calumniated by either friend or foe. We beg the reader's indulgence of this opportunity to outline the conditions existing during the awful swoop of those conquests which attacked and almost extinguished the fortunately indestructible Solonic dispensation. Trade unionism had been rooted into society to remain and to live. Despite the avaricious hand of the money and property power, with all its concomitant attributes of brigandage and truculent barbarity then crushing the world, it survived. It is not dead yet. The reader understanding this, may well consider our chapter on the Roman conquests, and the true intent and cunning of the old gain-getting craft.

We shall begin with the massacres of Sulla; but it is necessary to switch in certain wayside horrors along the flinty path, until we come down to the judicial murder of the four hundred which seems to have formed a trysting point, over whose sharp-angled ledge the tolerance of the oppressed staggered and swooned between a new theory of love and sympathy, and the old failure of irascibility and concupiscence.

When the great Roman conquests had been fully accomplished, having practically terminated with the subjugation of Judea and Palestine, the world fell into a phenomenal wrangle and entanglement over questions of spoil. Rome, with her scientific military equipment furnished by the trade unions as described, had gotten all, from the Spanish peninsula and the Atlantic Coast of Africa in the west, to far off India in the east, and northward even to the British Isles. All Germany, Africa, Gaul, Asia Minor, Greece, Pannonia, Macedonia, even India had fallen before her prowess and cupidity.

When all this had come to pass and mankind lay enslaved and in chains; when a thousand cities, sacked and ravaged, gave up their artisans to be bondsmen, their accumulations, a booty of conquest, their ancient governments, peaceful and prosperous, to wreckage; when all this spoil had been grasped, and conquerors were stuffed and swaggering with congestion, we find workingmen and women in millions thronging the slave marts; tearful

humiliation of men, shocking prostitution of women, luxuriant sensualities of a sickening and loathsome nature infecting the Roman youth, demoralizing voluptuousness, exuberance of drunken passion, irredeemable moral desolation. When all was conquered, unmeasured wealth in form of booty swooped into the great city from every bleeding country of the earth; and a reeking government, crass and fumid, seethed in festering putrescence and disintegration. Lost to everything but lust of lucre and lust of indulgence, an appetite abnormal in wine, amphitheatrical spectacles, bloodthirst and sexual recklessness gnawed at the heartstrings of the world. This was Rome's condition at the close of the conquests. There was many a Roman general who, having done much in bringing about this rapine and desolation to the outside world, marched victoriously back to Rome, loaded with plunder, proud of success, demanding a triumphal entry, but who was stung to the quick when he found that rivals had blocked his way to all those coveted honors. Among these disappointed aspirants was Sulla, the murderer of 50,000 workmen in B. C. 82.

We have already seen that the working people were organized in trade unions at Rome. The conquests seem to have been originated in a purpose to undermine and destroy them. The trick had failed; for the unions were still alive and at the time of Sulla they were powerful, and still voting their tribunes into office as in the *solitudo magistratum*.

Like Appius Claudius, this Sulla was an offshoot of a celebrated gens family, the Cornelian, proud, haughty, imperious; and he boasted, like Nero, that his mission on earth was to place a blight upon the aspirations of the hated workmen so low as to have no family, no soul, and descendants only of lowborn, and contemptible slaves. Truly these were the working people. The details of this conflict we have no place to recount, but leave that horror to Sallust.¹ It is unnecessary to detail the account of this massacre. We refer our readers to the historians. It is sufficient to say that this proud gentleman, like Appius Claudius, had selected as his mission the overthrow of the voting power of the organ-

¹Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 72, 73, says the workmen sided with Marius, their former tribune and their constant friend.

ized proletariat with a view to crush them.² It was a prodigious work; for mechanics in great numbers were still working for the state, manufacturing quantities of arms for the army and regularly receiving their pay as government employees.

Sulla, after the battle we are going to recount, pronounced himself dictator; and historians agree that he was the first emperor of Rome, such was his dictatorial puissance. In that great battle which took place within the walls of Rome in the year 82 before Christ, Marius, the tribune, champion and friend of all the workingmen who had sided with him as patriot and friend of the proletariat generally, was overthrown by the stronger force of Sulla. Mommsen tells us that: "The army of the insurgents, for which there was no retreat, was completely extirpated." In other words as we are informed by Sallust and Appian, the entire multitude was killed. A hundred thousand men lay dead on the field. They had a general named Damasippus who commanded. He was assassinated. Corrius, another commander, and Pontus, who was wounded, and between 3,000 and 4,000 of the people—the reliable Livy says 8,000—three days after the carnage, were driven out to the Villa Publica, in the Campus Martius and there within hearing of Sulla's assembled council, and of Sulla himself, "massacred³ to

² We give Sallust's opinion of Sulla, written among the earliest Roman histories: "Sed, postquam L. Sulla, armis recepta Rep. bonis initiis malos eventus habuit; rapere omnes, trahere; domum alius, alius agros cupere; neque modum, neque modestiam victores habere; fœda, crudeliaque in civis facinora iacere. Huc accedebat, quod L. Sulla exercitum, quem in Asia ductaverat, quo sibi fidum faceret. Loca amœna, voluptaria facile in otio ferocis militum animos molliverant. Ibi primum insequit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare, signa, tabulas pictas, vasa cœlata mirari, ea privatim ac publice rapere. delubra spoliare, sacra profanare omnia polluere. . . . Rapere, consumere; sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere; pudorem, pudicitiam divina atque humana promiscua, nihil pensi, neque moderati habere." *Belum Catilinarium, Ex recensione* Ant. Thysii. Lugd. Patavorum, 1646, pp. 20-26.

³ Momms., *Hist. Rome*, III., p. 411. Sallust says this fearful massacre of 50,000 Roman common people by Sulla caused Lucretius, who witnessed it, to become a stoic, and prompted his spirit for the wonderful poem, *De Rerum Natura*. We quote the fragment of Livy's LXXXVIIIth book, which we are so fortunate as to find remaining, although nearly the entire book has perished. He makes the last massacre to be 8,000 instead of 3,500 as put by the unwarrantably cautious Mommsen: "Cum Samnitibus, qui soli ex Italicis populis nondum arma posuerant, juxta urbem Romanam ante portam collinam debellavit: recuperataque re publica, pulcherrimam victoriam crudelitate, quanta in nullo hominum fuit, inquinavit. Octo millia deditorum in villa publica trucidavit; tabulam proscriptionis proposuit; urbem ac totam Italiam cœdibus replevit: inter quas omnes Prænestinos inermes concidi jussit. Marium, senatorii ordinis virum cruribus brachisque fractis, auribus persectis et offossis oculis, necavit." A more horrible picture of inhumanity it were difficult to portray.

the last man, so that the clatter of arms and the groans of the dying, were distinctly heard in the neighboring temple of Bellona where Sulla was holding a meeting of the Senate."⁴

This unreasonable cruelty and almost internicine carnage was perpetrated to a large extent against the Samnites and the inhabitants of Præneſte. The place had been the theatre of an earlier insurrection occurring in B. C. 198, against the exactions of the Roman rulers and rich men, and we have already fully accounted it in this work. The brave and indomitable Samnite blood⁵ could not brook either degradation or slavery. They were the best mechanics Rome ever had. In the course of centuries they had broken their chains, and were free men. Intensely industrious, they were magnificently organized under the great dispensation of Numa, and at the time of the *solitudo magistratuum* were voting unions, numbering hundreds of thousands of prosperous members flourishing under what was exactly equivalent to the Solonic law. This tyrant Sulla, then, is to be considered an enemy of the most valuable part of the Roman public; for they never rebelled except when goaded by the grinding exactions of jealous and insatiable optimates.

Notwithstanding the desperate efforts of the rich to degrade them by means of cunning, in springing the conquests for the purpose of overthrowing the voting unions, they had maintained their organizations and political power. They had themselves become aggressive fighters. They also found sympathizers among the nobles of Rome. One of these was Marcus Livius Drusus, who, like the Gracchi, restored the old agrarian laws. The optimates murdered him as they did Gracchus a few years before.⁶

The culminating crime involved in this story is the

⁴ Vol. I., pp. 150-153, and note 18, where the language of Livy, our authority, is quoted.

⁵ Cicero is entirely out of patience with this ruthless cruelty of Sulla. In one place he says the sun never looked down upon a scene more unworthy: "Multa præterea commemorarem nefaria in socios, si hoc uno quidquam sol vidisset indignius." *De Officiis*, lib. II., c. viii.

⁶ As a proof that the civil, or as some prefer to call them, social wars, were genuine labor turmoils, Mommsen points out the fact that leaden bullets of the date of Sulla's battles, are being picked up, on which are inscribed execrations against the low slaves and creatures whom the haughty optimates were obliged to lift their hand against.

awful and useless massacre of 50,000 Prænestians belonging to the working class, and in sympathy with brotherhoods of Rome and enviring towns and districts, by the monster Sulla, who but a year or two afterwards died at Puteoli, another hive of organized working people, of a loathsome and disgusting form of putrescent venerea—a victim of morpions of the flesh.

Another shocking story is to be told. It is of the judicial murder of 399 innocent people which, under an atrocious Roman law, the *senatus consultum Sileione*, took place soon after the death of Christ. It was a useless massacre of innocent men, women and children because of the rash deed of one man. We shall quote the frigid words of Tacitus who delighted to recount acts of the aristocracy, as he delighted to damn the Christians to the ghastly punishments of Nero.⁷ Tacitus, while he believes the Christians and Hebrews preëminently deserving of punishment, moderately objects to the exquisite refinement of Nero, in placing palanquins upon the shoulders of an enraged populace containing living bodies covered an inch thick with tar and set on fire to form flaming lights for a beastly populace, howling themselves hoarse at the exhilarating sight of a thousand such torches, each a naked man or woman, whose crime was that of loving and honoring a newly found Saviour!

Tacitus recounts to us the terrors of this other slaughter which happened under Nero just before the burning of Rome, and in words as cold.⁸ A *senatus consultum* or law of the Roman senate had in A. D. 10, been enacted, based, as Tacitus hints, upon an old custom, which prescribed that if any slave should take the life of his owner the entire "family" as he suggestively calls them, were to be punished with death, along with the criminal himself. The man who had been murdered was a prefect of the city, Pedanius by name. He owned a large number of slaves whom he had probably, directly or in-

⁷ Section *Nero* of this work, and notes: vide *index*, in verb. *Conflagration*.

⁸ Tac. *Ann.*, xiv., 43-45: "Hand multo post præfectum urbis Pedanium Secundum servus ipsius interfecit, seu negata libertate cui pretium pepigerat, sive amore exoleti intensus et dominum æmulum non tolerans. Ceterum eum vetere ex more familiam omnem, quæ sub eodem tecto mansiverat, ad supplicium agi oporteret, concursu plebis, quæ tot innoxios protagebat, usque ad seditionem ventum est senatusque obsessus, in quo ipso erant studia nimiam severitatem aspernantium, pluribus nihil mutandum consentibus. Ex quis C. Cassius sententiæ loco in hunc modum disseruit," etc. This speech of Cassius is in purport, in the text above.

directly, seized with other plunder from the fallen victims of the conquest. Among his chattels were 400 in one family, all probably organized under one roof, and entitled to the amenities of the *Domus Augustalis*. They consisted of men, women and children. One of these 400 had been guilty of the crime. Goaded by insult he could not brook, he had killed Pedanius, his owner, and every one, according to this atrocious statute was to die. They were part of the war herd captured from Asia and mostly Semitics, as is duly recorded. Men, boys, girls, old women, tender infants, all must perish! But the manner of this sickening execution was the most appalling. They must be crucified. They must suffer that most painful, lingering death inherited only by the lowly and the helpless poor. Criminals of family and recognition could be punished in an honorable manner. The poor, the workingmen and women, the innocents, the little babes, the feeble, the tottering aged, with souls as cloudless as the crystal skies, were to be swooped and herded together, driven and dragged to the one Golgotha. The Roman law demanded that they be tied and nailed and hoisted upon a cross, and pierced and broken and left to die amid their shrieks and groans! It was too much. The plebeians who knew of the shocking circumstance gathered in multitudes to interfere. Rome was once more in danger. History has fixed this as one of Rome's pivotal epochs of peril. The senate was convoked and the question discussed as to whether it might not be advisable to waive for once the rigor of the harsh Silenian law.⁹ But one Cassius arose and demanded the enforcement of the statute. The slaves of to-day, he argued, are more dangerous even than before. They are the booty of conquest, coming from the far-off regions of Syria, Carthage, Phœnicia; fierce Scythians, fighting Greeks, Semitics more than Europeans; and nothing but fear is capable of holding them down in their yoke of subjection. We must scare the whole race and servile herd and by this judicial triumph grind

⁹The assurance of Tacitus, see note 8, is important to this argument. Was this "*family*" an organization under that head? In our chapter on the Unions at Rome, section Xero, where the Conflagration is described, this judicial massacre is again brought under consideration to illustrate another statement of Tacitus; and it is there explained that a vast organization of slaves and freedmen was fostered by the emperors themselves, under title of *Domus Augustalis*.

those that remain alive down deeper into their mire of servitude and humiliation. The oration prevailed and the 399 innocents were actually killed in presence of all the plebeian hosts, that their awful supplicium might act to intimidate the world and keep them cowed through the hideous emotions of terror.

Among the poor themselves there had sprung up a new hope, and they were using their organizations and minds in many ways to accomplish some means out of their desperate condition.¹⁰ As late as Justin Martyr the havoc was proceeding; for he says in his Discourse to the Greeks: "Do not recognize those men as heroes who slaughter whole nations;" and he denounces the high spirit of the earth's nobility.

Bishop Lightfoot assures us afresh, that a few years before the Christian era, one Claudius Isidorus left by will 4,000 slaves though he had incurred serious losses by the civil war; and he adds: "These vast masses of human beings had no protection from the Roman law." Lightfoot further admits that sometimes as many as ten and even twenty thousand slaves fell into the possession of one man.¹¹

On an Etruscan tomb there has been found at Tarquinii a picture giving a representation of gladiatorial games held at the funeral wake of a wealthy man owning slaves, and ordering at his death,¹² that certain strong-bodied favorite slaves should fight and kill each other, that the Etruscan Charon might guide them to him again in the other world as a body-guard and protector. This immolation in a milder form was going on at the commencement of the Christian era, and was causing horror and fear among the Syrians and Phœnicians. These gruesome conditions, limited entirely to the poor and

¹⁰Foucart, *Affranch des Esclaves*, p. 43, gives Delos as the greatest slave mart in the world. M. Bazaine, *Archives des Missions Scientifiques. Mém. sur l'Italie*, found an inscription showing how slaves were sold to a goddess or god, the form of the transfer producing freedom. This sort of emancipation was not confined to Apollo (see *index* of this work), nor to Delphi. In the temple of Esculapius at Stiris, and at Elatea, it appears to have prevailed; also at the temple of Serapis, at Cheronea; Serapis at Tithorea; of Bacchus at Naupactus; of Minerva Paliade at Danlis. Indeed Venus Syrienne allowed it at Phœnicis. These facts are shown by the inscription which explains how many divinities acted for humanity, under the eranos, in aiding the emancipation of the slaves.

¹¹Athenæus, see Bekker, *Gollus*, II., p. 113, is known to have said: "Ῥωμαίων ἕκαστος . . . πλείστους ὄσους κερτημενος οἰκέτας· καὶ γὰρ μυρίων καὶ διαμυρίων καὶ ἔτι πλείους δὲ πάμπολλοι κέρτηνται."

¹²See I., p. 279, note 5, "Waking the dead with blood."

disinherited, were every-day scenes, and are found to have been in their severest stage about the close of the Roman conquests.

The conquests were closed. The high-blooded optimates had cunningly used the credulity of trade unions, otherwise splendid and successful, and had debauched their officers as they are doing to-day, to make and man the arms and warlike equipments whereby to conquer the world; and be it said also, eventually to destroy the organizations themselves.¹³ By whipping in many of the unions' head officers who as now betrayed their men for booty, they carried out their original scheming design. But no power ever yet has destroyed trade unionism.

The conquests destroyed humanity, enslaved the members in millions, curtailed progress consequent upon discussion, suspended social economies and for a time broke up the schools of their secret cult. But did the conquests destroy the unions? By no means! They went down deeper into the depths of intense secrecy. With ineffable fear and caution they lived on in darkness, but no power of optimate or ruler could break up the *jus coeundi* of the great Solonic dispensation. We shall proceed to further portray the sad conditions prevailing against the ancient lowly from the breaking out of the conquests to the first century of our era.

The desire of the unions, as shown by innumerable inscriptions, was to marry regularly as we now do, and raise the family. This would perpetuate the social microcosm and the common table, and be in perfect accordance with the law of organization. The family is the microcosm of the state. It is perfect socialism in essence. Alas, this the powers too well understood and thwarted from earliest written history. No law existed until centuries of the Christian era had elapsed, permitting legitimate marriage either among slaves or freed descendants of slaves. From high antiquity the children of the poor were illegitimate. This illegitimacy barred them. We search the ancient laws in vain to find a clause that made man and wife among the poor. Even as early as Isaiah it was so. In the eye of the law all

¹³See *Supra*, Chap. I., pp. 1-66, on the original incentive of the conquests which we have dated from the *Solitudo Magistratum*, B. C. 373, a few years after the trouble with Appius Claudius.

were illegitimate.¹⁴ Dr. Lightfoot says: "And these vast masses of humanity had no protection from the Roman law. The slave had no relationships, no conjugal rights. Cohabitation was allowed to him at his owner's pleasure, but not marriage. His companion was sometimes assigned to him by lot. The slave was absolutely at his master's disposal; for the smallest offense he might be scourged, mutilated, crucified, thrown to the wild beasts."¹⁵

As a consequence, a natural warfare raged between the poor and their masters. From Plato and before, there was a constant fear of the slave. "The more slaves the more enemies" was the byword.¹⁶ The desperate condition of the slaves was intensified by the conquests, since they broke up their organizations wherever and whenever such a result was possible. No power of violence could successfully uproot the unions, it is true; but it was accomplished without violence in another way. The Romans would invade a new territory, attack and destroy its cities, seize all men, women and children they could lay hands on,¹⁷ run them into the slave markets to be sold, and in this manner dismember the organizations.

¹⁴ Isaiah, LIV., 1: "More are the children of the desolate than the children of the married wife."

¹⁵ *Epistle to Philemon, Colossians*, p. 319.

¹⁶ Seneca, *Eph. Neor.*, 47: "Deinde ejusdem arrogantiae proverbium jactetur 'totidem hostes esse quot servi.'" See Macrobius, I., 11, 13: "Totidem hostes nobis esse quot servis." So Testus, p. 261, Ed. Müller: "Quot servi tot hostes in proverbium est." Again, Haterias, in the older Seneca, *Controv.*, iv., *Præf.*: "Impudicia in ingenuo crimen est, in servo necessitas, in liberto officium." We may sum up the awful condition of the slaves of those times, just at the appearance of Christ, by quoting Wallon on *Ancient Slavery*, I., p. 332: "L'esclave appartenait au maître; par lui même, il n'était rien; il n'avait rien. Voilà le principe; et tout ce qu'on en peut tirer par voie de conséquence formait aussi en fait, l'état des esclaves dans la plupart des pays. A toutes les époques, dans toutes les situations de la vie, cette autorité souveraine plané sur eux et modifie leur destinée par ses rigeurs comme par son indifférence. Dans l'âge de la force et dans la plénitude de leurs facultés, elle les vouait, à son choix, soit au travail, les natures grossières; au vice les natures les plus délicates, nourries pour les plaisirs du maître, et qui lors qu'il en était las, étaient reléguées dans la prostitution à son profit. Avant et après l'âge du travail, abandonnés à leurs faiblesse ou à leurs infirmités; enfants, ils grandissaient dans le désordre, vieillards, ils mouraient souvent dans la misère; morts, ils étaient quelquefois délaissés sur la voi publique.

¹⁷ See I., p. 340, note 17, Paulus Æmilius after his victory of Pydna in Epirus, and his murder of 40,000, took a hundred and sixty thousand of the people as prisoners and had them dragged into slavery, besides robbing this fair land of ten millions in gold. Again, *id.*, p. 192-193, Gracchus saw at Sardinia 80,000 men, women and children thus sacrificed, causing the celebrated revolt of the Gracchi. But the histories of those times abound with similar horrors, as at Tarentum (*id.*, 192); Delos, where the slave shambles were, or Carthage, which actually gave up its free population to be sent to the rich plantations of Sicily.

We have great numbers of instances of this kind on record. The histories and anecdotes of that sad episode of vengeance, greed and havoc abound in appalling scenes.

The old laws which during the peaceful days of the good kings had been forgotten, were scraped together against the proletarian class. The old Papyrian law, authorizing fathers to kill, enslave or sell their children engendered by their female slaves, was dug out afresh.¹⁸ Laws forbidding marriage of the poor whether slaves or freedmen were rigidly enforced, which was an especial aggravation since the unions were in greater part moral, and religiously sworn against illegal cohabitation, as we shall thoroughly prove in our chapter on the pre-Christian period just before our era began.¹⁹

A great calamity early struck the unions of Numa because they had manhood, and used it with their accorded right, to act politically by themselves as a new body politic. They were voting their own principles and their manhood into force, taking Plato's word as true, that the highest manhood and dignity to be had is the political; and they were making themselves a hopeful future, when, under Tarquinius Superbus, an old conspiracy law of Romulus was raked out and put into force against labor organizations on the ground that they were dangerous to the state. Dionysius says the synods, by which he means the unions, were actually suppressed, for fear that they would overthrow the government.²⁰ These synods, name and all, were later borrowed by the Chris-

¹⁸ *Cod. Just.*, VIII., Tit. xlvii., lex 10: "Patribus jus vitæ in liberos necisque potestas olim erat permissa." Dionys. *Hal.*, II., 26, likewise quotes it. See I., p. 147, note, quoting the ancient law of Rome. See *Digest*, I., 6, for power to kill slaves, even children, which was conferred upon masters: "In potestate sunt servi dominorum. Quæ quidem potestas juris gentium est; nam apud omnes præterque gentes animadvertere possumus, dominis in servos vitæ necisque potestatem fuisse." Again, Paulus, the Roman jurist, is quoted in the *Digest*, IV., 5, preserving the law degrading the servile race: "Servile caput nullum jus habet." Likewise Ulpian's quotation, *Dig.*, IV.: "In personam servorum nulla cadit obligatio."

¹⁹ Lightfoot, *Coloss.*, *Philemon*, p. 319, shows inscriptions found in Asia Minor. *Gallus*, II., p. 145, proving that under the powerful unions and their moral influence the members often actually did live together as man and wife through a whole lifetime; and we shall later show by inscriptions that in Rome and various parts of Italy they did the same, overriding the law. Later, Christianity, intolerant of pagan rule, broke up the law entirely, and constituted marriage as the foundation of the family and the solidest factor of society; and it so remains. Thus the true history of Christianity antedates Christ, being always inherent in labor unions.

²⁰ *Dionys. Hal.*, IV., c. 43: "Συνόδους συμπάσας ἐφ' ἑρὰ καὶ θυσίας προεῖπε μηκέτε συντελεῖν, ἵνα μὴ βουλὰς ἀπορρήτους ποιῶνται περὶ καταλύσεως τῆς ἀρχῆς." Their practice of the votive franchise caused it.

tians Of course the result could be no other than to make them more secret. There is evidence that so long as they were unmolested they grew day by day more open and unsuspecting, although it appears that secrecy was the original Solonic design, following the mysteries and their ancient cult. Everything in those days was veiled mystery. It permeated the official organism of society throughout the world.

When the unions saw danger they drew back under their veil of darkness and secrecy. But they did not die. Nor did they, as Dionysius thinks, cease to exist on account of this attack of Tarquin. We are recounting unknown horrors of the conditions which prevailed against the working classes, beginning with the decrees of war of the Roman conquests, and in full vogue when Christianity began its sway. If any calm, thoughtful reader so desires, he may perceive in the contemplation of such a régime of affairs of the expatriated majority, two distinct points: the cause of that strange longing after the good old times under the reign of Saturn,²¹ and the suppressed but widespread agitation for a plan of salvation. Darkly among themselves, Jew and Gentile, men and women, were meeting in their secret, forbidden schools or schools of discussion, all over the known world.²² Their clubs of socialism, enormously peopled with Hebrews and Aryans alike, whose cause at that time was common, they being all brothers and sisters, met in one club-house, often underground, trembling with fear of a wolfish Roman spy. We may here quote the words of the good and much calumniated Seneca,²³ against whom,

²¹ See *supra*, p. 47, *note*, on the *Reign of Saturn*; so also *supra*, pp. 49 sqq.

²² De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, Vol. 1., gives a full account, so far as is known of these *scholæ*. Some of them were cells from fifteen to seventy steps under ground. We know their shape, of what materials they were built and to what purpose they were applied, and shall in later chapters elaborately follow De Rossi, Waltzing and other savants in bringing these wonders to the light.

²³ Seneca, *De Ira*, III., 3, 6: "Eculei, et fidiculæ et ergastula, et carceres et circumdati defossis corporibus ignes et cadavera quoque trahens uncus, varia vinculorum genera, varia pœnarum, lacerationes membrorum, inscriptiones frontis, et bestiariorum immanium caveæ." So again, Galen, the celebrated physician and surgeon who is now known to have written about Jesus Christ, notes in the line of his profession, his displeasure: "Λακτίζουσι καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξορύττονσι καὶ γραφεῖω κεντούσιν, κ. τ. λ. The laws permitting such cruelties were afterwards mollified under the influence of the Christians. See Wallon, *Röm. Alterthum*, III., p. 60. Making slaves and freedmen fight with serpents was stopped by the Petronii, *Dig.*, XLVIII., viii. Even Claudius forbade turning them into the streets to die. *Dign. Cass.*, LX., 29; *Suet.*, *Claud.*, 25.

great and morally pure as he was, encyclopedias are using untenable invectives, perhaps because he attempted to reform Nero and his satellites and was martyred in consequence. Among the many truthful things he dared to write during those dangerous days was a detail of the horrors the poor were subjected to. Speaking of the kinds of punishment inflicted upon them, he mentions the ropes used for strangling, the horse-shaped rack, the underground workshops, the cross, and the manner of herding them into a pit, surrounded by earthwork on the rim of which, all around, they built fires of torture to blister and consume their naked bodies. In the same ghastly description Seneca pictures the method among the tyrants, of stripping these creatures and with a huge iron hook called the uncus, grabbing their bodies by the flesh, and dragging them on a run to the Tiber where they found their welcome repose beneath the waves.

All the people who fell victims in the Roman conquests as war slaves were branded, mostly by having indelible stains burned into their bodies and even, as Seneca tells us, on their foreheads. As a further example of the conditions, we may mention some laws which were afterwards transferred to the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, and in this manner preserved. One of these laws prescribes that workingmen must not hope to ever become higher or better in the social scale.²⁴ The optimates, on account of the sacredness of the aged plan of Solon, which was believed to be protected, if not created by gods and goddesses favoring labor and its fruits, dared not enact laws for its suppression until Julius Cæsar's time,

²⁴ The laws specify the tradesmen they apply to. For instance, in the *Codex Justinianus*, liber XI., tit. vii., 1, *De Murilegulis, et Gynæciariis, et Procuratoribus Gynæcii et de monetariis, et Bastagariis*. Their condition was absolutely helpless. "Monetarios in sua semper conditione durare oportet; nec dignitatis cujuscunque privilegio ab hujusmodi conditione liberari." But the same law applied to the dyers, the bakers and artisans of many other trades. The appreciation of Cicero of the value of those who fed him is shown in his *De Officiis*, I., 42: "Illiberales et Sordidi quaestus mercenariorum, omnium quorum operæ, non quorum artes emuntur. Est enim in illis ipsa merces auctoramentum servitutis. Sordidi etiam putandi, qui mercantur a mercatoribus quod statim vendant. Nec enim quidquam ingenuum potest habere officina." Nothing noble can germinate in a mere shop! This is all the world can expect from Cicero. What of Archimides, Ericsson, Watt, Edison? As late as Seneca's time this taint continued: "Vilisimorum mancipiorum ista commenta sunt: Sapientia altius sedet, nec manus edocet animum magistra est. . . . Non est inguam. instrumentorum ad usus necessarios opifex." *Epist. ad Lucam*, believed to have been written to Saint Luke.

but they were mean enough to enact laws that would torment the poor people. One of these pusilanimous laws recorded in the Justinian Code, aimed at the voting dyers and members of the old fraternity called the *gynæciarii* who, during the republic and also the empire, had their shops of manufacture in the back rooms, cellars and nooks of the palaces of the rich, and manufactured all sorts of household materials. Of these we shall soon speak more fully. This cruel statute brims with peevishness and petty meanness.²⁵ According to it, the dye-house and gynæceum where goods used by the nobility were manufactured and repaired, if found to turn out articles stained with spots, or when sometimes too much water was used, or negligence in their doing up was discernable by the overseer, were "blemished;" and the carelessness regarded as a capital offense. The poor criminal was, under this law, condemned to have his head struck off by one of the swordsmen who stood ready at all times to consummate such deeds.

Nor were these indignities and dangers confined to the strictly Roman realm. About this time the celebrated *atimia* was going on at Athens.²⁶ The wars of the conquests were even then raging; although at so early a period they had not yet entered Athens, yet it was their influence, and by this we mean the calamitous and baleful influence of the money power, goaded onward by the ambition of contestants for office. Men perceived the genius that was struggling under the veil of the Solonic organizations, and having also the knowledge that its innumerable members were as intelligent and as inherently noble as they themselves, might with the aid of their common table and communal code, grow into a power that would overthrow them. Let any one imag-

²⁵ *Cod. Just.*, XI., vii., 2: "Baphii, et gynæcii, per quos, et privata nostra substantia tenuatur, et species gynæcii confectae corrumpuntur, in baphiis etiam admixta temeratio naevum adducit inquinatae alluvionis: suffragiis absteineant, per quae memoratas administrationes adipiscuntur: vel si contra hoc fecerint, gladio feriantur."

²⁶ For the different grades of *atimia*, refer to Hermann, *Pol. Antiquities*, p. 124, Oxford; also Schömann, *Assemblies of the Athenians*, p. 67, of the Cambridge ed. 1838, where he gives the first rank as that when a man is so completely an outlaw that any person may kill him with impunity. Fortunately for such wretches the trivial offense for which they were adjudged to this malediction was not considered the crime it was heralded to be in the open law; and the union to which the wretch belonged was powerful enough to spirit him away to some far off place of safety. The curse of the *atimia* applied mostly to the lowly class who were without religion or property.

ine the terrors of a man or woman outlawed, the forehead indelibly branded with the deadly word "Atimia," forever an outlaw to whom no friend but death could bring relief!

The workingman of those days was the "*sola atque unica virtus*," and might mount to the true state of nobility to which he is now rapidly rising.²⁷ Another and very great danger to which the worker organized under the Solonic dispensation was exposed, was the fact that his religion was a quite different thing from that of the proud official religion, and gave offense. Lactantius recounts the prevalent dangers to the common people on account of this. They were often seized, taken out to some precipice, thrown down the abyss and immolated to the heathen gods they scorned.²⁸ If Adam Smith found the working man the true nobility which creates the wealth of nations,²⁹ then the passage of Juvenal, regarding true nobility applies to them and not to those who will not work but who get their subsistence through a species of legalized brigandage, taking it all from the products of human toil which they themselves disdain to contribute. In those days the military power and the rich whom it protected could override and murder off the very class that furnished them every spoonful of food they consumed; and could pretend that the furnishers of this food, without which they must starve, were so mean that they deserved to be cast into pits, or thrown to wild animals. It is rapidly getting to be understood that such ingratitude is in reality no better than brigandage. The close of the conquests found an organized host of these earn-nothings plundering and enriching themselves upon the products of labor. Pliny informs us that half of the rich African province belonged to six persons. They had robbed the legitimate, useful grades

²⁷ Juvenal, *Sat.* VIII.

²⁸ Lactantius, *Div. Inst.*, I. He virtually admits that it was mostly the poor who thus suffered, as human sacrifices. The celebrated rock of Taygetus where babes and malborn unfortunates, used in times of Lycurgus to be cast down, to be destroyed, was in later times again used wherefrom to immolate the ancient lowly to the hideous gods of the official cult. *Θυπιδες* was a steep projecting crag near Taenarus, now Cape Grosso. In p. 360, Strabo likewise speaks of it.

²⁹ Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Book I., Chap. v., p. 15: "Labor alone, therefore, never varying in its own value is alone, the ultimate and real standard by which the value of all commodities can at all times and places be estimated and compared."

of humanity and in a ferocious and relentless manner despoiled them of their well-earned returns.³⁰ The time is coming when such pillagers are to be measured according to their merit and relegated to the class of criminals.

Again, there were a considerable number of pre-Christian martyrs. Martyrdom was not begun by Christianity. We shall have an interesting list of them in a succeeding chapter. Their crime in almost every case is traceable to petulant jealousy of the aristocrats who imagined they saw in the teachings of good men like Socrates, or beautiful women like Phryne, some fault which infringed upon a narrow law of the aristocracy. Socrates had taught the Athenian youth some of the immoralities and cruelties of the official and already moribund religion, which in fact, soon afterwards died. The beautiful and intelligent mother of the orator Æschines was assailed by Demosthenes, because she was the organizer of a union of the eranos which Solon's law created. Persecutions were going on everywhere just before the Christians began their work. But the action which the rich and ruling class most deprecated was that of voting. This they hated and tried to suppress, well knowing that true, honest political action of the unions would sooner or later compass their own overthrow. Every imaginable conspiracy law which they could enact and carry out against this powerful voting propensity was vigorously tried.

There are yet in this chapter two important circumstances to be briefly recorded. They are the persecutions of the Jews in the time of the Maccabees, some 175 to 140 years before Christ; and their persecution and almost utter destruction at Jerusalem, under Titus, in the reign of the emperor Vespasian.

Of these the bare circumstances are given by historians; but the deep and fundamental causes are passed

³⁰ *Nat. Hist.*, XVIII., 25, ed. Sillig, and in book viii., 35, he further says: "Africa vero toto subacta et in deditone redacta. Magnoque nomine spolio inde capto, eques Romanus (id quod antea nemo) curru triumphali revectus est, ac statim ad solis occasum transgressus." etc; and a recent author, Dr. Anton Menger, *Recht auf den vollen Arbeitsertrag*, p. 108, says: "Niemals waren die Leiden der arbeitenden Klassen grösser als in der Zeit, wo fast jeder produktive Arbeiter ein Sklave war. Es fehlte damals auch nicht, an heftigen Kritiken des bestehenden Gesellschaftszustandes, die sich mit den besten sozialistischen Schriften der Gegenwart messen können;" and refers to Villegardelle's *Hist. des Idées Sociales*, p. 50.

over without mention. The fact is that the Jews, under the Mosaic dispensation, which was already approaching pure socialism, were set upon by the great money power and its retinue of kings, their nobility and the armies they swayed for power and protection. On this point the Jews were the wisest of people, and for this they were singled out as the target of outlawry to be cruelly exterminated. In the case of the Maccabees it seems to have been Semitic against Semitic. But in reality the Romans had their emissaries at Antioch in goodly numbers, working their influence against the Jews who swarmed with self-help organizations at that great and celebrated city. Large numbers of them were organized under the Solonic law, and combined the practical Solonic with the theoretical Mosaic law, in a harmonious blending. According to these dispensations it was the duty of every organization to protect its members and furnish them means of support and happiness. This conflicted with the pagan plan of money-getting, one of whose richest dribble-sources was the sacrifices. The Jews and the Solonic organizations were so economical that they contributed their little earnings to a common fund, preserved by a well-chosen treasurer, and at intervals they bought in provisions for the regular membership's supplies. Then all the members of each club or congregation or thiasos, appointed cooks, waiters, managers and other working forces, to prepare the meals.³¹ They always provided themselves with a large dining room, utensils of cookery and the best eatables and drinkables their small means could buy, and this economy was always husbanded with vigilant discretion. A very small sum of

³¹ Many recently discovered bears records of the amount and character of their dues or cotisations. No almsgiving and taking was allowed. Harpocraton, *Lexicon*, in *verb.* Ἐρανιστής; "Μέντοι κυρίως ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ ἐράνου μετέχων καὶ τὴν φορὰν ἢν ἐκάστου μηνὸς εἶδει καταβαλεῖν εἰσφέρειν." According to this the members of an eranos paid their contributions compulsorily once a month. See Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, pp. 42-43. The law of Solon provided for a treasurer or keeper of the funds. In nearly all the Greek inscriptions this officer is called *ταμίας*; Liddell, in *verb.* *ταμίας*. He was steward, receiver, comptroller, treasurer, as early as Herodotus. Sometimes he is called *ἐπιμελητής*; trustee in charge of the values. His responsibilities were great. It was a disgrace of a heinous sort to appropriate or mismanage these funds inpouring from dues, fines and initiations. There is a story of Judas Iscariot, that he was the regular *ταμίας* of the earliest Christian brotherhood and that he protested against the use of the costly alabaster to anoint the feet of the *κύριος* with well-known results; and his fate for fidelity caused the formation of the society of Cainites. The Cainites remained as an organization for about two centuries and were treated as heretics. Practical eranists, they believed that Judas did right.

earnings paid in by each was sufficient to furnish abundance, always fresh and steaming at the common tables.

This common table was a mortal offense against the money power. By it the speculating market rings were at an end. Provision gamblers and intermediaries were impossible. The congregation bought supplies in gross, directly from the producer with ready money formed of the dribblets from each member, flowing into the common fund. It was economic socialism.

Another offense against the money-power was the official application of this same principle—the religious incomes which before fell to the profit of the state. It was the so-called sacrifices. An inside dark lantern illumines a system of purveying robbery here, which still prevails, though the question of the ancient sacrifices is little understood and difficult to explain. It was in reality, a mixture of religion, politics and economics. A careful survey has recently revealed the fact that the cause of the great persecutions of the Christians under the emperors was more economic than religious.

The sacrifices consisted of calves, goats, sheep, oxen, heifers, sometimes choice fish and fowls, and also many lambs. The priests of the official pagan religion were themselves state officers, sometimes hereditary, and for life. The scheme was to buy up quite a number of these animals at wholesale price, or receive them as gifts. At the regular meetings, on sacred days of worship, attendance of the masses of the populace was compulsory. High prices were paid for the entertainments, and the money accruing went to the treasury of the state. This will all be explained in another chapter. If, then, on account of any heresy or rebellion in the official faith, the people refused to attend sacrifices, there was a falling off of the regular receipts of the treasury. This is why stringent laws were enacted making non-attendance a capital offense. The Jews had a religion of their own in the Mosaic dispensation, just as the pre-Christian-Christians and later the post-Christian-Christians under the Solonic dispensation, had a plan of worship of their own.

Now it was a matter of course, after the conquests began to rage in favor of paganism and its concomitant competitive system and their money and property

power, that a hatred should exist against both the Mosaic and Solonic dispensations. To worship according to the God of the Hebrews was a mortal offense against Jupiter or Jove, the immortal of the aristocracy, who drove Saturn from his temple of peace, opened the gates of Janus and loosened the dæmon of war, causing the Roman conquests to ruin the peaceful nations of the world.

Few have been able to understand the reasons for the hatred against the Jews. The truth is they were socialists. The Aryans were rank individualists. That was enough. The whole competitive world took oath to destroy the Hebrews. The conflict with the Maccabees was the consequence; and we propose to briefly relate it in order to prepare the reader for a clearer understanding of what came next, in shape of a rebellion ultimating in the overthrow of paganism and a preparatory step toward the forthcoming socialism which is now making its appearance as a science. It is an interesting episode of true history.

About the year B. C. 175, which was in the vortex of Roman conquests, Rome had her bribing emissaries in Antioch, Pergamus, Jerusalem, Ephesus, and most of the cities of Western Asia, and was working every possible intrigue to secure power and control.³² Frequently, as at Pergamos, this was accomplished without a war. She was in the same manner secretly working her influence over the large and at that time beautiful city of Antioch. The king, Antiochus Epiphanes, thought he perceived some dreadful wrong in the prevalence of so many Jews who inhabited the city, and were conducting important industries there. This potentate began to hector and torment the Jews.

There was a man in Jerusalem, which was only about 300 miles southward from Antioch in a straight coast line, named Mattathias. He was a personage of much influence who had five sons.³³ These took oath, on the

³² For an account of Rome's influence in Asia Minor, see I., chap. x., pp. 232-245. These Roman politicians worked so strong an influence over the weak Attalus, that when he died he willed his crown and state to the Romans which caused the rebellion of Aristonicus, recounted in that chapter.

³³ They were, according to the first *Book of Maccabees*, chapter ii., 1-4: "Joannan called Caddis; Simon, called Thassi; Judas, who was called Maccabeus; Eleazar, called Avaran, and Jonathan whose surname was Apphus." Just before this, Antiochus had invaded Jerusalem and virtually sacked it of its celebrated religious treasures.

death of their father Mattathias, never to surrender their Hebrew nationality. They agreed with one another and with the people to resist the Syrian incursions, and organized every musterable element to be had in all Judea, armed them as best they could and when Lysias the commander, sent by Antiochus against them, entered Judea, with about 60,000 troops Judas Maccabeus ambushed and outwitted him and drove him back, after killing about 4,000 of his men.

The next year Antiochus sent Lysias in person to Palestine, with 65,000 soldiers, some 5,000 of whom were his best cavalry. Josephus tells the story which corroborates the statement and Bible account of the Book of Maccabees.³⁴ The Syrian general was again outwitted by the strategic genius of Judas, a very high order of which he certainly possessed. The battle resulted in so overwhelming a crush of the Syrians that those not killed or taken prisoners escaped by flight and could not be mustered back, leaving the Jews complete masters of their beloved country, its cities, institutions and cherished traditions. Later, Jonathan, another son, carried the conquest to Antioch itself, and caused a destruction of 100,000 people.

We need but a clear philosophical vision to perceive that the animus inspiring the Syrians against the Jews was the same as that which inspired the Romans against the Solonic dispensation. There is positive and powerful evidence that in this attack on the Hebrews, the deadliest sentiment was against the "Law," and this was none other than the semi-socialistic Mosaic Dispensation.³⁵

A short time before the rebellion of the Maccabees which we have just recounted, the Syrian king had taken Jerusalem with a mighty force and reduced the inhabitants to a pitiable condition and the first Book

³⁴ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, XII., c. vii., 53-5. According to Josephus, the Syrian army at the first battle was something about 60,000 strong; but that of Judas, not so great, probably about 13,000. In the next year's battle Lysias had 65,000 and Judas 10,000. Yet in both cases the victory of the Jews was complete. The last battle was fought at or near Bethsur, in Judea; that of the year before was fought at Emaus, in the north of Palestine, near the southern border of Syria.

³⁵ *Book of Maccabees*, I., 56: "And when they had rent in pieces the books of the law which they found, they burnt them with fire." Again, verse 57: "And wheresoever was found with any, the book of the Testament or if any consented to the law, the king's commandment was they should put him to death."

of Maccabees in consequence begins with a wail.³⁶ The gigantic effort during the long centuries, to break up and destroy its organizations, even though they destroyed millions of the human race, was here manifest. What was determined upon was the extinction of social organization. It is high time to consider this momentous, but neglected truth, and at last get down to history. It was the hatred against the socialists, entertained by the competitive system. And in succeeding chapters we shall easily prove that they had a cause; for at the rate in which pure scientific socialism at that moment was growing in the correct and permanent form, the millenium would long before this have arrived on earth. The enemy took a drastic method of suppression.

The Syrians not being able to destroy the Mosaic dispensation, it was again in course of years, undertaken by the Romans. But the same animus inspired Rome which impelled Antiochus, to compass its destruction. The congregation mentioned as a potent factor³⁷ in those days now looks like one of the various forms of club organizations which we find among the inscriptions of the economic unions of the Solonic dispensation. The strange mention of the Nazarenes as existing at least a century and a half before the birth of Christ is certainly a worthy subject for investigation.³⁸

Another fatal attack upon Jerusalem was made in A. D. 70, by the Romans under Titus. The history of this massacre, the bloodiest of the world's narratives,

³⁶ I., *verse 51*: "In the self-same manner wrote he (king Antiochus) to his whole kingdom, and appointed overseers over all the people, commanding the cities of Judea to sacrifice, city by city." And again, verses showing that the king sold the people into slavery as was done everywhere: *verse ii*, of chapter ii., reads: "And all her ointments are taken away; of the free woman she has become a slave." speaking figuratively of Jerusalem.

³⁷ I., *Maccabees*, chap. iii., *verse 44*; and *id.*, *verse 49*, when the Nazarites are mentioned showing them to have been an old and familiar organization. All Judea swarmed with these clubs of trades and professions. We shall show a considerable number of congregations in our future presentation of the inscriptions.

³⁸ I., *Maccabees*, iii., 49; "They brought also the priests' garments, and the first fruits, and tithes; and the Nazarites they stirred up," etc: This entirely agrees with Renan, who thinks that the Nazarites were a pre-Christian organization of some kind; but as this scholar had never got down to the Solonic law of economic labor organization he was unable to trace this strange club union to Nazareth or to understand that Jesus was afterwards a member and so remained during his lifetime. It was one of the innumerable progressive secret associations of those days which existed in all parts of the world.

has been accurately written out by Josephus, Tacitus and the modern authors;³⁹ but the animus which inspired the horrible work has been neglected both by historians and the schools of classics. Some day it will be traced to its real source—the hatred of the competitive system against socialism inherent in the old Mosaic law and dispensation. It may be somewhat true that the Jews were in a state of ferment at the time, and it cannot be denied that they were incensed at the revolt against them, of the Christian element based upon the other organic dispensation of Solon. Rome had been fighting this for centuries, and Nero swore to uproot both. Josephus distinctly informs us that the Romans made cause against the Jews on account of their murder of James the Just whom he distinctly calls the brother of Jesus. Besides, the remains of certain correspondence between Rome and king Abgar of Edessa show that a strong pretext was made out against Jerusalem based upon their treatment of Christ, who, as he claimed, had been illegally executed by Pontius Pilate. The letters of Abgar to the emperor Tiberius on the subject are history, and are as worthy of credence as the Annals of Tacitus, or the Apologies of Tertullian. In our dissertation on the evidence of Jesus as a historical personage we give all these letters verbatim with a list of splendid classic scholiasts who have contributed their unqualified sanction to their authenticity.

We may now briefly sketch the ferocious massacre of the inhabitants of the great city of Jerusalem by Titus, under his father the Roman emperor Vespasian, in the year 70–71 of our era. We leave the full account of this atrocity to Josephus, who was present and commanded troops in that conflict, and to Tacitus and other historians who confirm the account of Josephus. It appears that the Romans commenced them by a system of insupportable nagging. They knew of the pride and spirited texture of Hebrew nature. They understood its physical composition. By a scheme of goading insults, adopted as their tactics of initial assault, they expected to wrench from that proud spirit some *casus proelii* leading to the cause for an attack. This scheme worked.

³⁹ Renan, *Life of Jesus*, Eng. trans., p. 309.

The Hebrews were both obstinate and irascible and could not but resent even a diplomatic insult.

Ernest Renan has truthfully told us that the causes which 37 years after the crucifixion lead to the destruction of Jerusalem did not lie in infant Christianity. This is the more correct, if we speak of Christianity as it is to-day, stripped of its original socialism. But from a point of view taken by Josephus it is the reverse; for he declares expressly, and more than once, that the city was destroyed as a punishment for their terrible murder of James the Just,⁴⁰ whom he terms, in unmistakable words, the brother of Jesus, the man to whom was given the direction of the organizations of primitive socialists for whose common table and socialistic meals the proto-martyr Stephen, was stoned to death.⁴¹ The prætorians wriggled into a pretext for bringing their murderous legions against them, and the rage began.

The Roman commander in this massacre was Titus, the youngest son of Vespasian, and brother of the cruel Domitian who afterwards became emperor. The celebrated feast of the Passover occurred annually at Jerusalem and on such occasions a large multitude was wont to gather comprising all the inhabitants, not only of the city but of the villages and country for a long distance in every direction. It was the wily scheme of the Romans to linger about with their army fully equipped, with all the necessaries for a blockade and siege. They had battering rams to knock down walls and gates in case they were closed against them. After forcing a passage into the city they commenced a systematic slaughter. It could not be dignified with the title of battle. It was more the criminal work of fiends let loose. Men, women and children were indiscriminately butchered wherever found. The Romans after forcing an entrance within the walls, guarded the breach to prevent any one from escaping. With sword and bludgeon or spear these inhuman savages ran

⁴⁰ The martyrdom of Κυριος Ἰάκωβος will be elaborated in later pages.

⁴¹ Josephus, *Antiquities*, XX., chap. ix., par. 1: "Καθίζει συνέδριον κριτῶν καὶ συνέδριον κριτῶν καὶ παραγαγὼν εἰς αὐτῷ (speaking of τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ) τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, καὶ τινες ἕτεροι ὡς παρανομῶσαντων καταγορίαν ποιησαμένων παρέδωκε λευσίθησομένους ὅσοι δε ἔδοκοῦν ἐπιεικέστατοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀκριβεῖς, Ζαριῶς ἤνεγκαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ." Very important! Restored to the honest and learned Neander, from the *editio princeps* of Josephus, after being expunged by Credner. Neand., *Planting*, Book IV., chap. 1, vol. 1 of Bohn's, p. 367, note.

through the streets, forced open the houses, smashed the doors leading from room to room and pillaged and murdered as they went. Not a human being was allowed to remain alive. All were slaughtered.

The details of this stupendous atrocity as told by Josephus, Tacitus and others, challenge our powers of credence. The dead lay as they fell, in windrows, throughout the city. No other massacre is on record of such gigantic proportions. The number of the killed appear in the pages of two different authors under two very different estimates. Josephus writes it down as 1,100,000, while Tacitus gives it as 600,000.⁴² The probability that both are correct, we may state, upon a two-fold basis of calculation. Tacitus, knowing the census tables of Jerusalem, very naturally places the massacre at 600,000; that being about the figure of the Roman census enumeration; and Tacitus knew that all or nearly all were killed. This would make the statement of the much prized historian tolerably correct. Josephus, however, has gaged his estimate from the number of people within the walls of Jerusalem at the time of the national feast of the passover, when the city was teeming with visitors in great numbers from far and near. The hideous admission alike for Tacitus and for Josephus is, that all were exterminated during the protracted and sanguinary fury. In this way Josephus could truthfully put the holocaust at 500,000 more than Tacitus, who with his usual accuracy, estimates only the population of Jerusalem. We can cite the sack of no city which was fraught with such shocking barbarity or rose to such numeric proportions, in the annals of the human race. And for what? Where lies the consistency which can parry the crime? The only answer is that it is logically consistent with the animus which drove Rome into her internecine conquests; thoroughly consistent with the reckless inhumanity which, from Appius Claudius, had been killing off the human race:—jealousy, competitive emulation, narrow hatred and a contemptible fear lest some imaginary rival take the pretensions of divine right from a hypothecated claim to blood and nobility and the wealth which was always a substance taken from unpaid labor. It is high time

⁴² Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, VI., ix., 3. Tacitus, *Histories*, 2, 4, 5, 9, 11.

the mind of men rise to understand the caustic advice of Lactantius, that as long as the hope of impunity favors us we should plunder and put to death,⁴³ a sarcasm as good to-day for the science of survival of the fittest as it was then to soothe the stings of a conscience reddened with the blood of humanity during the conquests of Rome.

There is just one short notice to make, before closing this chapter on grievances. It is that regarding the losses it entailed, many of which were irrecoverable, in the line of invention, manufacture and commerce. Just in proportion as those military ravages, systematic in nothing but carnage which decimated and robbed the race⁴⁴ were successful as engines of power to overturn a growing civilization, in that proportion were the inventions lost. It was just at that period when organized mechanics were actually inventing Aristotle's machines. Karl Marx contrasts the noble purposes and ideals animating ancient society with the lust of cruelty which capitalism breeds:

"'If,' dreamed Aristotle, the greatest thinker of antiquity, 'if every tool, when summoned, or even of its own accord, could do the work that befits it just as the creations of Daedalus moved of themselves, or the tripods of Hephaestos went of their own accord; if the weavers' shuttles were to weave of themselves, then there would be no need either of apprentices for the master workers, or slaves for the lords.'"⁴⁵

We have spoken of the Damascus blades, and shown that the raw steel came from India. They are so completely lost that our critical scientists are unable to find out the ancient method of their production. The skilled workmen had so far outstripped us, with all our mechanical advancement, that we cannot find the way to produce either the beautiful hues which variegated those steels and other blades of cutlery, or the temper

⁴³ *Divine Inst.*, III., c. 17. It was his sarcasm against those who were skeptical on immortality, but it applies here.

⁴⁴ Plutarch, *De Oraculorum Defectu*. Plutarch here admits that in his day Greece was depopulated. Consult Wallace, *Numbers of Mankind*, pp. 253-4.

⁴⁵ We have already quoted Aristotle's remarkable prediction in full; see *Supra*, p. 14, note 8. Consult Mauri, *I. Cittadini Lavoratori* p. 19, who says Aristotle's idea was thought ridiculous: "Presso i Greci invece le macchine e i motori erano sconosciuti; essi confinavano nel mondo fantastico e ridente dei sogni l'ipotesi di Aristotile, che lo strumento di lavoro potesse eseguire, presentandolo, il comando dell'operaio, e la spola corresse sulla trama del tessuto automaticamente." Aristotle, *Πολιτεία*, I., II., 4.

by which one could double and redouble, and toy with them at pleasure, after which contortions they would spring back with marvelous beauty to the straight line. Wonderful hues sometimes in fantastic images characterized those blades. They cannot be reproduced. The art with the artists, was extinguished. Karsten Niebuhr and the Russian military analyst and scientist Anassoff,⁴⁶ vainly tried to find a method of their production. But the Indian and Greek mechanics were beyond them in their exquisite science and we are left behind, without a trace of the secret whereby those mechanical feats were wrought.

Again, they possessed the secret of producing inks which were never-fading. The invention reached down to the middle ages, or perhaps it were better to state that the store or stock of these indelibles lasted until the middle ages; for we find in the block prints and even in type printing an occasional book which is today as pure black and beautiful as though just done.

Of the lost reaping and mowing machines, we have already given an account.⁴⁷ It remains to be said that the senseless and bloody ravages of Julius Cæsar in the fair land of Gaul, now France, estimated to have compassed the destruction of a million human beings without fulfilling one beneficent purpose or accomplishing anything but to glut ambition and stuff Rome with slaves and plunder, resulted in the final extinction of this agricultural arm. Several of the finest dyes and pigments ever possessed by the world have been lost to us in the same way. Imperishable brick and other building material were likewise lost in the same great vortex of death and desolation.

But amid the havoc of arms and the rasping besom of vengeance and rapine, one thing, be it truthfully recorded, they could not accomplish—the very thing in fact which whetted the animus of the Roman optimists, inspiring them to undertake the whole swoop of bedlam and obliteration—and that thing was the extinction of the unions under the Solonic and Numan dispensations. They could not kill trade unions nor even

⁴⁶ See *Amer. Cyc. art. Damascus Blades*, where it is recounted how an effort was made to analyze and restore the secret.

⁴⁷ See Vol. I., p. 569, note 109, quoting both accounts from the Latin of Pliny and Palladius.

change their voting system. By persecution, murder, and enslavement of the members and innumerable other tortures they could for a time reduce their effective force; they could drive them back into undiscernable recesses which served to hide them⁴⁸ for centuries from view; but they remained, and their influence likewise remained. It is now at last discovered that the Christians came and found the Solonic trade union principles so pure and so similar in many things to their own that they planted among and amalgamated with them. As the two were secret, and alike hated by the optimates they used each other co-operatively to shield themselves against that power and in course of time succeeded and came out of the secret chrysalis to become the foundation of a vast socialism now with all its coarseness, growing year by year into perfection.

The wonderful thing about them was the immovable solidity of the ancient law which fortified their existence. An inscription assures us that the government of Byzantium once confiscated some property of an eranos. The union brought suit and the state was obliged to make good the loss and pay dearly.⁴⁹ This one law covered the universe. We give all information as yet in our possession regarding it, in our next chapter.

⁴⁸De Rossi, *Roma Sotteranea*, has by a lifetime of labor unearthed the whole method of the *scholæ* which were often underground holes, sometimes grottoes and in the cities' cellars, always furnished with seats of a peculiar fashion serving as miniature amphitheatres where the unionists used to gather, take their common meal and listen to discourses on the way out of misery from living death, to salvation through their later faith.

⁴⁹C I G. 2323; Caillemer, *Droit de Société à Athènes*, p. 11, demonstrates that they had no need of any authorization from the state; since they possessed a full autonomy of their own; and cites *The Fourth Book of Gaius*, on the *Law of the Twelve Tables*, in the *Digest*, XLVII., tit. 22, *De Collegiis et Corporibus* which he quotes in proof, showing that the ancient law of Solon was more powerful, more respected and revered than any statute which could be enacted at Athens, or indeed anywhere else in the world. For the text, see *Supra*, p. 48, note 3; for inscriptional references, consult our index in *verb. Laws*.

CHAPTER VIII.

PRE-CHRISTIAN UNIONS

NUMBERS, CHARACTER AND INFLUENCE.

ASIA the Home of Trade Organizations—Plato went with Socrates to One for the Material of His Republic—Socrates a member—Always Law Abiding—Union of Washerwomen 600 Before Christ—Typical Name Erano-Thiasos, Good for all Terms—Always had Votive Franchise—Inscriptions in Proof—Ancient Eranos resembled Modern Socialistic Trade and Labor Alliance—These are the Oldest Unions on Record—Love for One Another a Command of the Law—Common Table and Communal Code—Brotherly Love Stretched into the Hereafter—Burial Attachment Aided them—Rigid Examination of Candidates wishing to join—The Dokimasia—The Agnus Castus—Solonic and Christian Tenets identical—They made Slave, Freedman and Freeman Equal—Plodding Outcasts—How they loved such Tenets—Voting Unionism raised them above mere Tools of Labor—Sabazios, Their Soter becomes Saviour—Serapis—Tullus Hostilius a Friend—Bridge Builders—Name Originated the Pontificate—The Pontifex a Boss Bridge Builder—Tracing Trade Unions from the Sixth Century B. C.—Manner in which they Flourished—Shielded the Poor—Eranos Loaned Means to Slaves to Buy Themselves Free—No Starvation Within the Veil—The Great Gemeinde—Stretched over All Lands—Ancient International—Hebrew Eranos—Many Jews had the Solonic Instead of the Mosaic—Unions in the Islands—Therapeutæ and Essenes were Solonic—Nazarenes a Branch—Taint of Labor—Unions of Boatmen—Of Fishermen—Merchants in those Days as low as Artisans—Longshoremen—Shippers—No Strikes, because Interests were Common—Strange Pre-Christian *Anagenesis*, or New Birth—Union of Cutters near Nazereth—Multitudes at Tyre and Sidon—Knife and Dirk Makers—Union of Gardeners at Ephesus.

It will naturally be asked what were these associations of the useful producing class among the ancient forefathers. The reader desires to know more of their num-

bers, character and principles, as well as the places they occupied.

In the first volume of this work we gave a racy and introductory statement of the facts concerning them.¹ But so enormous was the task that it was found impossible to attempt the survey of Asia Minor and the Semitic nations. Here was in fact, their home. Here it was that the true Solonic dispensation prevailed.

Very little is known of them outside of what is now being collected by archæologists researching among their inscriptions. But this is great. We find among the writings of men of letters of those times, an occasional mention of their existence. Plato, who in his Republic² begins the celebrated discussion by stating that they—meaning a certain small club, assuredly members of a thiasos—were parties regarded by him as most important, opens his celebrated work, the Eudæmonia, by going with Socrates down to the Piræus at the time when the eranos was holding an inauguration at the dedication of a new temple to Bendis, who, like Diana or Artemis, was called "Saviour," a daughter of Jove and Saturna, patroness of labor, and friend of the producing classes of mankind. Her father, the great Jupiter, was haughty and looked down upon laborers. She was a moon goddess, and patronized and befriended the huntsmen, agriculturists, skilled artisans and laborers. Thus, it is not a little surprising, after so long a time, to discover that the Republic of Plato was inspired and brought forth at a feast of workingmen. We have already shown that Socrates was a member; and judging from a close reading of the Republic, it becomes probable that this was one of the causes against him which not long afterwards compassed his tragic death.³

Although the writers say little regarding working people on account of the prevailing taint of labor, yet we find by inscriptions that they have a record of their own

¹ I., Chapters XIII., XIV., XV., XVI., XVII., XVIII., XIX., XX., XXI. These chapters relate mostly to the great trade unionism under the dispensation of Numa Pompilius, afterwards reinforced by Servius Tullius, another friend of the Roman workingmen. But they do not penetrate deeply into the Greek and Semitic unions which our second volume has charged itself to delineate.

² Plato, *Republic*, I., 1.

³ Xenophon, *Convivii*, VIII., 2: "Παντες ἐσμεν τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου διασῶνται." See I., title page, and p. 553, with note, where the passage of Xenophon is quoted, and accompanied with the statement that the doctrines of Socrates were based on love, afterwards a Christian tenet.

which is reliable and old. The proofs that unions existed in the dim antiquity cannot be collected so as to make a historical train of events as we like to see them arranged in our modern times. We are consequently obliged to take up with fragmentary evidence such as is given in the inscriptions. For instance, we have pieces of stone upon which are words showing that the metal and stone workers and some of the builders had good organizations as early as the sixth century before Christ.⁴ The discovery of engraved monuments carved at such an early age confirms the suspicion that there existed an enormous trade organization before the days of Numa and Solon, that they were peaceful and honest, and that the law of these sovereigns permitting organization came afterwards.

All along, from the highest dates we find the unions of trades to have had two objects as a basis of association. The first and evidently most important was that of mutual supports, and the other that of some sort of religious worship. The economical incentive was at the bottom of everything. This is clear. Six hundred years before Christ there were unions of poor washerwomen.⁵ A union of washerwomen 600 years before Christ! The inscriptions show that it was to some deity; for every craft, in accordance with the early belief, had an imaginary god or goddess supposed to be looking after the interests of that special trade. Another stone slab is found at Athens, of a clothes-cleaners' union whose members likewise had an altar of consecration.

The general term designating these unions was *eranos*, and the functions⁶ which accompany the term are spoken

⁴ Oehler, *MS.*, *Contributions to the Author*, No. 35, p. 17: "*Metal und Stein*, Die Fabricate derselben wurden bereits im VI. Jahrhunderte vor Chr. aus Athen ausgeführt: vgl. Athen., *Mittheilungen*, X., 1885, p. 156; aber ein Beweis für eine Genossenschaft in Athen noch nicht erbracht. Dagegen bestand eine solche auf Kos; dann eine *συμβίωσις χαλκείων* in Sigeion: *CIG.*, 3639 und addenda; in Thyateira sind die Errichter einer Ehrenstatue die *χαλκεῖς χαλκοτύποι*: *Bulletin Hellenique*, X., 1886, p. 407, No. 10." But most probably the bronze referred to at Athens was manufactured by the organizations of Kos, Thyateira, etc.: or at least the rough material, as was done in India for the Damascus blades.

⁵ Oehler, *MS.*, No. 16, *Contribution*, 2. p. 11: "GEWERBE, Inschriftlich ist bereits für das IV. Jahrh. v. Chr. die Genossenschaft der *πλυνῆς* in Athen bezeugt: *CIA.*, II, 1327, vgl. Athen., *Mittheilung*, X., 1885, p. 77, wo eine Weihinschrift einer *πλυντρία* aus dem VI. Jahrh. v. Chr. mitgetheilt ist. Diesem Gewerbe nahe verwandt sind die *γναφεῖς*. In Athen kennen wir die Weihinschrift eines *γναφεῖς* aus dem VI. Jahrh. v. Chr." This brings washerwomen and woolworkers' unions as early as B. C. 600; actually before Solon.

⁶ Foucart, *Associations Religieuses*, p. 2: Aristotle, *Eth. Nicomachi*, VIII., ix., 7. ed. Didot; Van Holst, *De Eranis Veterum Græcorum*.

of in the earliest writings. It is spoken of by Homer, who evidently looked upon it as a little different from that assumed in later centuries. In Homer the word *eranos* designates a stipend paid into a common fund by a club of people, for eatables and wine at the common table, either at some special feast, or, as was more generally needful, for the poor, who worked every day and had to economize in their food by regular meals in common, such as were enormously in practice among the Greek-speaking people in all antiquity. Homer intimates that it was a part of the scheme, and approved and sanctified by the god or goddess, or whatever divinity, to have things thus enjoyed in common. But we shall come to these definitions more explicitly soon.

These associations conducted the community business, not only of eating and drinking at the common table, in fellowship with one another, but in solid business transactions; and they did it vigorously under established law.⁷ They utilized the forces of their unions in exactly

THE LAW—PROOFS THAT IT WAS THE OLD STATUTE OF SOLON.
AS SHOWN IN THE FRAGMENTARY ALLUSIONS.

⁷ We here give quotations as they appear in the workmen's inscriptions, showing them all to be taken from the great original law preserved only in fragmentary form. Cf. Vol I., pp. 353-8, quoting law of the inscr. of Lanuvium, C. I. L., XII., No. 2112; Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, p. 12, who also shows that this was so: "La loi des éranistes fut gravée sous les Antonins; mais elle ne fit probablement que reproduire." Now, the law is again mentioned on the stone of a *θίασος*, and again of an *έρανος* found at the Peiræus, *Revue Archéol.*, 1864, II., p. 399, lines 17-20: ". . . . γράψαντας ἐν πίνακι κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ὅπως ἂν εἰ πᾶσιν φανερὸν τοῖς βουλευμένοις φιλοτιμείσθαι περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὃ τιμηθῆσονται κατ' ἀξίαν." κ. τ. λ. Again, similar allusion to the great original law is seen in an inscription found at Amorgos cited by the learned Koumanoudis, in the *Αρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*, *New Series*, No. 77, line 14: ". . . . κατὰ τὸν νόμον τῶν Ἐρανιστῶν." The law is referred to in an inscription of Rhodes, coronating or crowning a *κυριος*, C. I. G., 2525. It is in the museum of the Seminary of Venice; Lines 11-21. read: ". εὐεργεταὶ τὸν ἔρανον καὶ καλὰν ἀπόδειξιν ἐμ πᾶσι πεποιθμένοις: τῶν ἀγαθῶν δεδοχθαι τὸν κοινὸν τῶν Ἀλιαδᾶν καὶ Ἀλιαστᾶν, κυρωθεῖσαν τῶν δε τῶν τιμῶν ἐπαίνεσαι καὶ στεφανῶσαι Διονυσόδωρον Ἀλεξανδρῶν εὐεργέταν τοῦ κοινου εἰς τὸ ἀεὶ χρῶνον χρυσεὸν στεφάνων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου μεγίστων καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς ἀναγραφάτω τὰ δοξάντα," κ. τ. λ. C. I. L., Vol. vi., part 2, inscription no. 10, 234, page 1356.

THE LAW—AS SHOWN IN THE CELEBRATED ANDANIA STONE.

Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum, Vol. III., No. 23, p. 16. We are indebted for accurate elucidations of this Law, to the remarks of the editor: "In prima parte lapidibus perpaucis sunt, quae intelligi possint: v. 7 ἀνδρὶ πόρον initium ut videtur versus heroicis, v. 9, νέον 16 χώρον θάρσυνεν ἄριστα? exitus hexametris, v. 19, καὶ μνήμην φθιμένοις καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀνέσθηκαν, v. 20, ἐνιαυσίον ἐς χρόνον, ὅπως οντες ἔχοιεν , v. 24-29 ἀρχων μὲν Ταυρῖσκος, ἀτὰρ μὴν Μουνηχίων ἦν, ὄκτωκαιδεκάτη δ' ἔρανον σύναγον φίλοι ἄνδρες καὶ κοινῇ βουλῇ θεσμὸν φιλῆς ὑπεγραψαν, v. 30-44, νόμος ἔρανιστῶν. Μηδενὶ ἐξέστω ἰστέναι ἰς τὴν σεμινοτάτην σύνοδον τῶν ἔρανιστῶν, πρὶν ἂν δοκιμασθῆ, εἰ ἐστὶ ἀγνός καὶ εὐσεβής καὶ ἀγαθός. Δοκιμαζέτω δὲ ὁ προστάτης ἡ

the same manner as we do in these days. They were however infinitely superior to the modern conservative unions which refuse to coördinate themselves into a voting power; since they were voters, and according to many evidences of inscriptions and of the annals of historians, they formed themselves into what we, in these days call political parties and used all their power and influence toward electing to office the superintendents of public work, in order to secure for themselves the labor as a means of livelihood. They followed the great law of Solon, many allusions to which we here give in an elaborate note. The law itself is given on page 48.

ἀρχιερατιστῆς καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ οἱ ταμίαι καὶ σύνδικοι· ἔστωσαν δὲ οὗτοι κληρωτοὶ κατὰ ἔτος, χωρὶς εἰ τις προστάτης τὸ δεύτερον εἰς τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ . . . ἐπὶ ἔρανον καταλιπέη. αὐξανέτω δὲ ὁ ἔρανος ἐπὶ φιλοτειμαίαις· εἰ δὲ τις μάχας ἢ θορυβίους κείνων φαίνοιτο, ἐκβαλλέσθω τοῦ ἔρανον, ζημιοῦμενος ταῖς διολαῖς . . . κρίσεως . . . ἢ πληγαῖς αἰκίζόμενος. v. 33, ἀγνός (ἀγιος Boeckh.), v. 44, αἰκίζόμενος ipse supplevi, cetera Boeckhii sunt, praeter v. 36-39, quos Keilius restituit."

Rangabé, *Antiquités Hélléniques*, Vol. II, No. 881, shows an eranos as having sued and procured judgment. The person who directed the prosecution is believed to have been the chief of the eranos. They were metics. Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, p. 49, and note 2. Another such law process has been discovered. Rangabé's inscr., above cited, No. 881, reads. "Συνέτη ἐν Κεραίων οἰκοῦσα, ἀποφυγοῦσα Νικοδόμον Λευκοσοα καὶ κοινὸν ἔρανιστῶν, φιάλη σταθμον . . . οἰκοῦσα ἀποφύγοῦσα, Here the epigraph becomes illegible. Foucart, *ibid.*, says of the same: "d'accord avec la loi de Solon."

THE LAW—AS SHOWN IN BURIAL UNION OF ÆSCULAPIUS—HYGIA.

- 1 LEX COLLEGI Æ-CULAPI ET HYGIAE
- II Salvia C. F. Marcellina Ob Memoriam Flavi Apolloni Procuratoris Augusti Qui Fuit A Pinacothecis, et Capitonis Aug. Libertii Adiutoris ejus
- III Mariti sui optimi piissimi, donum dedit collegio Aesculapi et Hygiae locum a dicula cum pergula et signum Marmoreum Aesculapi et Forarium tectum junctum, in quo populus Collegi Supra Scripti epuletur, quod est via Appia ad Martis intra miliarium I. et II. ab urbe euntibus
- IV parte laeva intra adfines Vibium Calocaeorum et populam. Item eadem Marcellina collegio Supra Scripto dedit donavitque sestertium quinquaginta Milia Nummum hominibus Numero sexaginta sub hac conditione, ut ne plures adlegantur quam numerus supra scriptus, et ut in locum defunctorum loco veniant et liberi adlegantur, vel si quis locum suum legare volet filia vel fratri vel liberto dumtaxat, ut inferat arcae
- VII Nostrae partem demidiam funeratici, et ne eam pecuniam supra scriptam velint in alios usus converterte, sed ut ex usuris ejus summae diebus
- VIII infra scriptis locum conrequerant. Ex redivis ejus summae si quod comparaverint sportulas hominibus Numero LX ex decreto universorum
- IX quod gestum est in templo divorum in aede divi Titi con ventu pleno qui dies fuit V. idus Martias Bruttio Praesente et Junio Rufuo consulibus uti XIII. Kalendas Octobres die felissimo Natali Antonini Augusti
- X Nostri Pii Patris patriae sportulas dividerent; in templo divorum in aede divi Titi c. Ofilio Hermeti quinquenniali perpetuo vel qui tunc erit
- XI X. III., Aelio. Zenoni patri collegi X. III., Salviae Marcellinae matri collegi X. III., immunibus singulis X II. curatoribus sing. X II. populo, sing. X I. Item placuit pridie nonas Novembris Natali collegi dividerent ex redivis supra scripta ad martis in scholam Nostram praesentibus quinquenniali X VI., patri collegi X VI., matri collegi X VI., immunibus sing. X IIII., curatoribus sing. X IIII., panem assium III; vinum mensuras quinquenniali sextariorum novem, patri collegi I. immunibus sing. Sex curatoribus singulis Sex., populo sing. Sex. III. Item pridie nonas Januarii varias strenuas dividerent, sicut supra scriptum est XII. Kalendas O C

In this respect they were socialists of the manner sometimes designated the Socialistic Trade and Labor Alliance or socialistic new trade unionism. As a matter of fact, the new socialistic trade unionism is the oldest of all on record. The oldest trade unions were certainly the purest in the true philosophy and economy of scientific socialism.

Summing it all up, the inscriptional history, backed by the great law or *jus coeundi* of Solon, was leading the workers out and upward into Plato's highest civilization, his *Eudæmonia*, which was an enlightened political state wherein the workers rose from their miseries by political action through the ballot. The scheme was at first endorsed, with the wonderfully powerful movement of Jesus, but ferociously assaulted by the competitive system and finally suppressed, after a struggle of more than three hundred years.

Now, amid turbulent, disgraceful ambition of its own leaders who are catering to combinations of capital for the paltry emolument of their offerings, like the ancient fakirs, and in spite of their treachery which betrays the misled membership, the glorious *Eudæmonia* or state of the "Blessed" is gradually "reawaking," in the prophetic

- Tobres. Item VIII. Kal. Martias die kare cognationis ad Martis eodem loco dividerent sportulas panem et vinum, sicut supra scriptum est pridie uonas Novembres. Item pridie idus Martias eodem loco cenam, quam Ofilius Hermes quinquennalis omnibus annis dandam praesentibus promisit, vel sportulas, sicut solitus est dare. Item XI., Kal. Apriles die violari eodem loco praesentibus dividerentur sportulas vinu pane sicut diebus supra scriptis. Item V., idus Maias die rosae eodem loco praesentibus dividerentur sportulae vinu et pane sicut diebus supra scriptis, ea condicione qua in conventu placuit universis, ut diebus supra scriptis ii qui ad epulandum non convenissent, sportulae et pane et vinu eorum venirent et praesentibus divideretur excepto eorum qui trans mare erunt vel qui perpetua valetudine detinetur. Item P. Aelius Augusti libertus Zenon eidem collegio supra scripto ob memoriam M. Ulpi Augusti liberti Capitonis fratris sui piissime dedit donavitque sestertium decem milia nummum, uti ex reditu eius summae in cortributione sportularum dividerentur. Quod si ae pecunia omnis, quae supra scripta est, quam dedit donavit collegio supra scripto Salvia C. F. Marcellina et P. Aelius Augusti libertus Zeno, in alios usus convertere voluerint quam in eos usus qui supra scripti sunt, quos ordo collegi nostri decrevit, et uti haec omnia, quae supra scripta sunt, suis diebus ut ita fiant dividantque quod si adversus ea quid fecerint, sive quid ita non fecerint, tunc quinquennalis vel curatores eiusdem collegi qui tunc erant, si adversus ea quid fecerint, quinquennalis et curatores supra scripti uti poenae nomine arcae nostrae inferant sestertium viginti milia nummum.
- XVIII Hoc decretum ordini nostro placuit in conventu pleno, quod gestum est in templo divorum in aede divi Titi V. idus Martias C. Bruttio Praesente A Junio Rufino consulibus, quinquennali C. Ofilio Hermete curatoribus O. Aelio Augusti liberto Onesimo et C. Salvo Seleuco.

This Flavius Apollonius was *πυνακοθηκῆς*, a member, and perhaps quinquennalis of the association of picture painters, Fab., Inscr., 724, no. 443.

language of the celebrated Manifesto of 1848, to become the vast and indeed, the only power which can prevail to supersede the curse of combinations or trusts of individuals and corporations.

Non-voting trade unions are fools. They know not and indeed refuse to know that by abjuring their manhood in refusing to strengthen their cause by the ballot, they are but wafting themselves, their cause and their hopes, backward into the feudalism of the dark ages.

But the peculiar phase of this ancient organization was the economic manner of mutually providing for each other with the things to eat, drink, wear, for shelter, and finally for sepulture after death. This accounts for the universal brotherhood in which they are known to have clung with an unflinching tenacity. They called it an "abiding faith." It was probably their table socialism and their burial attachment that inculcated the burning love for one another which has been such a marvel to the students of modern days whose task is to decipher their amazing anaglyphs. This mutual love is found to reach down far into the Christian era.

Not only did they love each other here, but they believed that after death they should all remain together—the masons with the masons; the braziers with the braziers; the potters with the potters; and thus with all the trades and professions! They made provision by means of a burial attachment to their union, that in little cinerary urns, the ashes of the members should be mixed together in order that the dead brethren be provided in the tomb with each others' society, believing that as their life-long contact in the brotherly and sisterly love had afforded so much good and such exquisite joy, so in the cinerarium, ashes would mix with ashes, affording joy in the silent and peaceful beatitudes of the long forever.⁸

There are found quite a number of slabs of marble and other stone whose grim chiselings plainly indicate that

⁸ Oehler, "MSS., Contrib." II., p. 66, No. 138: "Was angeführt wurde, genügt um zu beweisen, dass die Sorge für die Bestattung der Mitglieder, für die Erhaltung des Grabmales, und für den Todtencultus vielfach von den Vereinen getragen wurde; dies erklärt sich aus der sakralen Grundlage aller Vereine. Die Verehrer derselben Gottheit sollen und wollen auch nach ihrem Tode vereint sein, ihnen sollen vom Vereine τὰ νομιζόμενα erwiesen. Daher erklären sich die gemeinsamen Begräbnisplätze 'einzelner' Vereine, umschlossen von einer Mauer, die Errichtung und Erhaltung der μνάματα."

love was the first moral principle while mutual care under title of economies was the first practical principle. In entering one of the numerous unions, the candidate was first carefully examined as to his or her good traits. Social standing seems not to have been much regarded. Slaves were admitted to membership.⁹ It is indeed wonderful, even amazing, after so long an interval of buried and secreted truth, to find that love, mixed with mutual economies, was the foundation rock of success and happiness for the lowly outcasts of mankind who, as now, formed four fifths of our race.

Every member must be proved by a rigid examination to be pure, clean, holy and good.¹⁰ This we positively know to have been going on 600 years before the advent of our era. Everybody knows furthermore that love, purity, goodness are the basis of our modern civilization. Foucart, who seemed, at the time M. Wescher wrote the significant words quoted in the note, not to agree, says that the word *hagnos* means more than holiness; it means clean; and to keep clean, pure, *castus*, required abstemiousness. He says it means practical, material purity; and hints that in course of time it may have crystalized into the ideal later known as *agnos castus*, the Lamb of God.¹¹

Another remarkable thing of these days was the general idea of what was meant by manhood. The slave, as we have seen, was nothing, had nothing and must hope for nothing. The freedman who must be carefully distinguished from the free man who could be a citizen, was the power of the organized workmen we are discussing. The law always drew the line against him. Plato was too much of an aristocrat to recognize the work-

⁹ Foucart, "Assoc. Rel." p. 7, shows many inscriptions which prove that slaves as well as freedmen were admitted to membership. See "Philologus, 2nd Supplement," p. 612: "ὑπὲρ Διοσατοβοριαστῶν τῶν τᾶς πόλεως δούλων Ἔβαι . . . εἰνος γραμματέως δαμόστριος ἱερατεύσας Διὸς Ἀταβυρίου . . . τῶν κυρίων Ῥοδίων ἀνέθηκε Διὶ Ἀταβυρίω . . ."

¹⁰ Wescher, "Revue Archéologique," 1865, Vol. II., p. 226, comments upon these conditions, basing his remarks on the epigraph in C I G., 136, lines 31-34: "Μηδενὶ ἐξέστω εἰς τὴν σεμνοτάτην σύνοδον τῶν ἑταιριῶν, πρὶν ἂν δοκιμασθῇ εἰ ἐστὶ ἄγιος καὶ εὐσεβῆς καὶ ἀγαθός." Wescher on the strength of this, adds: "Le principe de ces réunions, c'est la liberté, leur but c'est l'amélioration morale et matérielle des hommes. Les seules conditions d'admissibilité qu'elles exigent, ce sont trois vertus qu'on pourrait appeler chrétiennes: la sainteté, la piété, la bonté."

¹¹ As the unions were religious, or believed in supernatural aid, the idea of sacrifice is connected therewith, and has much to do with the ancient initiations. Plutarch, "De Superstitionibus," makes it mean physically clean, i. e. materially clean: "ῥυπαροὶ ἀγνεταί, ἀκάθαρτοι, καθαρμοί."

ingman in his true quality as the great producing factor of the wealth and means of life, as Adam Smith so nobly argued, but he thought manhood and aristocracy had four fountains which he called sources of nobility. The first is this man's aristocracy by birth: the second is his aristocracy by illustrious military achievement; the third springs from victories in the contests of the games, and the fourth is the preëminence of the spirit and mental powers of genius. This last, as Diogenes Lærtius who wrote a life of Plato, informs us, was the nobility he most highly prized.¹² But alas these are all counted from the citizen class. The poor expropriated descendant of the slave was totally overlooked in this estimate. He was entitled to no claims to nobility. All he had was what he earned by the hardest and this is why his organization was a boon so estimable.

To illustrate more vividly the necessity among the plodding outcasts, our ancient forefathers, of a strong and protective association of intermutual care, let us recur to the fact that for thousands of years they were regarded as not possessing souls; they were simply things, such as machines, implements of toil¹³ and production.

Regarding the authority enforcing inscriptions, the wording is lost; yet everything thus far found points to a clause in the Solonic law. Several inscriptions of an early date show that it was compulsory. We have already shown that these legalized trade and labor societies were in Egypt considered by Amasis, as necessary to ascertain the manner in which the people got their living, as well as to afford the census enumerators an accurate clew to their numbers.

All the savants are now beginning to recognize and acknowledge that these unions were not only very ancient but very important factors of state. There can be no

¹² Diog. Lært. thought to be very ancient, "Vita Platonis," 31: "Διαίρεται δὲ ἡ εὐγένεια εἰς εἶδη τέτταρα. Ἐν μὲν, ἂν ᾧσιν οἱ πρόγονοι καλοῖ. κάγαθοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι, τοὺς ἕκ τούτων γεγενημένους εὐγενεῖς φασὶν εἶναι. Ἄλλο δὲ ἂν ᾧσιν οἱ πρόγονοι δεδυναστευκότες καὶ ἀρχόντες γεγενημένοι," κ. τ. λ. Cf. Gran. de Cassagnac, "Histoire des Classes Nobles," p. 31.

¹³ Varro, "De Re Rustica," l. 17, i: "Instrumenti genus vocale, et semivocale, et mutum: vocale, in quo sunt servi; semivocale: in quo boves; mutum, in quo plaustra." Thus the servant is a machine, like a beast, or a wagon, only that he can make a noise with his vocal organs. Again, "Digest," IV., 5: "Servile caput nullum jus habet." Taken from the great jurist Paulus; or as Ulpian puts it in "Digest," IV., 17: "In personam servilem nulla cadit obligatio." The denial of any claim to manhood or nobility or soul is also made by Plato, "Laws," VI.; Homer, "Odyssey," XVII., v. 322-323; Horace, "Sermon.," l.; "Satyr.," VI., v. 6.

doubt that the unions existed in a non-legalized form long before either Numa, Solon or Amasis and were even at this early period cutting their own inscriptions.¹⁴

From the earliest recorded proof of their existence obtained through their own annals 600 years before Christ, we find numbers all along of later ones and propose to occasionally sketch them as curious landmarks, as we descend the craggy steps of time. Dr. Johann Oehler, of the University of Vienna, who has given much time and travel to this subject, mentions an eranos which flourished over 400 years before Christ.¹⁵ Natural to their miserable condition, the property and all good things of life which they had created, being taken away from them, they not only hugged their protective unionism and its common table and mutual association, but they likewise cultivated a belief in an imagined saviour. This they for centuries adhered to until He finally came. In consequence, their inscriptions teem with the mention of their god Soter or saviour, an imaginary redeemer, some day coming to deliver the world.¹⁶ The pre-Christian saviour worshippers were among the strongest unions of labor. Their condition was made precarious by the harsh power of the wealthy, constantly speculating upon their nerve and muscle, using their female charms for beastly gratification, glutting themselves with their valuable productions and constantly talking them down. The law gave them power to slay them without process of a trial. It all quickened their longings, causing them to conjure up imaginary hopes of relief and a cherished belief in a forthcoming Saviour who was to redeem them all. This greatly whetted their habits and practice of worship and inculcated mutual love and growth of con-

¹⁴ Cagnat, in "Revue Contemporaine," Jan. 1896, p. 166, says: "La tradition rapporte au roi Numa l' institution des corporations professionnelles à Rome. Pour qui ne fait point de l' existence, de Romulus et son successeur un article de foi. Cela signifie qu' elles sont aussi anciennes que la ville même."

¹⁵ Oehler, "MSS., written to the author": "Sabazios: Die *Σαβαζιασταί* im Peireus wurden bereits oben unter den *ἔρανοι* erwähnt; eine in derselben Stelle gefundene Weihungsinsehrift aus dem Jahre 342 v. Chr. CIA., II., 1326 wird mit Recht auf Sabazios bezogen und beweist, dass der Cult dieses Gottes bereits im IV. Jahrh. v. Chr. im Peireus gepflegt wurde."

¹⁶ Oehler. "MS., I., No. 66: "In Rhodes bestand ein *Διὸς Σωτηριαστῶν Σαβαζιαστῶν κοινὸν*, "Inser." Gr. "Inser." 162; in Lindos *Διὸς Σωτηριασταί*; "ibid." nr. 939i. *Zeus Yéttios*. "They are recorded by the epigraphists as of about B. C. 262. It was all as their simple minds happened to imagine. The same author refers to Strabo, 606, and to the "Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum," II., no. 616, of B.C. 300, for mention of a Zeus *σωτήρ*, and "είν Heiligthum desselben im Peireus." Dioskuros "Ad Kabiren."

science in the world. The third and fourth centuries before our era abound in saviour or messiah worship among the trade organizations. Almost all the members of the eranos built upon this hope.¹⁷

To be added to the above explanation of the sources of that Saviour worship which at the present day is causing vague and erroneous speculations regarding the origin of our religion, must be another well-known reason which is, that the Roman conquests based their animus largely in the ambition of individuals for gain, by plunder and the glut of vengeance. To them nothing was so delicious as the groans, sobs and dying moans of victims. Such victims must be the poor proletaires whom their aristocracy had degraded, robbed and impoverished. Let every movement of the organized modern workers beware; since the fires of that ancient hatred have never been quenched or even christianized. To rob and glut and become millionaires at the expense of the working-people is still the uppermost sentiment; and let us beware lest they, in their cunning, spring upon us another standing army with a military force, such as killed off the workers in the past. Rome by her conquests, raised the battle-axe against the useful element of the race. That same truculent money power is still here and it behooves the non-propertied majorities to take this as their warning.

Away back in the time of Numa and Tullus Hostilius there were religious congregations which were none other than labor associations worshipping a tutelary, saving deity.¹⁸ The Arval Brothers and Sisters early assumed an aristocratic hue since they were supported by the general government and made perpetual under its sanction, in somewhat the same manner as the bridge

¹⁷ Serapis was another of the saviour deities on whom they placed hope as a messianic power. The CIA., II., 617, has a stone showing us a *προερανίστρια*, B.C. 300. In B.C. 400, i.e., in that century, there was an eranos or a numerous colony of them, right in the brightest days of Socrates, who had their houses and little temples, *κυριάκαι* along the cliffs of the Acropolis: Oehler, "MSS. to the author": "Athen, Erwähnt wird *κοινὸν τῶν ἐρανιστῶν* in den *φιάλαι ἐξεχειθερικάι*. Verzeichnissen, die auf der *Ακρόπολις* gefunden wurden, und dem IV. Jahrh. v. Chr. angehören C I A., II., 768; 772; 773; 775, C I A., IV², nr. 768^b; 772^b; 775^b; 775c; 775d; vergl. "American Journ. of Arch.," IV., 1888.

¹⁸ Granier de Cassagnac, "Histoire des Classes Nobles," p. 197, sqq: "La congrégation religieuse la plus célèbre était celle des vestales, appelées Filles de Vesta," ("Vestal Virgins"). Under Numa they only numbered four. Phutarch, Numa, x.: "Ἡρώτου μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ Νουμά καθιερωθῆναι λέγουσι Γενανίαν καὶ Βερηγίαν, δευτέρου δὲ Καουλλίαν καὶ Γορπηίαν."

builders. On close investigation we are astonished to find that everything in our civilization, especially our Christian religion, is derived from one or another of these innumerable trade and labor movements, legalized by Numa and Solon and employed by the state until broken up after the conquests.

But this trade unionism was originally considered a great virtue. Solon, in his law sometimes called the law of Attica, positively ordered that it be accounted honorable,¹⁹ which at that early day proved a great triumph of craftsmanship. On obtaining this permission they began to spread over mainland and islands, until they existed everywhere.²⁰

It was under this law of free organization that Pythagoras careered. Like the Gnostic in Christian times, he wanted to establish a great philosophy and totally failed. The purely economical is too practical ever to become a philosophy. Nevertheless it is known that there existed synods or communities of persons, mostly of the pedagogical, and esoteric class of mind, who, like the mechanics and laborers, had to win a living by their labor and talent. These took advantage of the great *jus coeundi*, and are known to have sheltered themselves from harm and hunger by means of similar unions,²¹ while they went abroad to do good in the world. This is exactly what the Christians did afterwards. The Pythagorean organization, which is now known and acknowledged to have been planted into the trade and labor movement legalized by Solon, existed 600 years before Christ.

¹⁹ Plutarch, "Solon," xx., Laws of Attica: "Ἅγιος νόμος." "Solon, perceiving that the soil of Attica which hardly rewarded the husbandman's labor, was far from being capable of maintaining a lazy, indolent multitude, ordered that trades should be accounted honorable; that the council of Areopagos should examine into every man's means of support, and chastise the idle." Longhornes's trans.

²⁰ They were organized in the island of Chios long before Christ; and in Cilicia are found their relics, showing that they often dedicated to Asclepias: "Σύνοδος τῶν Ἀσκληπιαστῶν. So in Epidamnus were the *καββαδίας*, "vide Feuilles d' Epidauré," no. 112; Foucart, "De Scenicis Artificibus," p. 9, who cites information from Isocrates, "Evagoras," I, 150, thus showing that the Greek unions spread to the island of Cyprus, being incited by Evagoras, B.C. 420-385, to go there and settle. This he thinks was the origin of their existence.

²¹ Athenæus, "Deipnosophistæ," V., 186a, speaks of the *Διογενιασταί*, *Ἀντιπαρισταί*, *Πανατιασταί*, as being *φιλοσόφων σύνοδοι*. Among the adherents of Pythagoras there was a difference between these names. In the "Anonymus" who is author of "Vita Pythagoræ apud Photium," §1, the following distinctions are threatened out: "οἱ σὺν μὲν αὐτῷ τῷ Πυθαγόρῃ οἱ γενόμενοι ἐκαδούντο Πυθαγορκοί, οἱ δὲ τούτων μαθηταί Πυθαγόρειοι, οἱ δὲ ἄλλως ἔξωθεν ζήλωται Πυθαγαρισταί." Compare Iamblicus; p. 80, sq. Oehler, "MSS. to the author," subjoins the remarks: "Der religiöse Mittelpunkt der Philosophenschulen war an Μουσεῖον, die Feste werden Μουσεῖα genannt; daher hat Wilh. Mollenhauer die Philosophenschulen als *Θίασοι Μουσῶν* erklärt."

There was a union of potters at Cos which existed during the fourth century B. C. That there was a jealousy existing all along against the growth and success of these organizations is emphasized by the manner in which the crafty priests of the official or state religion captured and turned them to their own account. This was especially the fate of the union of bridgebuilders. Numa evidently had no idea that his college of pontiffs would ever become a seat of popery. Originally the college of pontiffs or union of bridgebuilders was a group of masons, carpenters and other mechanics. But they flourished because they were voting unions and obtained political control in a limited, peaceful manner. Taking advantage of some clause in the law now lost, they voted their candidates into the offices of the public works hereby securing for themselves the labor of building bridges, sewers, and public edifices for the city and state at good wages, until they worked themselves up into respectability. As all things in those days were compulsorily religious, so they also conformed with the general customs and beliefs.²²

Another singular thing is, that as in Pontiff so in everything, the unions lend us name and all; for pontifex is bridgebuilder. Even the pope is a master bridgebuilder, though he assumes the sounding appellative of Pontiff, which translated, means boss of the union of bridgebuilders, who became celebrated legalized government Pontiffs long before the Christian era. The pontiffs were originally a trade union of bridgebuilders, working for the state on government construction. Thus everything in our modern religion is traceable for its origin to some trade organization, under the Solonic and Numan law.

Trade unions built all the great itineraries for Rome for nearly a thousand years. These unions must have been business-like concerns. An interesting account of how they so systematically worked from a very early time, is given by a recent writer, M. Domaszewski, in the *Eranos Vindobonenses*.²³ The manner in which trade

²² "Plutarque rapporte en plusieurs endroits de sa "Vie de Numa," que ce roi institua le collège de pontifs et quelques autres collèges de religieux: "Ἐπι δὲ χρῆναι Μουσαῖς καθιερωσάτω τὸ χωρίον ἑκείνο, καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸ λειμῶνας." (Numa, cap. xiii.). The priests under the guise of an official religion began early to establish the pontifex maximus which lasted down through the republic and the empire and finally fixed itself permanently in the papal see.

²³ "Eran. Vindobon." pp. 63, 64. In Greek he was called the ἐπιμελητής, in Latin, curia. The board were curatores viarum.

unions under the protective guardianship of Minerva or Diana, took the work and carried out large enterprises, is here explained. The president of each union was a sort of contractor for the state. It was the same in Asia Minor and Greece. As early as the time of Pericles, which was not long after the invasion of Xerxes and the battle of Salamis, there was a thiasos operating one of the trades on the island of Salamis. It was dedicated to Bendis, the Thracian Diana, goddess of the chase and favorite friend and patroness of the working people.

In the Greek-speaking world, the eranos not only carried out the various evolutions of performing public work, but it likewise acted as a loan society, and often loaned money toward buying slaves into their freedom. The valuable work of M. Foucart already quoted from, explains that a shrewdly practical use was made, of the god or goddess, revered by them as a tutelary saviour. It was this immortal to whom the slave was sold into liberty. We can imagine no more beautiful or efficient system of practical work for a union of working people to do. Surely, the genius of ancient labor organization must have surpassed ours of the present day. What could be more noble, more sublime than this? A strictly trade and labor organization whose members, as shown beyond question,²⁴ were themselves poor emancipated slaves, all, or nearly all of them having obtained their liberty in the same manner, arranges to hand over to their patron god the price of a slave, and before the awful tribunal, the august immortal delivers the thus loaned money over to a holder of human flesh, thus setting a chattel free! We have somewhat explained this ingenious and magnificent trade union function, which for shrewdness and disinterestedness surpasses anything we know of in actual existence among our labor unions.

Every qualified person unprovided with sufficient

²⁴ Foucart, *Affranchissement des Esclaves par forme de vente à vie Divinité*, p. 28, has, in proof of the above astonishing facts, brought to the light a mass of inscriptions engraved under the law and at the very time the god assumed the deal in his great temple and on the consecrated altar, as we have described. See *Inscriptions Recueillies à Delphes*, Paris, Firmin, Didot, 1863, Nos. 89, 107, 126, 139, 213 and 244. The Slave borrowed his ransom money from the *Epavos*, and the god, through the legalized and brilliant, even awe-inspiring formality of law, through his priest, paid the thus borrowed money over to the owner of the slave, who, with cringing greediness, cowering with awe and humility, took it and departed. Then the slave remained a sort of chattel to the union which was bound to support him or her and furnish work for wages, until every obole was repaid.

means wherewith to live without work could in those days, under provisions of the Solonic statute, become a member of some mutual aid society. Not only the inscriptions, from which we derive our information, but also many of the ancient writers have made contributions to establish this fact. The city of Alexandria teemed with these societies; and one is mentioned by Suidas and Athenæus which shows that they were there in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. There were unions of the poets, showing that it was necessary for men practicing professions to organize; since working for a living with the brain was equally as precarious as working for a living by hand. So again, Pausanias, mentions the Bactrian singers, and an inscription shows that they owned a piece of land. But we reserve for a future chapter our description of the vast international union of the ancient artists, regarding which recent finds afford incontestable proofs. A circumstance may here be mentioned which is very suggestive. They existed especially in and around the old cities of Heraclea, Træzen, and everywhere in Cephalonia and Phrygia where the Christians settled and built up churches that for a long time practiced noble tenets in their temples.²⁵ The great "Gemeinde" or community and its seed of churches, which afterwards grew from it, was seated in very ancient times at Teos, Samos, Halicarnassus or Boudrum. This was an enormous congeries of associations which seemed to be bundled together into a numberless factor and to so general an extent as to seemingly engross the industrial population. It is not until within the last century, and it might be said, the last half century that this strange and countless multitude²⁶ of trade and professional organizations has become known to us, chiefly through their own inscriptions. They tell their

²⁵ Lüders. *Dionysische Künstler*, pp. 14, 15, 19, says there were 'Οργάνωτες, διάσοι and others. CIG., 522. A long inscription is found mentioning Heraclea, Cephalonia and Træzen, which describes a crowning with a θαλλός στέφανος, all well preserved. At Heraclea of Pontus is one given by Weicker, CIG 612f; Preller, *Gr. Mythol.*, I., 109.

²⁶ Lüders *Dionys. Künstler*, p. 77; "Die grosse Gesellschaft nennt sich τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τελετῶν τῶν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν κἀθηγεμόνα Διόνυσον." They also had branches at Nemea and Isthmos, *ib.*, p. 79. The same author, p. 133, devotes more than a page to an enumeration of places in these regions, including Pergamaos and Chalcedony peopled with innumerable societies about the time of Aristonicus, thus emphasizing, if not verifying our argument that Aristonicus the revolter against the treachery of Attalus III., described in chapter X., Vol. I., of this work, was a member of some powerful social organization of the proletaries,

own history; and it must be said their chiselings recount it well. The German archæologists speak of it as the great "Gemeinde," with the signification of a community because of their characteristics of self-helping brotherhoods existing in thousands of clubs, each with a common table and a communal code, and yet coördinated into a sort of international union. They are found to have been very numerous 200 years before Christ and some of them are seen to be of much earlier date.

Not only Greeks and Greek-speaking people were organized in this great "Gemeinde" but we find inscriptions proving that the inhabitants of Tyre on the border of Palestine also had many organizations for aiding their trades and manufactures.²⁷ Even on the Island of Malta they existed; for a union is found from Tyre, of early date, whose patron god is Macod. It is an inscription of a genuine eranos, composed of the members of a Phœnician colony settled at Malta. This eranos must have been in full blast at the time Paul landed there on his way to Rome, the hints of Luke's legend proving it.

A Hebrew eranos is known to have existed at Tlos, under the Solonic law, which has been described by Mr. Hula.²⁸ The Jews had been driven about by the tyranny of kings, and were willing to build up new fortunes under the Solonic rather than the Mosaic dispensation. They were very popular and judging from the work of Wilhelmowitz Mollendorf, Euripides was an officer in one of these organizations.²⁹ The society of the eranos flourished in Cnidos, Smyrna, Tralles, Nicea and all other parts of Asia Minor; and their own inscriptions show them to have been very numerous 400

²⁷ Oehler, *Gr. Vereinswesen*; See *infra*, *Index*: "Ein Verein tyrischer Hauptleute in Delos: τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Τυρίων Ἡρακλειστῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων erbittet vom athenischen Volke den Platz für einen τέμενος Ἡρακλεοῦς τοῦ Τυρίου ἀργηρέου τῆς πατρίδος, CIG., 2271. Zu Kos hat Diomedon eine Kultgemeinschaft zu Ehren des Herakles gestiftet."

²⁸ *Eranos Vindobonensis*, p. 99-102. The block containing the inscription was found by Hula who explains it. It was in a graveyard near Tlos, in Lycia. He mentions it as having been a *Judengemeinde* or Jewish congregation in Tlos. Hula has restored it, and we present the hierograph and inscription here. He adds: "Die archonten waren Beamte der Jüdischen Gemeinde, die in diesem Titel, wie auch in anderen Dingen die hellenistischen Communalverfassung adoptirte. It was, then, of course, one of the communes under the Solonic law, and so admitted.

²⁹ Mollendorf, *Euripides, Herakl.*, 2nd ed., p. 141, sqq: It was the Ἰσθμίων Δῆλος. The members were *Δηλιασταί* and Euripides officiated—a matter which honored the association. See Athenæus, X., p. 424, who calls them *ὄρχησταί*, the dancers.

years before Christ. One of Egyptian origin is found to have had Anubis as the patron deity. He was god of the chase. In lower Egypt are found a great number of tombstones mentioning him. He had the jackal's head, and was guardian of tombs. They also abounded in Chios and all the islands of the Ægean Sea.

Egypt was always a prolific soil for these associations. There is evidence that the Solonic organizations flourished at Alexandria from a high antiquity, and we possess a very recent acknowledgment by so high an authority as Oehler, that a close relationship existed between all the societies of that day; which of itself blends therapeutæ, eranoi, thiasoi, essenes, nazarenes, orgeons, collegia, in fact all the various societies of this peculiar class, into one; the name alone varying with the customs and languages of the localities. All are traceable to the great paternal origin, the Solonic law, and their legible landmarks are found ranging from 600 years before our era.

Foucart, who studied them with a deep penetration, declares that these unions which in his Latin work he naturally calls collegia, frequently assumed the name of their own patron saint.³⁰ In Caria, a division of Asia Minor, the unions of masons are found existing from the first half of the second century before Christ. They built theatres. So also it may be put down as unwarrantable to suppose that the Therapeutic Essenes, as they are called in Judea, were a religious association, few in number and of questionable age and duration. In 278 B. C. they were strong mutual unions of workmen and their inscriptions are found in many parts of the world. It is now admitted by scholars that they are identical with all the other prominent trade organizations, of which the thiasos or eranos was the typical example.³¹

In the fourth century before Christ there was, on the

³⁰ *De Scenicis Artificibus*, p. 29, "Thiasi numinis cujusdam patrocinium et cognomen assumunt, ut Serapiastæ, etc.;" and further: "in scenicis collegiis, ita in thiasis, res per magistratus et sacerdotas annuos administrantur," etc.

³¹ Oehler, *MSS.*: "*Therapeutæ*, Ein *Θίασος* in Athen, der Cult einer nicht bezeichneten Göttin pflegte, hat im Jahr 278-7 v. Chr. seine Beamten geehrt und begründet diese Ehrung auch dadurch, *ἐπιμελήθηται δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀπογενομένων καλῶς καὶ φιλοτιμῶς*. *Δελτίον*, 1892, p. 100^f; *CIA.*, no. 6156. Here follow several more inscriptions of therapeutic epitaphs all mixed up with the thiasos, which is now regarded as the type of all unions under the Solonic dispensation.

northern acclivity of the Nymph hills, a union that consecrated regularly to Zeus Philius, and its traces are found reaching back into prehistoric uncertainty. It was a genuine eranos, such as used to have the common table, which will be found accurately described in these pages. A splendid specimen of an eranos and its common table, exhibited at one of its entertainments has been found bearing date of B. C. 123,³² and another of B. C. 119. They show the brotherly love that prevailed among the working people of those days, which were the most dangerous of the Roman conquests. A glance at the occult happiness they are enjoying affords a key to the phenomenal growth among their class which numbered three-fourths of the human race; even during that period of slaughter, they were teaching the spirit of sympathy among mankind leading to the precept that we should love our neighbors as ourselves.

The taint of labor shrouded all mankind having to work for a living. Men and women whose energies produced the riches others enjoyed, when thus left without them, were glad to find a law of liberty in the ancestral dispensation. It was as good for the merchant as for the mechanic. The merchants are discovered through the inscriptions, to have been organized in exactly the same mutual manner as mechanics and laborers. They appear to have undertaken their business methods guided by the same law and to have struggled hand in hand together upon the same social plane.

Along the banks of the Sea of Galilee are found slabs of stone upon which are engraved words showing that the boating business about 100 years B. C. flourished under a thiasos in Phœnicia, on the Sea of Galilee. This country, in those days was considered a part of Phœnicia, and in that early period there were certainly societies of fishermen and of boatmen doing the lively commerce of the lake. Mixed among them are found merchants, boat-owners, and even longshoremen organized together.³³ A Phœnician eranos dedicated to Nep-

³² See Vol. I., plate opp. p. 451, taken from Lüders, *Dionys. Kunst., fin.*; CIA., II., 1330; also CIA., II., p. 988.

³³ Oehler, *MSS. to the author*; "Kaufleute und Rheder aus Berytos in Phœnicia," perhaps the Sea of Galilee, τὸ κοινὸν Βηρυτιῶν ἐπὶ ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐγδοκῶν, *Bull. Héll.*, viii., p. 469, nr. 2; 474, 2; 475, 4; 472, 6. Το κοινὸν Βηρυτιῶν Ποσειδωνιστῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων ἐγδοκῶν, die unter einem ἀρχιθιασιτῆς standen." *Bull. Héll.*, viii., 1883, 467-1; 471-5; 475-3; Vgl. 470-5.

tune, the Hermes of Poseidon was another organization of shippers, about 90 years before Christ, and is fresh proof of the economic business life of the people prevailing everywhere under stringent organization. We find also that the longshoremen were snugly organized along with the merchants and shippers at Alexandria. Of course there could be no strikes if they were all organized into one brotherhood and we hear of none.

In passing over this monumental history of the social movement prevailing among our forefathers it is not a little strange to find them, in their paganized condition, 300 years before Christ, busy with questions of the "New birth."³⁴ This anagenesis is prehistoric. Many of the unions we mention inscribed the doings of their meetings, such as the consecrations, and the anagenesis, the mysteries, the baptism and even sometimes the immaculate conception or parthenogenesis, as of common occurrence, hundreds of years before the commencement of our era.

It should be constantly borne in mind that these organizations were strictly economic ones, under the law of Solon, and had nothing in common with the outside world. They were very secret, and although their outward appearance is that of religion and religious worship of one or another of the pet patron deities, yet among themselves the constant, uppermost thought was how to get a living; and we foresee a time when better scientific knowledge of them shall throw off this deceptive veil of religion which as Mommsen has already admitted, was often a cloak to shield their true object from the intolerant rigor of the law.

About B. C. 200, flourished Osiris, the great man-god, once a living, Egyptian monarch but after death an immortal, like Jupiter, floating and hovering around the superstitious and credulous minds of primitive men as the martyred saviour, or messiah resurrected and returned to save humanity. There existed at Kos a labor union known there as the synod of Osiris.³⁵ The Therapeutæ were also numerous at Kos, under a genuine communal association.

³⁴ *Corpus Inscriptionum Anticarum*, II., 610. An ὄργεον in honor of the goddess Bendis, the Thracian Diana, patroness of laborers, the chase and fructification among animal and vegetable species. It represents the new birth, Ἀναγέννησις.

³⁵ Paton and Hicks, no. 54; Collitz, no. 5847. It was found on the site of the ancient Kos.

Forty-seven years before Christ there was at Sidon in North Palestine, a celebrated city of the Phœnicians, a union of cutlers who manufactured knives, daggers and short swords, and the members were called *machæropoioi*.³⁶

The dreadful system of gladiatorial games, repellent to us, in our advanced sympathies and our consequent intolerant feeling against cruelty, existed during the Roman conquests. We have sufficiently explained this in our first volume. It now only remains to exhibit the protective organizations which existed for the mutual help and solace of the victims of these gruesome sports. Unions of gladiators were very common; and judging from their numbers, it is safe to say that they were in all the municipal as well as proconsular cities of Rome where the amphitheatres existed. Fifty-eight years before Christ there was a college of gladiators in Rome.³⁷ It was then that great contentions were raging between the working people and money power. Conspiracy laws were that year enacted against labor organizations and Clodius was giving his life, happiness, honor and talent in their cause. Cicero was using every power of the aristocratic senate against the tribunes whose principal source of help in the conflict was the voting unions.

It is ascertained that Spartacus, whose vast revolt had occurred fourteen or fifteen years before, was also a member of a union of gladiators.

There are found unions of the sons of Vulcan, then known as the Cabiri.³⁸ These Samothracian cabiri or dwarf-smiths, exceedingly cunning in their art, are not a little curious. They certainly had a powerful organization at an early period, and under a secret veil protected their mysterious arts. Their union was a thiasos which practiced a cult of a messiah or saviour or at least inculcated such ideas, while they were busy at their mechanical vocations.

At an early date Rome had an organization of what were called Galloi, connected with priests of Cybele, mother of the gods. They were poor, and had to labor for a living like other working people. The author of

³⁶ These dagger makers had a feast and consecration. Their head man was ἀρχὸν μαχαροποιῶν, *Revue Archeol.*, III., 1891, p. 108.

³⁷ Marini, *Att.*, 2, p. 823. Some 25 others are traced to this date of B.C. 58. See Vol. I., chap. xii., *Spartacus*. Paton and Hicks found them in the name of a Σερμασιῶν κοινόν, *Inscr.*, *Gr. Ins.*, No. 162; *ibid.*, no. 701, sq.; no. 371, θίασος Σερμασιῶν. Also in Rhodes a Διὸς Σωτηριῶν κοινόν,

³⁸ Oehler, in *MSS.* to the author: "KABIREN: Die Verehrer derselben

the history of the noble classes, M. Cassagnac, was surprised on investigation, to find that they differed widely from the other Arval brothers created by Romulus; for they were distinctly of the lowly class; not noble, like the priests and officers of the official religion, but that they had nothing. There was a collegium or congregation of the aristocratic priests. It consisted first of twelve members, appointed by Romulus. The number was doubled by Tullus Hostilius. After all, we are at a loss to see how the fratres arvales,³⁹ or even the pre-Christian college of pontiffs, can have anything to do with our work. They were aristocrats. Although known that they were, like the rest, derived from the unions of winegrowers and bridgebuilders and that they were thus descended from the lowly stock, nevertheless we find them belonging to the aristocrats.

But the other class of fratres arvales, viz., the Galloi, poor and self-abasing, and even foolish enough to descend to self-mutilation in honor of the mother of the gods, we shall include in our history; because they were the reverse to the aristocrats, and because they were from Phrygia the cradle of the great reform, producing in course of time the phenomenal era in which we live.

Finally, there was a gardener's union at Ephesus, which has lately attracted some attention.⁴⁰ There is a fragment of an inscription of another union of gardeners found at or near Smyrna. We hold, and we think we can show that all or nearly all of the pre-Christian unions presented in this chapter were economic associations under the Solonic dispensation.

Vereinen bezeichnen sich nach den Haupt-Cultusstätten, Samothrake und Lemnos sowie nach dem Attribute der Kabiren (Σωτήρες). In Lesbos finden wir Σαμοθρακισταί. CIG. 2167 6; *Athen. Mitth.*, xxi., 1893, p. 238; *ibid.*, p. 239. II. Jahrh v. Chr. Zu Rhodes finden wir, ein Σαμοθρακιστῶν Μεσοεἰαν κοινόν, dann ein Σαμοθρακιστῶν καὶ Δημιαστῶν τῶν συνιστρατευσαμένων κοινόν." Again, Oehl., *Vereinswesen in MSS.*: "*Inscrift. Gr.*, ins., I., nr. 43: Eine Religiöse Genossenschaft, die sich aus Anlass eines Seekrieges gebildet und unter dem Schutze der Götter von Samothrake und Lemnos, die Kabireu gesellt hatten. Nr. 162, nennt uns ein Κοινόν Σαμοθρακισταί Σωτηριαστῶν Ἀριστοβουλιαστῶν Ἀπολλωνιαστῶν in Rhodes, benannt nach θεαίτητος, der es aus Anlass des Krieges begründet hatte; vgl. Nr. 75, und nach dessen Söhne Ἀστρυμῆδος; Vgl. Rubensohn; *Mysterienheiligtümer*, p. 234.

³⁹ Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticæ* V., viii: "Ex eo tempore collegium mansit fratrum arvalium numero duodecim. Fratres arvales appellavit (Romulus)." So, again Dionysius Hal., III., c. xxxii: "Ὁ Τυλλὸς εὐξάτο . . . τὸν τῶν Σαλίων καλοῦμένων διπλασίασειν ἀριθμὸν." Again, Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, V., xv., 25: "Fratres arvales dicti sunt, qui sacra publica faciunt, propterea ut fruges ferant arva."

⁴⁰ Oehl., in *MSS.* to the author: "Σύστημα κηπουρῶν ist schon erwähnt—Von Vereinen ist das Wort wohl auch zu verstehen in der Inschrift aus Ephesos, Le Bas, III., 1526—Hicks, *Manual*, nr. 205; 86 Jahr. v. Chr. Vielleicht auch in der fragmentarischen Inschrift aus Smyrna, *Μουσ.*, K. Βιβλ., II., 1857, p. 17, nr. 182."

As to the Christians at Rome it has been shown that they withstood the test and held out as *collegia funeraticia* (burial associations), and they could also possess some land and property in common.⁴¹

This remarkable gift to humanity seems to have applied to the working people of the whole world; for its influence stretched to India, and northward to Britain, and was officially endorsed at Rome. When, after the conquests, all the world became pro-consular Rome, the great *jus coeundi*, instead of being destroyed, as was the evident intention when the cunning aristocracy sprung the conquests, hooded itself under a secret veil and outlived the empire. The Solonic, then, and not the Mosaic, is the dispensation which the correct civilization and enlightenment of mankind is following; and its secret of success which has overpowered religious superstition, the intolerance of the jealous money power, with priestcraft, kingcraft, and even death itself, is its economic, self-sustaining mutualism which is gradually growing, and kneading its fibers into socialism.

The above view of the power and precedence of the Solonic dispensation over the Mosaic, is new; yet taking into consideration its scope as an economic rather than a religious factor, this view will bear inspection. The epigraphists and men of letters are beginning to admit our view. Dr. John Oehler, has sent us a special manuscript letter on the subject, points of which we translate here, in proof that the organizations existing in such vast numbers in all parts of the known world derived their right of association, or *jus coeundi* directly from the law of Solon, which was an economic and not a religious dispensation. He says: "The *thiasoi* etc., have the same objects which were possessed by the *collegia funeraticia*, or burial unions of Rome."⁴²

⁴¹ It is well known and admitted that in the days of scrutiny and persecution the burial attachment of the economic unions was what saved them, or shielded them from the rigors of persecution. Several scholars speak out boldly: Dr. Oehler, *MS. to the author*: "Die *θιασοι*, u. s. w. haben meist auch den Zweck, den bei den Römern die *collegia funeraticia* hatten." Again:

⁴² "Die Vereinsfreiheit in Athen geht auf das von Gaius angeführte Gesetz zurück; auch in den anderen Staaten der Griechischen Welt scheint gleiche Freiheit bestanden zu haben. In den Vereinen war den Christen der ersten Jahrhunderte die Möglichkeit einer rechtlichen Existenz gegeben; für die Christen in Rom ist es erwiesen dass sie als *collegia funeraticia* bestanden und rechtlich anerkannt waren; also auch grundbesitz und gemeinsames Vermögen haben konnten. Dass sie auch in den Städten des Ostens in Form eines *θιασος*, u. s. w. auftraten, wird zwar von Ziebart geleugnet, ist aber doch anzunehmen, dass diese Abhandlung soll es beweisen. Vergl. Hatch, Edwin, *Die Gesellschaftsverfassung der Christlichen Kirchen im Alterthume*, übersetzt von Harnach. See *Supra*, Chap. 1., of this work.

It is true, Ziebarth denies that in the cities of Asia, the Christians came out in the form of a thiasos, etc., nevertheless, it is to be assumed as true and his own contribution shows it to be so.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Review, geographically arranged, of the ancient unions, with a statement of the Divinities they recognized before their endorsement of christianity, not elsewhere recorded in these pages but part of an extra contribution. Prepared and sent to us through the compliments of Dr. Oehler.

GREECE, ATTICA, ATHENS: 'ΟΡΦΕΩΝΕΣ.

Cities of AMYNOS, ASCLEPIOS, and DEXION; 4th-3rd century, B.C. *CIA*, Vol. IV, add., no. 617^c.

City of HYPODEKTES, 3rd century, B.C., *CIA*, II, 1061; unions of orgeones.

City of EGRETES, 306-5, B.C. Unpublished inscription, found by the *American School at Athens*.

City of ASCLEPIUS, 1st century, B.C. *CIA*, II, 990: θιασῶται devoted to Ἄρτεμις Σώτερα, i.e. Diana Saviour, near DIPYLON, B.C., 267-5. *CIA*, IV², 1620, where was also found an inscr. of the Σωτηριασταί, *CIA*, IV², 1630.

City of ἈΘΗΝΑ, Ἐργάνη, *CIA*, 1329, 4th century, B.C.

Same place, middle of third century B.C., the Decree τῶν Ἐρανιστῶν, honoring Minerva.

City of HERACLES: *CIA*, II, 1111; no. 986. *CIA*, IV², 615; II, 1331; 1663; IV² 622^b, θίασοι representing some inferior department of the state and a φρατρία of clan that published the sworn resolution called the δημόσιον; *CIA*, IV², 841^b, Ἐρανισταί belonging to the 4th century, B.C., found on the slopes of the ACROPOLIS; see Φιάλαι ἐξελευθερικάι, frequently mentioning κοινὸν Ἐρανιστῶν: *CIA*, II, 768, 772, 873, 775; *CIA* 2 763^b, 772^b, 775^b, 775^c, 775^d.

Clump of ἘΡΑΝΙΣΤΑΙ, of the ὄροι, *CIA*, III, 1178, IV², 1138^b, found in SPARTA, 1110, ΠΙΚΕΡΜΙ; 1117, ΤΑΤΟΥ; 1119, ΜΥΝΕΧΙΑ; IV², 1170^b παρὰ τὴν ἱερὰν ὁδὸν, and of 324-3, B.C. Here we have an ἔρανός consecrating to Zeus Φίλιος, *CIA*, III, 1330.

City of ATHENS: A consecration to Zeus Næus; a συνῶδος, found on the ACROPOLIS: ΔΕΑΤΙΟΝ, 1890, p. 145, no. 2; middle of the 4th century, B.C. It is that of the organized washerwomen, *CIA*, II, 1327.

Ibid. The year B.C. 270-69, showing the officers of a κοινὸν τῶν ἐργαζομένων, *CIA*, I, 1332, the ἐπιμεληταί and ἱεροποιοί, for Zeus or Jupiter Σωτήρ, for Ἡρακλῆς and the Σωτήρες (perhaps Kabiri, dwarf mechanics), *CIA*, III, 616; found on the ΝΥΜΦΗ HILLS. Two more eranists' decrees were found here, *CIA*, II, 615; III, no. 19.

At close of the 3rd century, B.C. existed an eranos with list of membership, males and females also on this hill slope, *CIA*, II, 988, II, 3208, shows an epitaph of a member of an eranos, who hailed from SELEUKΕΙΑ.

The ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣΤΑΙ, *CIA* IV², 630^b, show themselves to have been Ἐρανισταί.

City of CYRENE on the acropolis, and belonging to the divinities of the Ἄρτεμισταί, B.C. 300, a decree of honor for Μυσαίος. It was an ἔρανός, *CIA*, II², 1334^b.

Found on the same eminence an inscription with Ἀσκληπιασταί in fragmentary condition, showing evidences of both Διόνυσος and Herodes-Theater; hence Ἀσκληπείον. *CIA*, II, add. 617^b, 4th century B.C. Several others also appear in broken form.

Of a very interesting resolution of the Σαραπιασταί. *CIA*, II, 617.

Of a find of recent date of the statues of the Tobakchen, *Athen. Mittheilungen*, XLV, 1894, p. 249, beb., 260, 300 B.C. Maass, *Orpheus*, p. 78f.

PIRÆUS.

A. Schäfer, *Ass'n for Private Culture in the Piræus*. *Classical Annual of Philosophy*, 121, 1880, p. 417f; Wachsmuth, *The City of Athens in Antiquity*, II, p. 152^{sq}.

B. Ὀργεῶνες Μητῆρ Θεῶν, Magna Mater, 3rd century, B.C. *CIA*, IV², 620^b 619; 670; 623. Magna Mater and Bendis, also Syrian Aphrodite, Ὀργεῶνες of Εὐφορίας, or unions of good living.

Γ. Θιασῶται, whose organization honored the Μητῆρ τῶν Θεῶν. *CIA*, IV², 620^b, 3rd century, B.C.

Thus we perceive that the savants of the schools of inscriptions have partly caught on to the prodigious truth that the early Christians used, and planted into

- Δ. 'Ερανισταί, worshipping as Σεβαζιασται, *CIA*, *IV*², 626^b. In the same place was found a stone bearing a consecration of a *ιερροποιός*, there was also a statue of Sabazios.
- Ε. Organizations of tradesmen and shippers, the *Κυθήριοι*, emigrants.
- City of CΥΤΗΕΡΑ. They had a peculiar cult in their *κτίσις* or settlement. They were in part wholesale merchants, and had Isis, *CIA*, *II*, 68.
- City of ΣΙΔΟΝ.—Merchants. There was found at ΣΙΔΟΝ, an organization inscribed *Κοινόν τῶν Σιδωνίστων*; *CIA*, *IV*², 1335^b, and dating from the 6th century, B.C. The members enjoyed many privileges. Comp. *id.*, *II*, 171.
- Ibidem: 'Εμποροὶ καὶ ναυκλήριοι. Dealers having a *ναύαρχος* 'Αργεῖος, *CIA*, *II*, 1339; a *σύνοδος ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων*, devoted to Ζεὺς Ξένιος. They built a statue B.C. 65.
- Ibidem: 'Εταιρία, to Aphrodite with a list of names of women. A mass of 'Εταιραὶ appear in the Piræus, known by their consecrations, resolutions, decrees, etc., and showing themselves to be unions of workmen.
- Town of ΜΑΡΚΟΠΟΛΟ. Mesogis or mainland near the village of Markopulo—Two inscriptions of the Eikads, *Εἰκαδεῖς*, of the 4th cent., B.C.. *CIA*, *II*, 1093. A lawsuit is registered for 324 B.C., showing that they were chartered organizations at that early date.
- City of ΣΥΝΙΟΝ; slaves of the mines, organized in *ἐρανοὶ*; *Inscr.*, showing a consecration of the *ἐρανισταί* to Men Tyrannos.
- City of ΛΑΥΡΙΟΜ, *CIA*, *IV*², 1326^c, found at Laurium; comp. *id.*, *II*, 1328, bet. 2nd and 3rd centuries B.C. Xanthos at Sunion, slave of Orbius, built a temple to Men Tyrannos, with money probably voted him by his eranos. This was a little after the apostolic age.
- Ibidem. Artists of ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ. Large numbers found in this vicinity.

PELOPONNESUS.

- At ΑἶΓΙΝΑ, ὁ θίασος φαυεμάχου. Le Bas, *II*, 1708.
- City of ΚΟΡΙΝΘΗ. An association of athletes, *ἀθληταί*, *CIG*, 1104, time of Hadrian.
- City of Αργος. Σπατοπλοστοί, shoemakers, leatherworkers; 2nd century, A.D. *CIG*, 1134; *δεφιδασταί*, *id.*, 1135, tanners, *δεῖται*. 1136, *τό κοινόν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ καὶ Νεμεας τῆς ἐν Ἀργεὶ συνόδου* Le Bas, *II*, 116^a, B.C., 114.
- City of ΕΡΙΔΑΥΡΟΣ. Σύνοδος Ἀσκληπιαστῶν ἐν Πανακεϊκῇ Καββαδίας: union of physicians; *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, no. 211.
- Promontory of ΗΡΜΙΟΝΕ. A list of names of members of a union ded. to Demeter, *CIG*, 1207; Le Bas, *II*, 159^c; *Bull. Héll.*, *III*, 1879, p. 75.
- City of ΤΡΕΖΕΝ. Initiates to the Magna Mater association, *Τελεστήης τῆς μεγάλας Μαρτός*. *Bull. Héll.*, 1889^b, p. 41, B, 3rd century, B.C., *XIII*, 1889, p. 120. This last gives a list of officers.
- City of ΣΠΑΡΤΑ: Ἀγριππιασταί, *CIG*, 1299, *CIL*, 498, B.C. 18-12.
- City of ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ. Union of acrobats, Athletes. Ἀθλητῶν κοινόν: *Archæologische Zeitung*, *XXIV*, 1879, p. 56, no 13; *XXVII*, 1879, p. 133, no. 261.

CENTRAL GREECE.

- City of ΜΕΓΑΡΑ. 'Οργεῶνες' Dittenberger, *Inscriptiones Græcæ Septentrionalis*. no. 33: Ποσειδωνιον καὶ κοινὸν τῶν Αἰγοσθενειτῶν, *Inscr. Gr. S.*, 43, 6th century, B.C. See also no. 109, perhaps a union of Goat-herds.
- Fountains of ΠΑΓΑΙ; *Inscr. Gr.* p. 192: *ιερά σύνοδος τῶν Ἡρακλείστων*.
- City of ΤΑΝΑΓΡΑ. Ἀθαναῖσταί, *Inscr. Gr.*, p. 685, 2nd century, B.C. A society of the Immortals.
- City of ΘΕΣΣΙΑ: 2nd century, B.C. Συνθύται Φιλετήρειοι. *Inscr. Gr.*, σύνοδος. 1790; 2194, ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνιτῶν, Dionysan artists.
- City of ΘΗΒΕΣ; Union of Dionysan Artists, 3rd century, B.C. *Inscr. Gr.*, p. 2482; *τό κοινόν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν ἐν Θηβαίς*, comp. 2484; 2486; 2447; 2414.

the great economic labor organizations already existing by hundreds of thousands in all parts of the world, under the Solonic dispensation. We shall now give in an extended note Dr. Oehler's MSS. kindly contributed by him to the author specially for this work. It will give the reader some idea of the immense number and spread of these societies, since every notice here recorded is a genuine chiseling from the hand of the society's own scribe.

- City of CHÆRONEA. An ἐράνος whose inscription shows a decree of emancipation of a slave.
- Lake of COPAÏS, HALIARTOS: union of hunters; *σύνδοδος τῶν κυνηγῶν*, *Inscr. Gr.*, p. 2850; 2nd century, B.C.
- Village of OpyS. Artists and tradesmen. Οἱ περὶ τὸν Διονύσον τεχνίται οἱ ἐξ Ἴσθμοῦ καὶ Νεμέας; *συντελοῦντες δὲ ἐν Οπούντι*, Collitz, *DIALEKT. INSCRIFTEN*, 10505. They shared in common.
- City of PHOCIS. Union of hunters οἱ κυναγοὶ vel κυνηγοί, Collitz, no. 1540; Le Bas, *II*, 988.
- Mt. Parnassus, DELPHI. Ἐράνος, union of artists, κοινὸν τῶν τεχνιτῶν τῶν ἐξ Ἴσθμοῦ καὶ Νεμέας. The *inscr.* exhibits documents regarding an ordeal of emancipation, Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, 161, and 1884, no. 218.
- City of CHALSIS. Union of artists of Dionysus: τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Λιόνυσσον τεχνιτῶν τῶν ἐξ Ἴσθμοῦ καὶ Νεμέας συντελεξούτων δὲ ἐγχαλκίδι, *Bull. Hell.*, *XVI*, 1892, p. 91; *XVI*, 107, 9.
- City of DEMETRIAS. Longshoremen and boatmen, ἡ τῶν ὑποστόλων σύνδοδος. They were therapeutæ devoted to Serapis, *Athen. Mitth.*, *VII*, 1882, p. 335. Colony of them, *Rev. Archæol.*, *III. XIV*, 1889, p. 3.
- City of TEMPE LARISSA. Θειασῶται, *Athen. Mitth.*, *XVI*, 1891, p. 261, no. 1.
- City of LARISSA. Union of Dionysan as attested by a gravestone. Egyptian therapeutæ, κοινόν. *Athen. Mittheilungen*, *VIII*, 1883, p. 113.
- Hot Springs, THESSALONICA. Union of Dyers, Συνήθεια τῶν πορφυροβάφωv. *Bull. Hell.*, *VIII*, 1884, p. 463, no. 2; Duchesne Bayet, *Mission au Mt. Athos*, p. 52, 88.
- City of OLYNTHOS. Guild or Collegium, ἀρχισυναγωγὸς θεοῦ Ἡρώος καὶ τὸ κολλήγιον, *CIG*, add. 2997f.
- City of PHILIPPI. Union of playwrights, *CIL*, *III*, 703; 706, Thiasi Libiri patres Tasibasteni archimimus and promistola.
- Town of STOBI. Union, but trade not indicated. Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, p. 243, no. 68, *συνθιασίται*.
- City of ABDERA. *Inscriptions* of 8 labor guilds.
- Town of AINOS. Union of shippers, therapeutæ. Ἀυρήλιος ναύκληρος θεραπευτῆς τοῦ φιλανθρώπου θεοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ. Dumont, *Mélanges d' Archéol.*, p. 437, no. 103.
- Constantinople, BYZANTIUM. Union of gardeners. Novella, *Inst. Just.*, *LXIV*, tit. *xix*, cap. 1, A.D. 538, Corpus hortulanorum.
- City of PERINTHOS. Unions of barbers, stone-workers and rowers of boats, κουρεῖς, λιθουργῶν τεχνιτῶν; also κωπηπλῶν. Some are published, and others are yet unpublished, *Mitth. aus Oesterreich*, *XIX*, 1896, p. 12; Dumont, *Mélanges*, p. 378, no. 68.
- City of PHILIPPOPOLIS. Union of hunters. Τὸ κυνηγῶν κοινον, Dumont p. 236, no. 42.
- Fortress of GANOS. A holy synod of workers of a trade not specified: ἱερά σύνδοδος, Dumont, *id.*, p. 420, no. 88c.
- Isle of GALLIPOLIS. Union of hunters. Τὸ κυνηγῶν κοινόν. Dumont, *id.*, p. 236, no. 42.
- City of NIKOPOLIS ad Istrum. A synod of presbyters, *Archæol. Epigr. Mitth.*, *XV*, 1892, y. 219, no. 47. They were θειασῶται, trade unions.
- City of APOLLONIA SOZOPOLIS. Union of cowboys: Μύσται βουκόλοι. *CIG*, 2052.
- City of KALLATIS. Union having both male and female members. θειασος καὶ θειασέται, *Archæol. Epigr. Mitth.*, aus *Oesterreich*, *VI*, 1882, p. 10, no. 16; *XI*, 1887, p. 35, no. 35; *XIV*, 1891, p. 32, no. 75.

In these unions it was possible during the first centuries for the Christians to have a legal right of existence given them.

City of TOMIS. House of the organized sailors. *Archæol. Epigr. Mitth.*, VIII, 1890, p. 93: Οἶκος τῶν ναυκλήρων, *Id.*, VI, 1882, p. 19, no. 39, transmitting a resolution.

Point of Land CHERONESOS TAURICA. Θιασάρκης, Latyschew, II, no. 19.

City of PANTICAPÆUM. Θιασεΐται, Latyschew, II, no. 19, B.C. 200; no. 39, 39; 60-5.

City of TANAIIS. Θιασεΐται, comp. with foregoing, no. 438-60.

Isle of IMBROS. Union of Apostles of the Fulfillment, οἱ τετελεσμένοι Ἐρμεῖ, *Bull. Hell.*, VII, 1883, p. 166, B.C. 200. They were the dwarf blacksmiths, Cabiri.

Isle of THASOS. Union of wholesale merchants Ἐμποροί. ἀρχικεδέμπορος, dedicated to the νεὸν Διόνυσον. The Καθηγμένω, or Fore-runner. *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, VIII, 1887, p. 426, no. 32. A.D. 300.

City of LEMNOS. Union of farm laborers: Ἐργασταί, B.C. 100, *Bull. Hell.*, LI, 1885, p. 64, no. 8. Ὅρος τῶν ὄργεονῶν.

City of LESBOS. Mytelene. Union of Shoemakers, Οἱ τὴν σκυτικὴν τέχνην εργαζόμενοι. *Athen. Mitth.*, XI, 1886, p. 282, no. 43. Ἐρμαῖται. *Anc. Greek Inscr.*, II, 227 c. Θιασος τῶν κναφῶν, shown in an epitaph.

Island of CHIOS. Union of Ferry-men. Πορθμείς, ἐργολάβοι, ναύκληροι, *Athen. Myth.*, XIII, 1888, p. 170, no. 10^a, b; no. 11, ἀρχισυνάγωγος of a union, *CIG*^{add}, 2227 c.

Town of KEOS. A θιασος, representing the Σαραπασταί, Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, no. 42.

City of TENOS. Unions of various occupations under the following patronage: Κοινὸν θιασῶτων Δαμνιαδῶν; κοινὸν Ἀγεσιλαδῶν; κοινὸν θιασῶτων; κοινὸν Θεοξενιασῶτων, B.C. 200, *CIG*, 2938, Συμβίσις, φιλία; *CIG*^{add}, 2337 b, and 6820.

Cyclade of MYCONOS. Union of earners. ἔρανος πεντακοσάι δραχμαὶ and εἰσφοραί. Dittenburger, *Sylloge*, no. 433.

Mart of DELOS. Unions of wholesalers, boatmen and freighters or long-shoremen, storagemen, Greeks and Romans. *Bull. Hell.*, XVI, 1892, p. 152, no. 4; III, 1879, p. 151; 176, no. 3; 370, no. 12; 372, no. 13; XVI, 1892, p. 150, no. 1; VIII, 1884, p. 126; XI, 1877, p. 244, no. 33. Foreigners from Tyre, organized in unions, θιασος, *CIG*, 2271. *Bull. Hell.*, III, 1879, p. 374, no. 11. Strangers from BERYTUS, organized under an ἀρχιθιεσίτης κοινὸν Βηρυτιῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐγδοκέων. *Bull. Hell.*, VII, 1883, p. 469, no. 2; 247, no. 4; 474, no. 2; 475, no. 4; 472, no. 6; κοινὸν Βηρυτιῶν Ποσειδωνιαστῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐγδοχέων. *Bull. Hell.*, III, 1883, p. 467, 1; 371, 5; 473, 3. At DELOS were many Therapeutæ, who together with the wearers of black, μελανοφόροι, worked at various trades and professions. Οἱ μελανοφόροι καὶ θεραπευταί, *CIG*, 2295; *Bull. Hell.*, VI, 1882, p. 318, no. 3; *Monuments Grecs*, 1879, p. 40. Μελανοφόροι and ἡ σύνοδος τῶν μελανοφόρων, *Bull. Hell.*, 1892, p. 482; σύνοδος and συνοδίται are recorded for DELOS in *Bull. Hell.*, VIII, 1884, p. 121; they are therapeutæ. Athenian θεραπευταί are numerous found there. Even the Roman collegia as compitalicia, see Mommsen, *De Coll. et Sodali.*, iv, abounded at this renowned slave mart, κομπεταλισταί, *Bull. Hell.*, VII, 1883, p. 12, no. 5. Likewise unions of the hardworking rowers and boat dredgers, υπερέται. *Bull. Hell.*, III, 1879, p. 367; εταίροι. Cf. Ἀθναῖον, III, 1873, p. 131. θιασῶται, *Rheinisches Museum*, XLII, 1867, p. 293, no. 283.

Cyclade City of SYROS. Union of eranists, with a κύριος or director, trade not mentioned in the *inscr.* κοινὸν τῶν ἐρανιστῶν καὶ ἀρχέρανος. *CIG*^{add} 2347j.

City of PAROS. Λιθοξόοι' marble-workers. *Athen. Mitth.*, V, 1876, p. 35, no. 39. *CIG*, 2396.

Town of NAXOS. Ὅρος, ἔρανος, thought to be similar to a union of surveyors. *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.*, XIII, 1890, g, 179, no. 5.

City of AMORGOS. A ὄρος, with an ἀρχέρανος and a νόμος τῶν ἐρανιστῶν, Fouc., *Ass'n. Rel.*, no. 45. Dancers of the Cordax, κορδαχισταί τῶν περὶ τὸν Πύθον Ἀπολλοῦ κορδάκων, *CIG*^{add}, 2264^a, at ΜΙΝΟΑ.

The right of association in Attica reaches back to, and is derived from, the law of Solon, preserved to us by Gaius. It was also the same in other states of the Grecian world, for a similar freedom appears there to

- City of MELOS. *Μύσται*, *Athen. Mitth.*, *XV*, 1880, p. 246; *Journ. of Hell. Stud.*, *XVII*, 1897, p. 14, no. 32.
- Sporade of THERA. *Κοινὸν ἀνδρείου τῶν συγγενῶν*, *CIG*, 2448.
- City, Isle of PATMOS. Union of torch or flambeau or torch-bearers; *το κοινὸν τῶν λαμπαδιστῶν*, *Dittenberger Sylloge*, no. 402.
- City of COS. Union of fellow journeymen purveyors: *Τὰ κοινὸν τῶν τιμηπορομένων παρ Δια Ύέττιον*. Paton and Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, no. 382.
- City of NISYROS. Unions of self-serving plenty. *Πάνια κοινὰ ἐν Νισύρῳ: Ἐρμαίζοντες, Ἀφροδισιασταὶ Σύροι*, etc., *Athen. Mitth.*, *XV*, 1890, no. 131. Also a union of Breakfasters who consecrated to Hermes: *Frühstücksgesellschaft αναριστιῶν*, *Hillers. Wochenschrift für classische Philologie*, 1896, column 80.
- Isle of SYME. Unions of *Ἀδωνιασταὶ, Ἀφροδισιασταὶ καὶ Ἀσκληπιασταὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀύλαις, Ἱπρωῖσταὶ καὶ Οἰακισταὶ*. Le Bas, *III*, 301.

Island of RHODES.

- Unions of Dtonysan artists and playwrights: *Bull. Hell.*, *X*, 1886, p. 203 and see *index; Corpus Inscr. Græc.*, Insularum, 1.
- The labor organizations of RHODES are too numerous to mention. Among the sixty or seventy different unions known by their inscriptions to have existed in the island of RHODES, and said by Isocrates in his *Panegyric*, to have been planted there by Æschines, after his persecution at Athens by Demosthenes, are found the unions of *θεασῶται* at:
- City of KAMIRUS. *Ἐρανισταὶ*, nos. 102, 736, 938; unions of soldiers, *στρατευσάμενοι*, *id.*, 41, 43, 75, 163, 101, 107. Also many unions of sailors, boatmen, ferrymen, longshoremen, freight-handlers, bag-carriers, etc.

Island of CYPRUS.

- Union of stowers of odnes, *θιάσος τῆς ἀποσκευῆς*; union of sweetmeats makers (doubtful), *θιάσος τῶν ἡδυλλίων*; several others, *Athen. Mitth.*, *IX*, 1884, p. 137, no. 8; union of hunters, *κυνηγοί*. *CIG*, 2614.
- City of SALAMIS. Union of farm laborers in Le Bas, *III*, 2757, 2786.
- City of AMFISOS in PAPHLIGONIA, Asia Minor, Union of *ἐταιραὶ*, mentioned by Pliny, *Eranos. X, Epist.*, 93, 94.
- City of NICOMEDIA, BITHYNIA. Union of *ἀρχιμύστης*. *CIG*, 3773.
- City of POMPEIULPOLIS. Union of tool-dressers, tool-makers, and tool-keepers, *θιάσος ξυστων*, *CIG*, 4155.
- City of PRUSIAS on the Hypsios, union of Masons, *ξυστική καὶ θυμηλική σύνοδος*. Perrot, *Exploration*, p. 31, no. 21.
- City of CYZICIUS. Union of women honoring Artemis. Union of *κνοσουρεῖται*, *Monatschrift, Ber. Akad.*, 1874, p. 2, no. 1. *Θεραπευταὶ θεραπευτῶν* in honor of Serapis and Isis, *Rev. Arch.*, *LXXVIII*, 1879, p. 258. Union of bag-carriers, *σακκοφόροι*, *Athen. Mitth.*, *VI*, 1881, p. 125, no. 8. Union of woolworkers, *γροφεῖς*, *Athen. Mitth.*, *VII*, 1882, p. 252, no. 19. Union doing business in the fisheries consisting of 15 persons, with a *ξυσταρχῆς*. *CIG*, 3678. *Athen. Mitth.*, *X*, 1885, p. 205. They were connected with the tolls.
- City of PANORMOS. Union of bag-carriers on the quays. *σακκοφόροι λιμενῖται*. *Σύλλογος*, *VIII*, 1873, p. 171.
- City of AEGYDOS. Unions of tent-makers, house-builders and farm laborers, *οἱ σκηνεῖται, καὶ ἐργασταὶ*. Le Bas, *III*, 1743^b; *δομοτέκτων*, Le Bas, *III*, 1743^a.
- City of SIGEION. Union of brass and metal-workers, braziers, *συμβίωσις τῶν χαλχῶν*, *CIG*, 3639^{add}.
- City of PERGAMOS. Union of cattlemen, *βουκόλοι*, Fränkel, *Inchriften von Pergomen*, *I*, 222; *II*, 485, 486-488. Cable and cord-makers, *σπειρα*, *id.*, *II*, 319, 320, union of musicians.

have prevailed. We must here end the list of labor unions in our extended note. Only one or two could have space for mention in each town, although in some places are found as many as one hundred.

The foregoing list only proves how enormously organized were the ancient working people, even as far back as Romulus. This vast trade unionism was almost as early met by another organization, the standing armies.

Nor did trade unionism go down until the middle of the fourth century of our era. Early in that century it met its death-blow in the great massacre of Diocletian, and even his conspiracy against it could not have availed but for the imperial organization of a tyrant's soldiery. We give this unprecedented horror in full in our last chapter.

And yet the modern newspaper and stump speaker tell us in gross and inexcusable ignorance, if not with misleading design, that most great movements have been without organization! It is a falsehood!

Organization, mostly that of trade unionism has been at the helm of all great movements toward the enfranchisement of the laboring people of the world. Organization of kings and of men at the control of money honors and power, has always been and still is, at the helm of standing armies and other weapons of the laborers' destruction.

Another frightful record is, that when their beautiful organization was cut down by a conspiracy of monarchs, millionaires and prelates, humanity swooned away and fell into the world's dark age of feudalism.

Province of ÆOLIS.

CITY of CYME. Union of inscribers, registration clerks, *ἐπιγραφαί Bull Hell., VII, 1888, p. 368, no.16.*

CITY of SMYRNA. Unions of silversmiths, *συνεργασία τῶν ἀργυρκόπων, CIG., 3154; also id., χρυσοχόων goldsmiths. Union of carriers or porters συμβίωσις τῶν φορτηγῶν. Amer. Journ. of Archæol., I., 1885, p. 141; union of fishermen, συνεργασία τῶν κυρτοβόλων, Le Bas, III, 248. Union of Athletæ.*

A great many others are likewise registered.

CHAPTER IX.

SOLOMONISM IN OUR ERA.

THE WORLD UNDER ITS INFLUENCE.

SKETCH from A.D. 1 to 363—The Burial Attachment—Eranos at Jerusalem—The Kurios—Legalized Boss over Each Union—Peremptory Provision of Law—Was Dictator and Lord—Misunderstanding regarding Him—Plan of Salvation—Early Mutilation and Covering of Facts—When they first began to Display Secret Principles before the World—Always had Common Table—Macedonia Alive with them—Deacons—Originally only Table Waiters—Unions of Deacons or Table Waiters—Secret Common Eating Houses—Worked in the Prytaneum—Lydia of Thyateira an officer in Dyers' Guild—How and where Converted—Gravestone of Menippus found—Therapeutæ were Regular Business Guilds—Many in the Cities of the Seven Churches—Proof in their own Chiselings—Eranos and Thiasos alike—Unions of the Heteræ—Clandius Drove them from Rome—Union of Gold-beaters—Bakers of Philadelphia—Fishers—Labor Unions Worshiped Imaginary Saviour—Ground All Mellow for One when He Came—List of various Messiahs—Karl Marx Right in Treating Religion as a Consequent and not as a Cause—Shipping Business of the Unions—Degraded by Taint of Labor—Ox-drivers' Union—Lucian's Ridicule—Cotton and Linen Industry—Phrygian Bag-Carriers—Called themselves Holy Union of Bag-carriers—Sacred Union of Cotton Spinners—Of Wool Workers—Of Crimson Dye Makers—All in the Cities of the Seven Churches—Object, To better their Circumstances—Consecrations—Building Trades—Valuable Find of a Sepulchre with Glyphics of a Masons' Brotherhood Converted to Christianity, but Concealing the Fact for Fear of the Roman Law—Time of Paul—Celebrated C.I.G. 3857 t—Dr. Oehler's Contribution—Splendid Find of the Shoemakers of Shoemakers' Street—Their Colony, a Church of the Temple of Cybele on the Acropolis of Kelainæ—Dr. Ramsay's explorations—Marble Workers of Apameia—Christianized Unions of Flaviapolis in Cilicia—No Eleemosynary Charity Existed—All under the Veil of Initiation Furnished with work—Be-

ginning of Persecutions with Crippling Laws Against Their—Stretch of the Solonic Unions to Britain—Havoc of the Council of Laodicea—Canon Preserved that Suppressed the Work of Solon—Quotation—The Singing and Enjoyment Receive their Death Stroke—All Elements of Socialism Expunged by Prelates—Monastic Orders and Tyranny of Prelate Power Supervened—Ghastly Consequence in Feudal System—The World fell into a Millennial Swoon.

IN our last chapter we gave a review of the economic associations under which the useful factor of the human race used to produce inscriptions, showing that they were organized from B. C. 600, down to the beginning of our era and that this organization had existed in all probability from a much higher antiquity than Solon, although the Solonic law which made it free under a *jus coeundi*, is the first source of our information.

It remains now to explain its existence and power to a considerably later date. During the earlier part of this period its influence was enormously felt, especially for the first two hundred years. As in the first long period of 700 years, covered by our last chapter, so in the succeeding period covered by this, reaching to 363, the date of the suppression by the Council of Laodicea, of the common table and the communal code on which the Solonic dispensation rested, the organizations were rather economic than religious. All traces, whether by inscriptional, or other literary record, point to this. As Mommsen says,¹ they used the guise of religion to secure to themselves the right of continuing their associations which, at about the time covered by this author, were seriously threatened; for the Senate was moved to break them up. This guise of religion answered as a cloak. Their real object was always the economic one, because they could better succeed in their terrible struggle for existence by being organized together as a mutual fraternity.

We shall begin at the year 33 or 34, with the great society at Jerusalem having a membership of 3,000 which Dr. Oehler characterizes as a species of thiasus, or perhaps an *eranos* having the burial attachment like a large

¹ Mommsen, *De Colligiis et Sodalicis Romanorum*, p. 87; "Ipsa illa simulata religio senatum promovit ut jus coeundi tollerat."

number he has furnished us from Asia Minor, and like the Roman collegium funeraticium,² the same with a burial attachment legalizing the whole business of the union. The society of Jerusalem deserves to be described from an economic point of view. This is an honor it never had. We pass over the sacred story and look at it in a plain practical way.

The fact is, that soon after the crucifixion—a hideous and cruel transaction, altogether useless and unreasonable—a reaction of the poorer common people set in. There was already a secret society of which Jesus appears to have been elected the kurios, dictator, quinquennalis or president. That it was an economic society like thousands of others existing at that moment all over the pro-consular regions of the then vast empire, following the requirements of the Solonic law, there can be no doubt entertained by the true student of these now historical facts.

This society had resolved to bring out into the open world the principles upon which it was secretly founded, leading to the salvation of the people from the brutal cruelties of the dominant power of money, greed and royalty.

We find few if any inscriptions of this scene; what makes it historically known to us is the report of Luke, in his history of the Acts of the Apostles. Here we are fortunate enough to have a detailed account. To the increasing mass of atheists and unbelievers who, because this original and rough plan of salvation failed, now deride the whole transaction as a fiction, we can only say that it is to all outside appearances, apart from the religious gloze which is largely a subterfuge of priestcraft, as good and as reliable history as that of Thucydides, Polybius or Livy. At any rate it is ancient, disinterested and straightforward; and for this alone, deserves to be studied with sober judgment and scrutinized under the searching lens of comparative evidence; since the more it is subjected to this, the more it will be found to com-

² Oehler, *MSS. to the author*, speaking of the care of the society in regard to preservation of graves, says: "Wir finden aber Verschiedenheiten in der Art und Weise, wie die einzelnen Vereine diese Sorge bethätigen, vgl. Schiess, *Über die Römischen Collegia Funeraticia*, 1, durch Beistellung des Grabes selbst . . . Wir sehen auch in der ersten Christengemeinde die Sorge für die Bestattung ihrer verstorbenen Genossen: *Acta Apost.*, V., 6. *Ἀναστάντες δὲ οἱ νεώτεροι συνήρτησαν αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐξενέγκαντες εἶψαν.* Cf. 9, 10.

port and harmonize with the enormous mass of hitherto unseen, but irrefutable evidence of their own chiselings upon the stones, all over the world, at that auspicious moment.

The historian who recorded this important and most interesting narrative is supposed to have been Luke, a man of culture, speaking Greek as well as Hebrew, and a member of one of these organizations. He was undoubtedly a *kurios* or presiding officer of much dignity for he is spoken of by other writers as having written homilies; besides he afterwards accompanied Paul in his peregrinations among distant people agitating and building up the principles, and there are found several important inscriptions touching his life.

This narrative is too little understood and valued. Ministers of religion override this important episode in our religious history. It is to the effect that the hitherto slumbering thiasos at Jerusalem, the very same Paul and Barnabas afterwards in time of famine, so generously and so bravely transported provisions and money to, from far off Asian unions of the same widespread brotherhoods, was enormously revived by the martyrdom of the master. On the day of Pentecost³ all the members including the Twelve⁴ who had been selected as the special promulgators, were gathered in their "house." The boldness of the disciples had been greatly increased by this outrage of martyrdom; besides this, large numbers of people had been converted to their plan of Salvation.

Any person who wishes may read what this plan was, although the necessary secrecy as to the doings of the initiates rendered it wise for the historian to cover his words with a religious tinge, because the law of Rome, known as the *lex Licinia*, required it. One must read

³ Dr. Ochler thinks it the same as any other thiasos with funeral attachment, and refers to Acts, V., 6, 9 and 10.

⁴ "Δώδεκα." There can be no longer any question as to whether the unions of about this period were in the habit of sending out such delegates, independently of, and anterior to, the celebrated one at Jerusalem. We have several strange inscriptions on which are registered one point or another, of the *δωδεκα*. Collitz, *Diablen-schrift*, No. 3051 shows a *θίασος* at Chalcedony, (Χαλκεδών); it is an inscription referring to a *κοινὸν Νικομάχειον*; The reading refers to the priesthood of the "δωδεκα θεοί." It appears to be of about the first century. No one can, as yet decipher sufficiently to know the particulars. The Δώδεκα are mentioned in quite a number of other inscriptions of purely pagan surroundings, and it is now well known that many societies had their *εὐαγγελιστής*, or evangelist, long before Christ, as a regular officer.

between the lines. With this caution one sees that there was a common table at which all the initiated members sat. The St. James translation commits a sad error, whether intentional or not it would be difficult to say, in making a vagary of a straightforward clause of the 45th verse of the second chapter of the Acts, in saying that those who joined "sold their possessions and goods and parted them to *all* men."⁵ The original of Luke did not say this at all; it said they distributed the good things among *all*—the 3,000 members he is speaking of, being most unequivocally understood. This English translation is so misleading as to spoil the reader's comprehension. He would glean, by the insidiously interpolated italicized *all*, that the historian intended to say the great world at large! Nothing could be more stupidly, we fear to say dishonestly false. The goods brought into the union were carefully distributed among the thousands who formed the membership; and we shall take the Greek Bible at its word.⁶

Such a prodigious *thiasos* thus proved to have an economical object at base, must, following the natural course of things, be supplied with a board of direction consisting of eminent business men.

The fact is, they soon got into trouble. They had for the first time in the whole career of the Solonic dispensation, burst their bonds of secrecy, so far as their advocacy of salvation went, and begun to parade their principles to the open world. Here, then, was a new function bursting upon the skeptical, requiring all their talent, and in another sphere. It became necessary, therefore to have a group of business men. Another trouble they encountered was the complaint that some female mem-

⁵ Acts, II., 40, 41, 42, 43, 44. In the Phrygian inscriptions the mode of initiation of members into a *θίασος* or a *κοινών* was by baptism. The same was practiced here. In verse 40 the uninitiated were exhorted to save themselves from the bad, the dishonest, the crooks, "*γενεάς τῆς σκολιάς*," generation that was crooked, for they were in great danger. One of their number had been crucified by them, and there was great fear; so verse 43 assures us: "*Ἐγένετο δὲ πάσῃ ψυχῇ φόβος*." As to the initiation it is shown by verse 41: "*Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀσμεύως ἀποδεξάμενοι τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθησαν*," κ. τ. λ. The 44th verse plainly shows that in point of common table and community goods, the society we are here describing patterned exactly after those of Dirksen, having a common table and communal code: "*Πάντες δὲ οἱ πιστεύοντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ εἶχον ἅπαντα κοινά*" κ. τ. λ. The unions in Phrygia and Greek-speaking regions of the world, called *θίασοι*, were mostly trade unions; this one at Jerusalem seems to have been one of the kind known in our times as mixed, or unions of mixed trades.

⁶ *Id.*, 45, "*Καὶ τὰ κτήματα καὶ τὰς ὑπάρξεις ἐπίπρασκον, καὶ διεμερίζον αὐτὰ πᾶσι, καθότι ἂν τις χρεῖαν εἶχε*." This means plainly that the organization receiving the good things, divided them among the membership according to each one's wants.

bers from Asia Minor were being slighted or crowded aside by the others, and there arose a grievance.

They must accordingly, appoint several strictly business men who were members, and the chairman of this committee was Stephen the proto-martyr. We are fortunate in being so well informed about this episode of the life of the thiasos at Jerusalem. Stephen, a name signifying in good Greek, a crown, or a person crowned, may not at his nomination have careered under this title; for after the awful tragedy which terminated his life they honored him among their immortals with a crown of glory bought by faithful martyrdom. Stephen was an Asian Greek, with a business capacity which, with his aids, every one of whom is named in the history of Luke, soon rectified the difficulty, regulating the distribution of food at the common table. This success brought upon him and the society, the ire and vengeance of the great speculating provision ring of Jerusalem. These organized profit mongers could not make money by charging consumers high prices for goods they had gotten at a low rate. Just as a similar set of speculators recently attacked the similar organization at Rochdale in England and still undermine and freeze out co-operative provision stores everywhere, so did the speculating ring-leaders of Jerusalem, burning with jealousy, energetic in their vengeance, desperate and obstinate in their greed, rave and bluster and bear down against the successful mastership of Stephen and his business-like committee. This committee with ready money flowing into a common fund could buy at wholesale from producers outside of Jerusalem all the provisions for their 3,000 members, have it conveyed directly to their co-operative kitchen without even halting at the shambles of the speculator. Without doubt this is what caused the rebellion against Stephen, and compassed his destruction. Only a short time before, the Founder of this same society, punished the iniquity of those money-grabbing speculators who had the effrontery to monopolize the sacred temple of Jerusalem. When thinkers grow in judgment and rise to the dignity of socialism and the labor problem, it will easily be seen that this celebrated attack upon the speculators in coins and doublers of values of a thousand commodities and necessities of life whom this strange man drove from their immoral traffic, was

engaged in the economic task of a true political economist; and we can find nothing in the annals of that personage, or his plans and organization, disproving that he was engaged in a work of instituting an improved scheme of political economy and plan of salvation for which he suffered as Stephen suffered, and through whose suffering the deep foundations of socialism were laid.

The foregoing is here intended merely as one example in thousands of associations which existed at that moment all over Rome and her pro-consular dependencies, Judæa included.

In that very hour we find by their inscriptions, many others. In the Isle of Cyprus there was a union of agricultural laborers.⁷ Recorded in the great body of Greek inscriptions there are multitudes of tablets showing that societies with a similar object existed in great numbers.⁸ There is coming to light fresh evidence that Macedonia was thoroughly supplied with these societies at the time Paul was busy at Philippi doing his celebrated evangelical work.⁹

Numberless curiosities of about these times are unearthed, among which are unions of the deacons.¹⁰ As we understand this word it is very misleading, for deacon or diaconus was the Greek word for waiter.¹¹ And the original deacons at the prytanean common table of the official state were not only waiters but also menials and their work as waiters was a trade in furtherance of which they were organized.

The unions of purple dyers of the time of the Advent were numerous. As many as seventy-five slabs are already preserved in the various museums and private collections. At Hierapolis, Thyateira, Ephesus, and other cities of the Seven Churches they were especially abundant and thrifty. Lydia and Menippus, Christian char-

⁷ Le Bas, III., 2757, 2786: Κοινὸν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν τασσομένων Κρητῶν.

⁸ CIG., 2529: "Ἰερὰ σύνοδος ἐς Νέμεα καὶ Ἰλυθία" It was for a time supposed that the Roman conquests had destroyed all the organizations; but this is a mistake. No. 3308 CIG., is an epitaph to a member of an eranos.

⁹ Heuzy and Dammet, *Mission Archéol.*, p. 329, no. 133: Ἰπρακλῆ θεῶ μεγίστω Μελέαγρος τοῖς συνδιασίταις.

¹⁰ Oehler, *MS.*, no. 97, p. 28: "Hier anzuschliessen ist wohl auch das κοινὸν τῶν διακόνων in Ambrakia, (IGr., 1*00.)"

¹¹ See Liddell, *Dict.*, in v. Διάκονος. "A servant, a waiting-man or woman. . . . from διά κόρος, one who is dusty from running, cf., ἐγκονεῖα." Thus our church deacons were originally, and even at the time of Paul and Peter, waiters; and Lüder. *Donys, Künst.*, shows that some inscriptions mention them as lowly, hard working table waiters and menials, trailed in the dust by the taint of toil. This originated our deacons.

acters, of whom we reserve more elaborate mention in a future chapter, were members and influential business agents of the purple dyers' trade organization of Thyateira, one of the cities of the Seven Churches.¹²

During the early Christian period, even before the crucifixion, the Dionysan Therapeutæ are known by their mysterious and silent chiselings, to have been numerous. Recent examinations of the inscriptions have revealed that they were unions of working people organized for the purpose of helping each other in obtaining food. The story that they were confined to the island of Moeroes near Alexandria and that they were there only as philosophical cranks, with a sole purpose of mumbling religious rituals and feeding with vegetarian abstemiousness, excluding the pleasures of the world, is proved to be false. They existed not only in Egypt, but also in Jerusalem where they were hand in hand with the Essenes, and were also mysteriously numerous in many parts of Asia Minor.¹³

The hetæra¹⁴ was a species of trade union of those times that was made celebrated by Pliny the younger in the time of the emperor Trajan, who, seeing the advantages to the hard-pressed workers in the province of Bithynia, Asia Minor where he was governor, tried to obtain permission from the emperor to organize one. This permission was refused. The society of hetærae of those times has been much defamed. In Pliny's case it is a trade union. As governor, he had to persecute them because they had turned Christian. So everywhere we find it always to be an organization of mechanics. Although Oehler is of the opinion that the thiasos

¹² An epigraph discovered at Mount Athos, and published, Duchesne-Bayet, *Mémoire sur une Mission au Mount Athos*, p. 52, no. 83, shows that the *συνήδρια τῶν πορφυροβάφων* in Thessalouica honored Menippos, a purple dyer from Thyateira, with a monument at his grave. Menippos, an early Christian, is spoken of in the Apocryphal writings; Lydia was an agent for the sale of stuffs manufactured at the guild of *πορφυροβοφοί* of Thyateira, the same who was converted by Paul.

¹³ Oehler, *MSS.*, no. 58, 72, p. 25: "Die Gebräuchlichen Bezeichnung war: Οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίται. In der Kaiserzeit wird der Kaiser als Διόνυσος hinzugefügt, wie in Inschriften von Kypros die Ägyptischen Könige neben Διόνυσος genannt werden.

¹⁴ Very little difference existed between the Therapeutæ and the Hetærae. The *θεραπευταί* of Alexandria had Isis, while those of Asia Minor had Cybele for their mother protectress; but the two were about one and the same. See *Isis und Serapis—Kultus in Klein Asien*, *Wiener Numismat. Zeitschrift*, xxi., 1879, p. 1, 234; Lafarge. *Histoire du Culte des Divinités*. Oehler says: "Im Dienste dieser Gottheit stehen auch die *θεραπευταί* und *μελανοφοροί*." Therapeutæ left their inscriptions at Corcyra and Thebes, CIG., 2484. Also in Athens; *Διονύσου θεραπευταί*, *Mith.*, xvii., 1892, p. 272.

was the key-word of the various trade and labor unions of those times yet we are disposed to think that this term *hetæra* was one which as nearly voiced the popular idea as any other.¹⁵ As eminent an authority as Dion Cassius characterized the *eranos* and the *hetæra* as being alike.¹⁶ It is not until recently that scholars have awakened to a knowledge of this and it is fresh proof that Oehler is right when he regards all the principal unions as one under the Solonic system.

In the building trades of Pergamus the *hetæra* were organized into trades of masons with architects and bricklayers and they had a full set of officers and men. Cyprus is also found in some manner to have had unions of the building trades in a flourishing condition.¹⁷ The towns of Attica and Macedonia, such as Megara contained unions of the *hetæra*. A stone found here indicates a union of people who had regular monthly meetings at which they enjoyed a sort of banquet in common.¹⁸ The *hetæra* were working people organized into various trades and professions. Sometimes we find them as coral workers. This was their trade in Lydia and Thyateira, where just at the dawn of our era they were making little gods, goddesses and other images of coral, which had a ready sale among the pagans as ornaments for their apartments, temples, *lararia* and other select places; so much so that later, when Christianity planted into and captured them and protested against image worship, it caused the war of the iconoclasts. The workers could not afford to lose their business and be turned into the highways to starve and they rebelled.¹⁹ The new Testament story of Paul and Demetrius comes in here for a solution.

But the *hetæra* as organized unions are celebrated

¹⁵ See *infra*, *index* in v. *Pliny, Letters*, pointing to pages where a convincing proof is given, including the letters of Pliny to Trajan and also the emperor's answer.

¹⁶ Dion Cassius, xxxviii., 13, says: "Τὰ ἑταιρικὰ κολλήγια ἐπιχωρίως καλούμενα." Savigny, *Système des heutigen Römischen Rechts*, II., p. 260, sq. confirms it. Oehler, as we have shown *supra*, p. 296, note 46, has told us this conclusively.

¹⁷ CIG., 3545, 3546; Fränkel, *Inskriften von Pergamon*, II., 333, of the time of Hadrian, and of course they were there at the time of Christ.

¹⁸ In Abydos was found an inscription showing a *δομοτέκτης*, and his *ἔργεπύκτης*, Le Bas, III., 1743. Athen, *Mith.* IV., 1881, p. 227. A gravestone marked Ἀρισταίνετος Ἀρισταίνετου δομοτέκτων."

¹⁹ CIA. II., 1139; Willhelm, *Arch. Epigr. Mith. aus Oesterreich*, xvii., 1894, p. 45; Ziebarth, p. 38. There were the Ἐικαδισταί, which we conjecture to be the image makers, although there is another and meaningless interpretation.

in the histories of the great authors. Josephus refers to them in his much studied passages, and Dion Cassius says Claudius drove them out of Rome.²⁰ Thus under this name they were numerous, and flourished as trade unions during the time of Christ and we now know they assisted in the evangelizing journeys of Paul, all over Asia Minor. We have two inscriptions under the name *hetæra*: one a union at Palmyra, of the trade of gold and silver workers; the other from Smyrna.²¹ There was a union of tailors,²² several of the shoemakers and of the bakers at Philadelphia and Thyateira, and the discovery of monumental evidence of the bakers' strike at Magnesia of which, so much as we know, we have already given in a previous chapter. It happened at or near the time of Christ.²³ Others made coral shrines.²⁴

In these Asiatic cities, celebrated as being the cradle of the seven churches, teeming with organized industries of various trades, we find many highly interesting things. Numerous unions of fishermen are found in their inscriptions. Even the methods of taking members' dues and fees are shown.²⁵ A very Billingsgate is unearthed at Ephesus, another of the seven cities. The business of the fishery, which in this populous country was great, was conducted by unions of the fishing trade, and scenes such as are common near Blackfriars bridge were constantly going on at Ephesus, Smyrna and Antioch. At Cyzicus there was found an inscription showing a thiasos of fishermen who held a consecration to Poseidon and Aphrodite. In Pessinus a thiasos of fisher-

²⁰ Josephus, *Antiquities*, vii., 2: "Ἦσαν δ' ἐκ τῶν παρῴκων οὓς Δαυίδος καταλελοίπει . . . τῶν δὲ λατομούντων ὀκτάκις μύριοι τουτῶν δ' ἐπιστάται τρισχίλιοι καὶ τριακόσιοι." Again Dion Cassius speaks of them: LX., 6, 6: Τοὺς τε Ἰουδαίους—οὐκ ἐξήλασε μὲν, τῷ δὲ δὴ πατρίῳ νόμῳ βίῳ χρωμένους ἐκέλευσε μὴ συναθροίζεσθαι. Τὰς τε ἑταιρείας ἐπαναχθείσας ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαίου διέλυσε." This was in the time of Claudius who attacked the unions.

²¹ CIG., 3154 *Smyrna*. "Συνεργασία τῶν ἀργυροκόπων καὶ χρυσοχόων." Le Bas, III., 2602, *Palmyra*, "συντελεία τῶν χρυσοχῶν καὶ ἀργυροκόπων." In Perinthus, another: "Μωκιανὸς ἀργυροτέχης." *Mitht.* of Dr. Kalinkas.

²² Ἐταιρία. Thyateira ἱματενόμενοι, CIG., 3480. The one found at Philadelphia is "Οἱ τῆν σκυτικὴν τεχνὴν ἐργαζόμενοι, Athen., *Mitht.*, XI., 1886, p. 282. In Philadelphia also was a ἑταιρία of shoemakers: Ἴερα φυλὴ τῶν σκυτέων, Le Bas, III., 656; and many others.

²³ CIG., 3495^t Ἐταιρία τῶν ἀρτοκόπων. Union of Bakers. See *supra*, p. 84.

²⁴ Κοραλλιοπλασταί. There was such a union of coral workers found in Magnesia on the Siphylus, registered in CIG., 3438. There has been some dispute among the savants regarding the coral workers. All however, agree that they were organized unionists. The coral they worked was sometimes the beautiful and rare blood red quality and very precious.

²⁵ Oehler, *Eranos Vindobonensis*, p. 279: "Ἐράνος κυρτοβολῶν. Hierapolis. Der ἀρχὼνης der Genossenschaft in Hierapolis, Le Bas, III., 741, wird wohl richtig als Einnehmer der Beiträge der mitglieder erklärt."

men, manufactured fishermen's nets and baskets and probably all articles of supply for that trade.²⁶

Independently of our Christianity there were hundreds of synods. A synodos in those days was a brotherhood of working people having an economical object of mutual help. At Alexandria there was found a slab showing a synod of this kind.²⁷ Organizations of flute players are found everywhere, not only in Asia but in Rome; and there is abundant evidence that they were largely employed by the government.²⁸ But these will be treated later.

The organizations of work people devoted to a saviour were innumerable. They abounded at Ephesus, Athens, Smyrna, Philippi, Thessalonica and numberless cities of Asia Minor where industries flourished. Many times they chose as their ideal presiding divinity some one or another of the mythical creatures supposed to be forever on guard watching the interests of their peculiar trade: they had Sabazios, Dionysus, Apollo, Baal, Attys, Serapis, Saturn representing the male; and Artemis, Cybele, Bona-Dea, Minerva, Isis, Nemesis, and others representing the female principle; and they adopted and adored one or another of them as their tutelary saviour. This was the ancient origin of saviours and messiahs and it lasted until superseded by the Messiah or Saviour of our era.

We have shown the terrible condition in which the laboring class was placed, in previous chapters. The worship of such an august dignitary as they believed their chosen god or goddess to be, gave great comfort and hope to their primitive minds. There was sometimes a jealous rivalry among the living dignitaries of the earth to be held in this esteem by the common people. Nero is said to have had the arrogance to assume himself a divinity and at Smyrna ordered that the people erect a shrine to him, which effrontery was treated with abhorrence.²⁹

²⁶ Oehler, *MSS. to the author*, speaking of this, says; Es "mögen hier angefügt werden die societates welche mit der Fischerei oder der Abgabe von Fischfange zu thun hatten. In Ephesos finden wir *οί επί τῷ τελώνιον τῆς ἰχθυικῆς πράγματευσόμενοι*, Hermes, IV., 1870, p. 187."

²⁷ CIG. 4684d: "Σύνοδος, "Τοῖς μένουσιν ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ." Again at Athens: *τῇ ἱερᾷ συνόδῳ*; the holy synod. *Mitth.*, IX., 1884, p. 74. Dr. Ramsay, *Cil. and Bish. Phryg.*, points out dozens of them.

²⁸ Orelli, No. 1803. "Numini domus Augustorum victoriam sacram genio collegii tibicinum Romanorum Q. S. P. S. : ie: *qui sacris publicis praesto sunt.*"
²⁹ It is believed by some to be Christian.

We mention the curious facts of the saviours or soters, common in those times because their story is so frequently told in the inscriptions of the working people. There was the Phrygian Attys.³⁰ This whole episode of the messianic intercessor seems on a closer scrutiny to be the lugubrious wail of woe coming up from the tortured classes of mankind who were victimized and were struggling in the vortex of the compulsory devotion. Karl Marx may be right in treating of religion as a consequent and not a cause.³¹ In fact, there is abundant excuse for the downtrodden, delving plodders who have peopled this earth under the dreadful circumstances of their impoverishment and degradation even if we find them groping in quest of an imagined immortal supposed in their despair to be powerful enough to rescue them. Their own suffering gave birth to a thousand saviours. Prometheus was a man-god and saviour.³²

Dionysus was one of their most powerful saviours; and we mean by this the *Dionysos Neos*, worshiped by the entire membership of the vast international organization of artists of which so much has lately come to light that the archaeologists are now busy with the study of their amazing numbers and trade organizations. This was the Dionysus *Kathegemon*, or "Forerunner." We shall devote a chapter to them as we proceed. This Dionysus we mean, is not the aristocrat referred to by Cicero,³³ although his third reference seems to be the Dionysus who was the saviour of the poor. That Cicero got hold correctly of the legend of Dionysus as descended from the Kabiri, in his third number, we have proof in the inscriptions found on the Island of Rhodes.

It is useless to attempt to numerate the unions repre-

²⁹ Smith, *Bible Dictionary*, art. *Smyrna*; "Nero appears in the inscriptions as σωτήρ τοῦ συμπάντος ἀνθρωπείου γένους."

³⁰ Doane, *Bible Myths*, p. 223, "He was one of the 'slain ones' who rose to life again, on the 25th of March, or the Hilaria, or primitive Easter." See Brunswick's *Egyptian Belief*, p. 169; Higgins, *Anacalypsis*, p. 99.

³¹ *Critique de la Philosophie du Droit de Hegel*, p. 2; "La religion est le soupir de la créature opprimée."

³² Chambers' *Encyclopædia*, Art. *Prometheus*: "An immortal god; a friend of the human race who does not shrink from sacrificing himself for their salvation."

³³ *De Natura Deorum*, III., 23: II., 25, 5, 8; "Dionysus multos habemus: primum Jove et Prosperina natum; secundum Nilo qui Nysam dicitur condidisse; tertium Cabiro patre, eumque regem Asiæ præfuisse dicunt, cui Sabazia sunt instituta; quartum Jove et Luna, cui sacra Orphica putantur confici, quintum Niso natum et Thyone, a quo Trieterides constitutæ putantur." Again, Apulejus, *De Gen.*, p. 49; "Ægyptia numina gaudent plangoribus, Græca choreis, barbara strepitu cymbalistarum et tympanistarum et cæularum." Cf. Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, p. 69.

senting all classes of business, who in those days worshiped an imagined saviour. Their important history would be lost had they not been addicted to the custom of inscribing their doings upon blocks of stone. The messiahs and pagan saviours are thousands in number.

At Magnesia and a number of the Asiatic towns there were coral workers who had unions.³⁴ These may have been an element of resistance against Christianity, as was the case of Demetrius at Ephesus, who presided over the unions of image makers manufacturing trinkets which they were selling for a good living profit to the people. Luke speaks of them as the goldsmiths, at the time Paul was preaching at Ephesus. They attacked him violently, because the new faith repudiated all manner of images. The coral workers also made trinkets for the shrines of the rich who worshiped pagan gods. These corals were of the beautiful blood red variety. In the course of time this Christian interference with the unions who produced idols called forth such a powerful resistance that it became a great movement culminating in the wars of the iconoclasts.

It is very interesting to observe the shipping business as conducted by the unions under the Solonic law. There was an especial clause providing for the laboring people who obtained a living in the boating commerce.³⁵ We find as a consequence, great numbers of unions not only in Italy where they carried on the principal part of that class of business, but also in Greece, Macedonia, the islands, and Asia Minor. They seem to have all been directed by the same law.

Let us begin with the poorest laborers of all, the longshoremen who contracted to load and unload vessels. Upon the island of Chios have been found relics of their organizations as well as in many other places.

Egypt furnished its quota of seafaring organizations Dr. Oehler in his manuscript contributions to the author

³⁴ CIG., 3408, *Κοραλλιοπλασταί*, an organization of coral workers at Magnesia. Also in Smyrna these tradesmen were united into unions, Alciphron, I., 39; Herscher, *Epistolograph.*, *Græc.*, p. 44, where they are designated as *κοράλλια*.

³⁵ *Inscr. Gr. Ins.*, I., 41: "Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν μετ' αὐτῶν συνστρατευσαμένων, a consecration to the Σωτήρες, i.e. the Kabiri (old Pelasgian divinities who generated the νέος Διόνυσος); No. 43, id.: "Σαμοθρακισταὶ καὶ Λημνιασταὶ οἱ συνστρατευσάμενοι τὸ κοινόν;" again, no. 75: "Ἰδιασθητῶν συνστρατευσάμενοι τὸ κοινόν." Several others are quoted. Their saviour was this Διόνυσος no. 3, to whom they devoted their consecrations. It was just about the time of Christ's life on earth. Twenty or thirty are found at Rhodes. CIG., 3165, sqq.

has given us assurance of this, and he likewise reminds us of those at Delos. It should be remembered that Delos during the rage of the Roman conquests was the greatest slave mart of the ancient world.³⁶

The evidence of the organizations of shipping, boat-ing and carrying commerce is overwhelming. No one has with greater assiduity than Dr. Oehler, undertaken the collection of these inscriptions letting light into the true inner history of the lowly of mankind.

We now come to an enumeration of the various trades practiced strictly under the *jus coeundi* of Solon's dispensation, such as these frequently found in Asia Minor, including oxdrivers whom even Lucian respects.³⁷

There was a society of bag-carriers, inscriptions of one of which of the age of the Apostles, have been found at Cyzicus, a city in Phrygia.

The trades in cotton and linen have, in the same manner transmitted to us some history. They are found at Hierapolis, Philadelphia, Ephesus, in Corcyus, and various places in Cilicia, Lycia, Phrygia; and the towns among whose ruins the expeditions are digging for them are Tralleis, Anazarba, Miletos, Myra and Heracilia, besides Philadelphia and the other more celebrated places already mentioned. The Body of Grecian Inscriptions contains an organization of cotton, linen and wool workers which was flourishing about the time of Christ, at Hierapolis, and another at Philadelphia, both of which afterwards became celebrated cities of the seven churches.³⁸ In fact nearly all of Phrygia was a hot-bed of organized trades, and this is the reason for Diocletian's sweeping massacre there. Dr. Oehler, has recently mentioned an interesting find at Corcyra, which shows that their organizations extended far and wide. In Cilicia, near the old town of Corcyus, an inscription has been found, showing brotherhoods of merchants.

³⁶ Refer to Vol. I., p. 286, note 27; also index of that volume, in *verbo*, *Slavery, Slaves*, etc.

³⁷ Lucian, *De Sallal.*, 79: "Ἡ μὲν γε Βακχικὴ ὄρχησις ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ μάλιστα καὶ ἐν Πόντῳ σπουδασομένη, καίτοι σατυρική οὔσα, οὕτω κηχεύεται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐκεῖ, ὥστε κατὰ τὸν τεταγμένον ἕκαστοι καιρὸν ἀπάντων ἐπιλαθόμενοι τῶν ἄλλων καθῆνται δι' ἡμέρας Τιτάνας καὶ Κορύβαντας καὶ Σατύρους καὶ Βουκόλους ὀρώντες· καὶ ὀρχοῦνται γε ταῦτα οἱ εὐγενέστατοι καὶ πρωτεύοντες ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν πόλεων."

³⁸ Oehler, *MSS. to the author*, 1897-98, EGYPT, exact place not given, but probably Alexandria: "Συνὸς ναυκληρῶν: *Bull. Héli.*, XIII., 1889, p. 239, no. 11. DELOS: Οἱ ἐμπόροι καὶ ναύκληροι; *Bull. Héli.*, XI., 1887, p. 263, no. 23; 264, no. 24: XVI.; 1892, p. 150, no. 1; οἱ ἐμποροὶ καὶ ναυκληροὶ οἱ ἐν Δήλῳ κατοικοῦντες, *Bull. Héli.*, XVI., 1892, p. 157, nos. 9, 11."

This society existed during the first century and is only one of many in a large number of places, performing the labor of ordinary commerce. There is an engraving, found at Tomes, a city on the Euxine near Odessus having business communication with Alexandria, which shows a union of merchants to have existed there.³⁹ In those times there was as great a taint attaching to the mercantile as to the manufacturing business.⁴⁰ Merchants lived and died on the same level with mechanics. Nobody could rise who was not born to plenty and an inheritance. Mommsen speaks of a unions' "house."⁴¹

Connected with the shipping business was the work of furnishing the people with groceries. This required an active commerce on the seas; and as a consequence we find inscriptions giving information of unions of grocers. They existed at Lemnos, Cæsaræa and Tyre. Indeed, the remains are being picked up everywhere.⁴²

Oxdrivers' organizations are also found, and it appears that they were manly, as such, and held themselves in a stately and respectable posture. The oxdrivers of Pergamus were members of economic far more than religious unions.⁴³ We possess inscriptions showing this plentifully. Besides this, the writers are witnesses to the same thing. Many inscriptions are shown by Foucart. Lucian, who had little better language for the poor and lowly, than blackguard is here so exceptionally complacent that he speaks of the ox drivers as though they were prominent men. No doubt they were; for it often happened that their judgment was far in advance of their snobbish superiors in the pragmatics of everyday life. Archæology and history here assist each other.⁴⁴

³⁹ Gaius in *Digest*, XLVIII., Tit. xxii., 4, ad legem Duodecim Tabularum: "Εάν δὲ δῆμος, ἢ φράτορες, ἢ ἱερῶν ὀργῶν, ἢ ναῖται, ἢ σύνστοι, ἢ διασώται, ἢ ἐπὶ λιάν οἰχόμενοι, ἢ εἰς ἐμπορίαν."

⁴⁰ The union was flourishing during the Apostolic age, Athen., *Mithl.*, XVIII., 1888, p. 170, No. 10^a. "Ναύκληροι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ λημέου λαβόντες." Also "Πορμενόντες εἰς Ἐρύθρας," p. 171, 172. 11.

⁴¹ Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, V., p. 284, sq. The suggestive feature of this union is, that it was called an οἶκος. Far off as it was, it is inscribed as οἶκος τῶν Ἀλεξανδρείων. Tabernacle or "house" of the Alexandrians.

⁴² CIG., 2271, διάσος. The merchants and small grocers of Tyre had a σύνδοξος τῶν Τυρίων ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων, *Bull. Hellenique*, III., 1879, p. 374. Likewise: Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Τυρίων καὶ τῶν Ἰρακλειστῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων.

⁴³ Curtius, *Hermes*, Vol. VII., p. 39: Cf. Fouc., p. 115, note. "Οἱ Βουκόλοι εἰτέμισαν Σωτήρα Ἀρτεμειδῶρον τὸν ἀρχιβουλόκου διὰ τοῦ εὐσεβῶς καὶ ἀξίως τοῦ Καθηγεμόνος Διόνυσου προῖστασθαι τῶν θείων μουστηρίων. Εἰσὶν δὲ βουκόλοι . . . Ὑμνοδιδάσκαλοι . . . Σελήνιοι . . . Χορηγός." Then appear on the memorial, 18 names of members of the union; among them teachers of singing, a leader of the chorus and others.

⁴⁴ *Associations Religieuses*, pp. 114, 115.

At Thyateira, Hierapolis, Anazarba and Miletos, specimens of considerable interest have been recovered. At Tralleis, another city with a growing monumental history, have been found bag-carriers' associations.⁴⁵

On careful study, it has been discovered that these associations were all organized with the one idea of bettering each others circumstances. It is true that, following the customs and practices of those days, they had their religious consecrations, some of which very much resembled those of the Christians; yet at the bottom, their scheme was to use mutual combination as a means of salvation from the multitudinous woes besetting them on every hand, in their struggle for existence.⁴⁶

There was in those early Christian days, a great system of organized trades in the building business. We have shown in our first volume of this work, how numerous and powerful were the masons as early as Solomon and Agis I., the monster who assassinated great numbers of Helots, by taking the usual predatory advantage of his military hordes. Later, about the time of the Apostles, they appear again, splendidly, though secretly organized. Then Pisidia, celebrated, as we shall hereafter see, is where Paul was repudiated by the synagogue, but found an occult organization which opened its doors to him and his companions in some unexplained and mysterious manner. We shall moreover show that this occult intercessor in Paul's aid was none other than the trade unions we are describing. These we now refer to were unions of the building trades, well proved by the inscriptions to have been in Termessos a town of Pisidia, at that time. Several associations of masons and carpenters are found in and near the old Pisidian

⁴⁵ The appellation given to this union was: Ἱερὸν συνέδριον τῶν σακκοφόρων τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ μετρητοῦ, signifying the sacred association of freight bag carriers, from the weigher and measurer. Oehler, *Eranos Vindob.*, p. 279; Athen. *Mith.*, VI., 125, 8, etc. In *Συλλογος*, VIII., 1893, p. 1, XI., is the notice that the ἱερωτάτων συνέδριον τῶν σακκοφόρων λιμενιτῶν received 1000 drachmas from some parties, as a fine for having mutilated graves. This was also at Cyzicus, a seaport of Panormus.

⁴⁶ Oehler, *MSS. Contributions to the author*: “. . . zeigen schon in ihrem Namen dass wir es mit Vereinigungen zu thun haben, deren mitglieder gleiche Standesinteressen verfolgten und sich zur Förderung derselben zusammengeschlossen hatten. Es sind dies besonders die Genossenschaften der Kaufleute und Handwerker. Zusammenstellungen sind gegeben: Büchschenschutz, *Besitz und Erwerb*, p. 331 adm., 1; Menadier, *Qua Conditioe Ephesi usi sint*, etc. p. 28 ad., 134; Wagener, *Revue Belgique*, n. s., XI., 1869, p. 1, ff. Hermann-Blümer: *Griech. Privateigenthümer*, p. 331 adm., 2; Liebenam, *Römisches Vereinswesen*, p. 157, Oehler, *Eranos Vindobonensis*, p. 277-78; Ziebarth, *Griech. Vereinswesen*, p. 98, f., etc.

Antioch, which was the scene of the Apostle's career. But traces of unions of the building trades appear all over Asia Minor.

A very important union of the builders, now, after a large amount of wrong-reading for excusable reasons, turns out to be a Christian epitaph, chiseled on a sepulchre or mausoleum for a whole union of masons.⁴⁷ This inscription is no doubt very old, probably of the time of Paul. It adds another link to the evidence that the building trades had their unions during the Apostolic times. There was likewise a union of gardeners of Pessinus,⁴⁸ which is reported to us by the same author.

In all parts of the ancient world are found remaining monuments of secret societies. Sometimes the unions are so secret that the particular trade or profession does not appear. They go by the name of initiates, or mystic brotherhoods. This secrecy screened them so well from the rigors of outside persecution that they were able to exist for ages in form of brotherhoods in spite of the law. They were so numerous that we cannot here speak of them all individually; they deserve mention.⁴⁹

There was a society of secret initiates at Lagina,⁵⁰ on the borders of Palestine. These initiates also left their inscriptions in Philippi; for a valuable inscription of a very early post Christian date lends us evidence. It dates

⁴⁷ CIG. 3857 t. Formerly it was always read as pagan; but M. Perrot, *Explor. Arch. de la Galatie*, p. 126, found the Christian cross, and also symbols of masons tools. But the text shows that it was a union of some kind of mechanics, while the names given are Christian. In this epitaph are Euphronia, Tatias, Asclepiades and Onesimus, i.e.: "Εὐφρών, κὲ Τατιάς Ἀσκληπιάδῃ τῷ τέκνῳ κὲ αὐτοῖς ζῶντες. Ὁνήσιμος [καί—] τοὺς ἐαυτῶν γονεῖς κὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐτίμησαν."

⁴⁸ CIG. 4082.

⁴⁹ CIG. 3422. "Ἰερὰ φυλὴ τῶν ἐριουργῶν." Apparently connected with it was one of wool-washers, ἐριοπλῦτοι, and its president or overseer, πρῶτος ἐργαστήρης. This was found at Hierapolis, Le Bas. III., 648, sq.

⁵⁰ *Eranos Findob.*, p. 277. Λινοπῶλαι which is about equivalent to the Latin lintearii, mostly linen weavers, and it is thought to have been a society for making linen goods for the market.

⁵¹ Heberdey, *W. Reisen in Kilikien, Phil. Hist. Classes*, XLIV., 1898, p. 69, No. 151. Λινοπῶλαι; also σύστημα τῶν λιμενητῶν λινοπολῶν.

⁵² *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, XI., 1890, p. 240, No. 8. About the time of Hadrian. Συντελία Λινοουργῶν. They erected a statue of honor to some person, CIG. 3504.

⁵³ I., pp. 115, 116; showing the prehistoric building trades, and a terrible massacre on account of their strike at the time of Agis I., B.C. 1055; *ibid.*, p. 373, note 2. building by them of the temple of Solomon.

⁵⁴ Oehler, *MSS.* "Gewöhnlich werden die Banhandwerker bezeichnet als τεχνίται. Ζεῖ τεχνίται aus Dokimeion haben zum Danke den τέσσαρα στέμματα τῆς οἰκοδομίας und ihrem προστάτης. Hesyehios, eine Weihung errichtet: Inschrift aus Ikonion, CIGr. 3995."

⁵⁵ Oehler, *MSS. id.*: "Auch in Termessos, (Pisidien), werden unter den τεχνίται Banhandwerker zu verstehen sein; Lauck, *Korienski*, II., nr. 34; an Schauspieler zu denken" etc.

back to the Apostolic age. It had for its presiding officer a mystarchos and celebrated convivals to Mithras, a species of anthropotheocracy, most nearly resembling the Christian ideal.⁵⁶ The valley of the Meander, containing Magnesia as one of the important industrial cities of those early post Christian days, was replete with these democratic trade unions. They were voting in a strictly political fashion⁵⁷ at that moment on the one hand, and the emperors and their appointed state governors and other politicians were doing all in their power to prevent them from voting, on the other.⁵⁸

Another batch of the "initiated" where the trade practiced by the members does not plainly appear in their inscriptions, is found in the valley of the Meander, at the towns of Kyme and Klaudiapolis.⁵⁹

We now come to the mention of the *hives* of organized industries that are known to have existed in Phrygia and other cities of Anatolia, at an early date. They embrace the dyers, fullers, woolworkers, lapidaries, carpet-weavers, silversmiths, tanners, and potters; and as these were principally the trades included in the law of Solon, and are more ancient than the civilization among which they are found, and as they are mostly of the age of the earliest Christianity, a corresponding importance will naturally attach to their history, enlivening the interest of the reader.

There was a trade union of the potters at Thyateira, one of the cities of the seven churches, which seems to have had a busy establishment, contributing to the immense activity of the city. At the same place thousands

⁵⁶ Oehler, *MSS.*, *Μύσται*: Verein deren Vorsteher *μυστάρχαι*, und *ἀρχιμύσται* genannt waren: In *Armorion μύσται* des Mithras: Feste derselben, *Μιθρακεία*. I., Jahrb. n. Chr.; *Rev. des Études Grecques* II., 1889, p. 18. Cumont, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra*. I., p. 90, nr. 4." Besides these he refers to CIG. 2051 for an *ἀρχιμυστής*, in Sozipolis and CIA. for another, at Philippi.

⁵⁷ Professor Bendorf, *Reisen in südwestl. Kleinasien*, I., p. 156, No. 134: *ἰακχιαστί νιεῖς*, thought by some to be waiters because they kept up a shouting.

⁵⁸ Ramsey, *Churches and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, II., p. 439: "It was the policy of the emperors, alike in Rome and the provinces, to weaken the popular assemblies; and to turn the attention of the people in other directions than the exercise of political powers." He is speaking of the "popular assemblies, societies and guilds."

⁵⁹ Oehler, *MSS.*: "Dillenberger, *Sylloge*, nr. 390, endlich noch *Μύσται* dienen und den Kaisern etwas geweiht wurde. *Anc. Gr. Inscr.*, III., 506, von Hicks wohl mit als *Mystenverein* der Demeter erklärt. In *Klaudiapolis* wird ein *μυστάρχης* CIG., 3803, in *Kyme* ein *ἀρχιμύστης*. *Bull. Hell.*, XVII., 1893, p. 332 genannt." *Konteleon*, *Ephesus* and many other places in *Asia Minor* also contained the mystic associations.

of organized workmen seem to have been busy at pottery⁶⁰ and the tanning and dressing of leather.⁶¹

The shoemakers of shoemaker street in Apameia will be the subject of considerable space and interest in a future chapter, it being one of those rare, precious things which add another link to the evidence that the Christians planted their gospel into the mellow soil of these almost innumerable economic unions of the ancient trades. Nevertheless, it is proper to announce them here, among the others. The author we quote from is Dr. Ramsey who had completed his scrutiny of the cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia. He finds that one quarter of that ancient city had a street called, in plain English the shoemakers' street.⁶² More than this, he openly acknowledges that the shoemakers were thoroughly organized into guilds, as he thinks, although the real guilds were never created into the world until the Solonic unions were persecuted to death by the deadly Christian edicts of 363, rigorously followed until finally exterminated in 412. After this the true guilds came into the world with their petty bosses and semi-slavery. It helped to engender the feudal ages which domineered humanity for a thousand years.

All the labor unions of antiquity, wherever profiting by the *jus coeundi* of Solon and Numa, were invariably organized for economic means, to the end that they should assist each other in obtaining a living. Dr. Oehler mentions one of Cyzicus, in Phrygia, which was prospering in A. D. 39, about the time of the martyrdom of Stephen and the conversion of Paul. It was organized as a means to an economic end. The members were under the veil

⁶⁰ CIG., 3485, *κεραμείς*. It is likewise prominently mentioned by Oehler though not in his list of trade organizations; *Erano's Vindobonensis*, no. 14, p. 277.

⁶¹ CIG. 1134, 1135, *σπατολῆασταί, Βυρσοδηψαί*. For the same reason ascribed to a misunderstanding, the carpet makers became mixed among these records and caused confusion.

⁶² For a copy of the complete inscription, see *infra*, p. 446. Ramsay, *id.*, II., pp. 440, 461, 462, 538, gives short snatches of the important discovery. On page 440 he says: "The reference to Shoemakers' street, no. 294, suggests that the different trades were apportioned to special streets a guild, the head of which was called the *Emporiarches* Ἐμποριάρχης, is mentioned no. 309; its members were called *συνμβιωταί*, and the term is suitable, if there was a street bearing their name." On page 461, the inscription is given entire which we copy. At the end occur the words; *τῶν ἐν τῇ σκυτικῇ πλατείᾳ τεχνειτῶν*." The unions of leather workers, or perhaps one great union, had a temple of Jove, see page 538, on the Acropolis called *Kelainai*. This author says of the same trade unions: "On a stone in the N. wall of the ruined church on the Acropolis of the *Kelainai*, an inscription is on the outside *κυριε βοηθει*." It was the temple of Jove which became the *κυριακὴ* or church." *Kyrie Bothei* is admitted by all archæologists to be an invariably Christian expression.

of secrecy, and were engaged in the struggle for existence, in the same manner as a trade union at the present day.

In Italy, in and about Rome, the same thing was going on at full blast. We have evidence in abundance that the stonecutters were fully organized about that time.⁶³

Then we have some valuable inscriptions showing that in Phrygia there existed thriving associations of carpet weavers. Dr. Oehler has preserved one of as early a time as A. D. 76 to 133, at Hierapolis.⁶⁴ Another union deserving attention is that of female silversmiths at Magnesia and Smyrna. We are informed by the learned professors who have worked at the meaning, that they sometimes made coins. If so, we have proof that the people engaged in the mints were organized. Some were women.

One of the most lucrative branches of business in those days of pushing manufacture and organized industry, was that of the dyers. They are commonly known as the purple dyers, although the principal colors they worked in were those of the celebrated red, in which, with the exception of dyes, their Indian competitors excelled above all others in the world. The purple dyers left valuable inscriptions in Laodicia. This is now regarded as significant even by Bible commentators, on account of the fact that Lydia, who was converted to Christianity, by Paul, at Philippi in Macedonia, was a purple dyer and a member and business agent of her union at Thyateira, one of the cities of the seven churches.⁶⁵ But the dyers of Hierapolis, Thyateira, Smyrna, and the principal towns were under a very powerful organization coming from the great Solonic law. They were an ancient factor in the industrial scheme, even as long ago as the time of Paul, who converted them to Christianity.

Dyers of Heraklea⁶⁶ and Pisidia had powerful unions at an early Christian date. The people of Phrygia were celebrated for their industry and for their love of loose

⁶³ See Vol. I., p. 369; Orelli, *Lapidarii officines*, 4208, which was a stone cutters' union; 3246 may be a superintendent of the stone quarries; 4220, was a regular union of the lapidaries.

⁶⁴ Oehler, *Eranos Vindob.*, p. 279; *Συνέδριον τῶν καιροδαπιστῶν*, coöperative association of carpet and rug makers. It existed during Hadrian's time.

⁶⁵ *Acts*, xvi., 14. This Lydia is now recognized by the best authors and researchers to have been a member of the dyers' union at Thyateira. She was their business agent, and sold the goods.

⁶⁶ *CIG.*, 3912^a; *Le Bas*, III., 741, ἀρχώνης ξυστοῦ . . . τῶν Ἡρακλεᾶ—ἀρέθη-
κεν τῇ συνεργασίᾳ, *Athen. Mitth.*, X., p. 205; *SMYRNA*: *CIG.*, 3304: δοκιμασ-
θεῖς . . . ὑπὸ τῆς συνεργασίας. These are recognized to be unions of dyers.

amusements. The world was deeply indebted to them for their enterprises, mechanical and agricultural. Of the many cities praised for these virtues, Apameia was well known to have been a hive of industries, nearly all of which were organized. There had been a political convulsion as well a seismic; for less than a century and a half B. C. the Roman conquests had overturned much of the industrial life of this and the surrounding region, and a few years after the crucifixion a terrible earthquake destroyed several cities along the Lycus and the Meander. The great dyeing business, says Oehler, was of much importance.⁶⁷ In this business also, Hierapolis in Phrygia, the celebrated city on the Lycus, comes in for an important mention.⁶⁸

We now come to the woolworkers of Thyateira, Laodicea, Cyzicus, Flaviapolis and Ephesus, at the time of Christ, and during the Apostolic age. It may be asked why so much is here said about the Christian age. The answer is, that we are preparing the reader for some extraordinary scraps of history never yet disclosed; and though only a brief mention can be made here, yet this evidence is to be brought under consideration when we come to the chapter fitting the subject. One union of importance was at Flaviapolis in Cilicia. At this place the epigraphic schools have recently been puzzled by the discovery of inscriptions showing that the ancient trade unions took the Christians in, endorsed their tenets and turned their pagan, into Christian worship, even giving them their temples and other property for a place of meeting. While Christ was in the world Flaviapolis had a prosperous union of fullers.⁶⁹

Laodicea, another city on the Lycus, was also a center of the woolen industry and came in for a share of that trade. Here we find inscriptions which inform us that the woolworkers were carrying on an enormous manufacture of woolen goods, even as far back as the Apos-

⁶⁷ Oehler, *MSS.*: SAGALASSOS, (*Pisidien*), besass eine *συντελεία βαφῶν*, Lanekronski, II., nr. 195. In Thyateira hatte: die βαφείς grosse Bedeutung, gewiss auch grosses Vermögen, da sie in die Inschriften als Errichter von Ehrenstatuen, zum Theile in Auftrage des Staates genannt werden CIG., 3496, 3497, 3498, etc.

⁶⁸ See I., p. 418, on the murileguli and purple shellfish. For the unions of purple dyers, *ἐργασία τῶν βαφῶν* for Hierapolis are recorded in Le Bas, III., 742—CIG., 3924b., and Bull. Hell., X., 1886, p. 519, No. 16. The latter are unions at Tralles.

⁶⁹ Oehler, in *MSS.* "In Flaviapolis, Kilikien, aus Christlicher Zeit, kennen wir eine Widmung: *ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ ἐντελοῦς συνεργασίου τῶν γραφῶν, ἡ* Wollarbeiten,"

tolie age, when Peter, Paul and especially John, were preaching the new Gospel there.⁷⁰ The woolworkers, such as spinners, carders, weavers and fullers abounded in Ephesus. Like those of Heraclia, Laodicea and Colossæ, they were strongly organized into secret protective unions, patterned to conform to the *jus coeundi*.

Organizations of slaves existed in many of the Phrygian cities about this time. Their monuments are found at Laodicea, Heraclia, Ephesus and Smyrna. We have already spoken in the preceding chapter of the organization of slaves in pre-Christian ages; it is yet to be recorded that the *jus coeundi* of Solon was in great use long after the opening of our era. In perusing this subject of the organization of slaves which has recently been made certain by inscriptional evidence, it is naturally asked why should they form themselves into unions? It will be argued that as at present, the ancient poor were in many respects better off before, than after their era of emancipation began.⁷¹ There was seldom any starvation, because a man looks out for his property; this vast organization offset misery by a communal framework for protection. When, afterwards, the church which was not Christianity, destroyed this organization at the council of Laodicea, the poor were obliged to feed upon charity and charitable institutions which had never before existed, and the orphanotrophia came.

But there were prodigious numbers of unions of slaves. Their unions at Delphi were mostly organized after the model of an *eranos*.⁷² The conspiracy of Cæsar worked great damage to the success of the organizations at Delos, and the effect was that it became the most renowned of all slave marts.⁷³ During those fell

⁷⁰ Oehler, *MSS*; "In Laodicea am Lycus finden wir eine *ἐργασία τῶν γραφῶν τῶν ἀπολουργῶν* d. h. von Walkern für glatte Stoffe, CIG. 3938, mit berichtiger Lesung bei Büchenschütz, *Die Hauptstädte u. s. w.*, p. 84 adn. 14, u. p. 89; dann Blümner: *Der Maximallarif*, p. 151, XIX., 16. In Kyzikos erhellt das *ἱερώτατον συνέδριον τῶν γραφῶν* eine Grabmalt, Athen., *Mith.*, VII., 1852, p. 252, nr. 19." Another fullers' society was in Perinthos.

⁷¹ See *supra*, p. 160 sq., showing the method used by the *eranos*, for emancipating slaves through their sale to a divinity; Foucart, *Affranchissement des esclaves par vente à une divinité*, pp. 28, 47, etc.

⁷² Lüders, *Dionys. Künst.*, pp. 46, 47; Wescher and Foucart, *Inscr. de Delphes*, Paris, 1863, pp. 89, 107, 139, 213, 244. The method of enfranchisement is discussed by Lüders, *ib.*, p. 46 and note.

⁷³ Vol. I., 286. *Slave Mart of Delos*; Lüders, *Dionys. Künstler*, pp. 29, 30, in an excellent explanation. The early law suppressing organizations excused the Jews according to Josephus, *Antiq.*, xiv., 10, 8: "Γαίος Καίσαρ ὁ ἡμέτερος στρατηγὸς καὶ ὑπάτος ἐν τῷ διατάγματι κωλύων θιάσους συναγεσθαι κατὰ πόλιν, μόνους τούτους (τοὺς Ἰουδαίους) ἐκώλουσεν οὔτε χρήματα συνεισφέρειν οὔτε συνδείπνα ποιεῖν."

conquests there was a relentless disposition to drive both slaves and freedmen to misery and death. The jealous laws followed them everywhere, crippling their primitive Solonic rights. They must have consent of their masters. They must have a curator, who in the organization, was a potent factor, being a lord on a very small scale, over them. They must, if organized, not meet oftener than twice a month.⁷⁴ M. Foucart, who was for a long time director of the archæological school of Athens, in his celebrated work on the Religious Associations, has sufficiently proved that the slaves were organized, and the opinion is growing that the organization was universal, and in strict accord with the ancient and revered statute which the combined efforts of enemies could not destroy. There was a union of slaves at Baula, near Naples,⁷⁵ and search into the resources of knowledge is revealing many more.

One thing can now be said with some assurance which a few years ago could only be surmised. It is, that the associations formerly supposed to be exclusively religious, were really economic in their object. Dr. Ramsay sees this where he shrewdly says:⁷⁶ "M. Foucart, in *Associations Religieuses*, appears to consider symbioseis as purely religious associations; but probably they were usually trades associated in the worship of a deity." This and succeeding words explode the idea of Foucart in our favor, since we foretold in the first volume of this work that Foucart entirely misunderstood the subject he so ably discusses, and that Wescher was right.⁷⁷ This idea must now be pushed, on so great authority. To say the least, we have enjoyed a delightful personal, and to us memorable acquaintance with this savant of the French Academy, at a session of the seminary of epig-

⁷⁴ *Dig.*, XLVII., tit. xxii., leg. 1, rescript of Severus, which is in reality the old *lex Julia* revived by Trajan, repeated by Hadrian, and made memorable by Septimius Severus. As preserved in the *Digest* it reads favorably only for the burial clause of the Solonic dispensation: "Sed permittitur tenuioribus stipem menstruum conferre, dum tamen semel in mense coeant, ne sub prætextu hujusmodi illicitum collegium coeat, Quod non tantum in urbe, sed in Italia et in provinciis, locum habere, Divus quoque Severus rescipit. § 1. Sed religionis causa coire non prohibentur: dum tamen per hoc non fiat contra senatusconsultum, quo illicita collegia arcentur."

⁷⁵ Mommsen, *I. N.*, 2582; the inscription is now in the Royal museum, at Naples, date wanting. For more, see Orell., 7188: "Baulano—Servorum collegium est."

⁷⁶ *Churches and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, II., 471. The page referred to in Foucart's work is 113.

⁷⁷ Vol. I., pp. 506, 507, where the difference between MM. Wescher and Foucart are discussed, our opinion balancing toward Wescher.

raphy in the palace of the Institute; besides this we have read his magnificent work on the emancipation of slaves through sale of their bodies to a divinity, which is a contribution of undoubted truth, and of enormous value for this work. It only illustrates that the wisest of men may grope in the absence of facts, and finally with the aid of others get themselves rightly established.

It is our desire to confine ourselves as much as possible to the Apostolic age; since it is impossible to mention one in a hundred of the inscriptions of this and the second and third centuries. A union of engravers at Letoon is mentioned which is important on account of its great antiquity.⁷⁸ So the caravans of commerce between Palmyra and the west had their synods, a fact spoken of by Mommsen in his history of Rome. These have been figured out, deciphered and enrolled in the Body of Greek Inscriptions, as well as the work of Le Bas and Waddington, and in the Wolfe expedition of the American school of archæology.

Then there were the thiasoi of the immortals, numerous enough to attract attention. They were probably believers in a life beyond this but existed in a good organized form long before the Advent. They had a philosophy and at their reunions, when sitting in joyous association around their common table steaming with the best of the land, their conversation used to turn to the realms of the post-earthly unknown, and they speculated themselves into a common consciousness much akin to the great religion of the Messiah when he came. Societies of the immortals range all along the time also while Christ was living; and as they were laboring people, organized for mutual help they quickly endorsed Christianity.

Gypsies had their organization in those days. The date of the one found in the select inscriptions of Orellius, is not known, but it is apparent that they ranged from a high antiquity down to Constantine and that the rag-pickers of those days were the origin of all the gypsy tribes that have since spread over the world.

At Tyre, Sidon, Cæsarea and Joppa, all along the coast of the Mediterranean which washed the land of Pales-

⁷⁸ Oehler, *MSS. to the author*. "Eine ιερά ξυστική σύνοδος vereint mit der θυμελική wird bereits für Letoon und Prusias am Hyp. genannt; auch in Smyrna waren beide σύνοδοι vereint, wie aus der Inschrift CIG. 3173 (80-83. n. Chr.), hervorgeht, in der ξυστάρχης haben, πατρομύστης erwähnt ist; vgl. auch Nr. 3190."

tine there are monuments of the workers found. Tyre furnishes a good number.⁷⁹ Judea may, with some propriety be included in this region. The whole territory, about A. D. 5, was annexed to Syria by the emperor Augustus.

The Roman collegia, now well known to have been the same as other trade unions, are proved to have laid the foundation of our seminaries. It is at least, easily proved that they were the first to establish schools which bear any resemblance to those of the present day.

They are traced to Britain where they were early established and their influence in laying the foundation of the great Anglo-Saxon system of learning was enormous. But the instincts of greed in course of time led them in a direction of guilds, which form they assumed.⁸⁰ The collegia as guilds, were found in the Roman cities of Britain all through the Middle Ages, and from this name is to be gleaned the early history of the guilds. They were transmitted from the ancient colleges, which based their power and success upon the great law.

This old dispensation was broken up, a calamity hurled against it by an edict of the Council of Laodicea in A. D. 363, forbidding the members from enjoying their common table,⁸¹ although the Apostolic Canon of St. Peter had three hundred years before, ordained that this economic source of mutual support, with its common table should be freely allowed.⁸² This privilege of meeting together in union and enjoying the common meal was a part of the *jus coeundi* of Solon. It was the key to the organization without which the cohesive force or incentive blighted in a lingering dissolution. Trade union-

⁷⁹ Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, pp. 103, 107. It has been suggested that Origen, who after his valuable lifework, was persecuted alike by Christians and pagans, was obliged to secrete himself among these mutual unions at Tyre, there to die.

⁸⁰ Gould, *Freemasonry*, I., pp. 38 and 43, with note. This was especially the case in Britain on the invasion of the German and Gallic conquerors who persecuted the colleges. See Freeman, *Origin of the English Nation*. (Macmillan's Magazine, 1870, Vol. XXI., pp. 415, 509). For the general subject, see Palgrave, *Rise and Progress of the Eng. Commonwealth*; Coote, *Romans of Britain*, pp. 336, 397; Spencer, *Inquiry into the Origin of Laws*; Pike, *History of Crime*, I., pp. 65-70.

⁸¹ Canon 55, Vol. II., p. 574, Mansi: "Ὅτε οὐ δεῖ ἡ ἱερατικούς κληρικούς ἐκ συμβολῆς συμπόσια ἐπετελεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ λαϊκούς." This was the cruel death-stroke which broke up the main economic incentive to ancient labor organization. The same Council also gave a death-stroke to their psalm singing; in fact it seems to have been the death-stroke to Christianity in favor of a grasping, jealous priestcraft and its church, greedy to devour their goods.

⁸² *Corpus Legum Antiquarum; Canones S. S. Apostolorum*, 40: "Ordinavit enim lex Dei, ut qui altari inserviunt, de altari nutriantur."

ism died hard. It sank down deeper into the umbrage of secrecy. Monarchy hunted it with spies and detectives. It nevertheless so revived as to outlive persecutions; for many were the good men among the commoners and even the fathers who protested. But living in socialism with each other under the superior system of the communal code did not contribute to the wealth of provision speculators. Their diaconus or treasurer could, with the combined driblets of each member paid in once a month, buy in quantities at wholesale rates and from the producers direct. It was intolerable to the provision rings; for we know from Diocletian's edict, that it cut them off from their plans of speculation. But the hateful ban of suppression struck them yet once more in A. D. 412;⁸³ and this was their last; for the true trade union of the ancients was no more.

Out of its magot-breeding cadaver a horrid demidæmon grew in shape of the mediæval guilds, fit mongrel of the feudal ages. From a decent and honorable life, under the beneficent law of their unions, we find them immediately after these cruel edicts, reduced in the mental as well as pecuniary sense, so that there exists an inscription which appears to be Christian, showing a huddle of wretches in a "college of holy hut dwellers," and slum-traffickers, containing a list of 300 names of members.⁸⁴

The result of this downfall was the creation of the guilds of the priests and petty bosses, driving the poor wretches for profit. They used to be called *parabolani*. It was a death-clutch of priest-power grappling at their throats.

Happy societies whose members had for a thousand years been self-sustaining and prosperous under the Solonic dispensation, now broken up by the jealous and avaricious church. Dr. Am Rhyn⁸⁵ states the facts regarding the fate of the Solonic organization when he

⁸³ Jerome, *Letters to Rusticus*, no. CXXVI., says, in proof that the Council of Laodicea had not quite extinguished the trade unions (A. D. 363), the following words: "Great numbers are unable to break from their trades they previously practiced . . . in former days. The greed of sellers used to be kept in bounds by the action of the *ædiles*, or, as the Greeks call them, market inspectors, *ἀγορανόμοι*; and men could not cheat with impunity. But now, persons who profess religion are not ashamed to seek unjust profits, and the good name of Christianity is oftener a cloak for fraud than a victim to it." Jerome then exhorts them to go back to the old community life.

⁸⁴ Orelli, 7215^a, Romæ. Date of Honorius, "*Corpus tabernariorum*."

⁸⁵ *Mysteria*, Eng. *trans.*, p. 162.

says: "The constitution of the trade guilds is derived partly from the collegia of artisans in ancient Rome, and partly from the monastic orders. The most elaborate of these mysteries was that of the stone masons."

So it was that the mediæval orders which broke up the ancient voting unions, seized their property, robbed them of the spirit of enterprise and success, and turned them broken and ruined over to the feudal lords.

History is now repeating itself.⁸⁶ Spasms of the same competitive system crop out even at this day. The rage of the war spirit has been felt in America; and editors have turned their columns into auxiliary batteries to aid with brag and gush the belching of murderous explosives, which modern mechanics turn against the life and limb of humanity. This was not in the scheme of the Plan of salvation of the flesh and spirit of old. It is in aid of conquest; and in these pages we have sufficiently shown that the great conquests of Rome did no good. Men are still vaunting of their puissant wit in conquering and destroying others. They did it in Rome all through the conquests. And how did it turn out? Millions exterminated; millions again impoverished and discouraged; good government overwhelmed; their wealth dragged into one putrescent center; Rome glutted by millionaires, perished of her own infections and her conquered colonies in every case went down to the bad, while the animus of organized industry, once aglow with an ascendant genius verging toward a period of rich inventions, lost hope, lost the secrets of manly arts, and sank to rise no more. So much for a once brilliant, living ingrowth which the Romans destroyed, based upon, and rooted into, a vast industrial organization well under way, and gradually lifting humanity out into a high and peaceful enlightenment.

⁸⁶ Neander, *Hist. Church*, English trans., II., pp. 192, 193. The only similarity between the ancient eranos and the church of Laodicean date was, that certain powers of the church stewards (*οικονόμοι*) took charge of the church property, often the great landed estates held by the church as a corporate power; and this lasted into the 12th century. Basil Caesar, *Epistles* 285, and 237. But, says Neander: "As much as the management of the property and the protection of the poor who were supported by the church." This shows that from self-sustaining communities they had dwindled into miserable eleemosynary concerns. "The expedient," continues Neander, p. 192, was finally adopted, that the church, like other corporations, should have for its management of affairs a person skilled in law. The lawyer was called the parabolanus. *Cod. Theod.*, XVI., tit. ii., legg. 42, 43, providing against abuses of the arrangement. But of course, great abuses crept in.

From the foregoing it is plainly seen that the origins of socialism are intimately intertwined in the movements of to-day. Our forefathers had it in an embryonic form and struggled a thousand years to build it up and to transmit it to us in perfection, while the individualism of private ownership constantly strove to tear it down. But socialism never saw the great light of a perfected form. It could live in secret and obscurity, under cover; but the very first great master who came to proclaim it abroad to the open world was instantly met by the enemy and given but three years to advocate broadcast the long secret plan of salvation, when He met the thrilling fate of martyrdom.

Moses and Solon and the wise lawgivers could not carry socialism beyond its puerile infancy. It never assumed the majestic power inherent in complete ownership and management now demanded by the scientific co-operative commonwealth of our day, yet it taught us the mighty lesson leading to it; for the form now foreseen is no longer that of voting to power an agoranomos, who was always a mere proxy from the aristocracy, to dole out jobs of labor from the public works, but it is to wrest itself into complete ownership of all useful works, by the whole people and for the people, who are the workers and makers of all things good. Then, and never until then will the world enjoy a true democracy.

CHAPTER X.

THE GREAT GEMEINDE.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY OF DIONYSAN ARTISTS

OBSCURITY Veils one of the Most Remarkable Facts of Antiquity—Masterly Investigation of Dr. August Böckh—Startling Curiosity—The Big Order's Make-Up—Their Tutelary Saint was the "Ennobler of Mankind and Giver of Joys"—Their Music—To gain a Living the Object—Centuries of Dense Seerecy—The Pythian Apollo—Homer—Scenic Artists—Strike of the Flutists—They Belonged to the interlinking Bond—Hated But Employed at Rome—Enormously Patronized by the State—Alexander's Carnival of Hephastæon—Three Thousand Musicians and Playwrights Gathered from Far and Near—Others for the Olympic Contests—Stories of Arrian, Plutarch, and Atheræus Agree with Inscriptions—Wonderful Agonies—Full Description—Their Model of Pure Socialism, Father, Mother, and Children—Their Common Table and Mutual Love—Microcosm of the Perfect State—Votive Franchise Substituted Father's Paternal Control—It Worked—Terrible Laodicean Canon—Eunus—The Eranothiasos—The Everlasting Fakirs—How they Crawled into the Unions and Debased the Principle—Menander's Desdemona—Fakirs, Fortune-Tellers and Filter Peddlers—Aping the Official Religion to Secure Good Jobs—Emperor Hadrian patronized the Agonistic Performances—Symbol of the Serpent—Fakirs Assume Form of the Snake—A Curious Inscription—Scenic Plays at Rome—Fun-Making Entertainments—Callipygian Dance—Greek Trilogry—Notwithstanding their brilliant Genius the Unions were often Poor—Sneers of Lucian—Nobler Praise by Aristotle—His Truthful Axiom—The Immunes—Fishers and Hunters an Allied Branch—Billingsgate of Smyrna—Synods of Baptists—The Quingenarian Spell—Hunger of Dominion for Acts of Cruelty.

NOBODY appears to know anything about the great international amalgamated association of the ancient art-

ists. We are indebted, first of all, to the keen and scholarly insight of Dr. August Böckh, Director of that trustworthy publication of the Berlin Academy of Science, known as the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*, for the announcement that such an organization existed among the workers of the ancient world. We are again indebted for the honest recognition of Oehler, Lüders, Foucart, Cagnat, Mauri, and many others of the schools of archæology, that this far reaching labor organization was an offshoot of the Solonic law.

But as no historian ever gave us any account of this immense curiosity of ancient civilization, we have been obliged to gather our information from scattered monuments, and in a somewhat anecdotal form. Much is derived from the stories of Lucian, from the occasional mention of Athæneus, Aristotle and others; but most of all from the racy, disconnected mention of their own inscriptions. One modern author quotes Aristotle as saying that the play-actors held greater sway with the public than the poets.¹

We shall begin with the oldest evidence known, and follow them down to the date of the Laodicean Council when they were suppressed, seemingly through jealousy of their musical genius. Of all forms of associations of the ancient poor, the Dionysan, or Bacchic artists were most tolerated, and most patronized by the world's prominent men. They enjoyed the patronage of monarchs like Alexander, and afterwards Nero, Hadrian and Antonius Pius; and they were the authors and composers of the Delphic hymns and of the recently discovered written music, unearthing a new literature which is startling our curiosity. The scientific world is now bending its energies in the direction of all possible discovery of remains of the Dionysan artists.

A point strangely suggestive might here be subjoined for what it is worth: this Dionysus the younger, is not the aristocrat myth of pelagic ages. He is the Dionysus Kathegemon or forerunner. Forerunner of what? Let any one pronounce the name rapidly and he will produce nearly the sound of John. Another curiosity is, that his unions were the primitive if not original bap-

¹ Lüders, *Die Dionysiscischen Künstler*, p. 50. His quotation is from Aristotle, *Rhet.*, III., 1, 4: "Μείζον ἔδραναται τῶν τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ ὑποκριταί." Dr. Lüders regards this as a great recommendation in favor of the fine perfection to which they arrived at Athens.

tists. No member of his brotherhoods could be initiated except by the purifying application of water. This is established by thousands of inscriptions. And yet this Dion, the Forerunner was the Patron spirit at whose shrine millions, according to Dr. Böckh, were paying devotion just at the moment when that unfathomable forerunner of Palestine was receiving the homage of our own marvelous Messiah on his bended knee.

The matter of these countless associations has been so far probed as to establish that they were an important factor of ancient civilization. They were the most studious, independent, ingenious and progressive of all the ancient unions of trades and professions.

About the time of Christ's sojourn on the earth these organizations were most numerous and powerful. The love of mankind for show, entertainment and every imaginable pleasure was then at its height. Rome had conquered the world. Augustus and Tiberius were busy collecting together the broken fragments. Rich plunderers were dividing the spoils. Profligacy on the one hand and military slavery on the other formed an abyss for their reckless genius to fill. They were faithful to the specification of the Solonic dispensation, holding common interests with one another, a common table, a mutual love, a burial attachment to their secret organization, a methodical votive franchise by which they were enough shrewdly political to vote into public office the agoranomoi, or commissioners of the public works, so as to insure for themselves the appointments to perform the vast and varied labors of public entertainments which supplied them with much well-paid occupation.

Although exceeding fond of, and kind to their women, the Dionysan artists, such as singers, dancers, players, teachers, confined their personnel almost entirely to the male sex. The evidence, however, is, that woman belonged to the secret leagues, and that when their own entertainments came off, she took charge of much necessary work and was prominent and influential.

Following the discipline characterizing the Solonic dispensation, these organizations possessed a system of schools and we have a number of very important monuments which give a portrayal of their methods of teaching the youth. These we shall bring in evidence as we proceed.

The ancient poor men's god Dionysus was exactly the same as the Latin or Roman Bacchus, standing for the female Artemis for the Greek, and Diana for the Roman goddess of the poor. The best lexicographers, Liddell among them, give him the magnificent report of being the "Ennobler of mankind and the giver of joys."

A peculiarity of the Dionysan artists is that they were all worshipers of the great forthcoming soter or saviour, hundreds of years before the arrival of our accredited Messiah; and in consequence, being in expectation every moment, of his advent, were the more willing to fall in line with the Apostolic evangelism. They had a doctrine of culture of their own which was, in many respects, identical with that advocated by our Saviour. Their musical and economical organizations reach back into fathomless antiquity.² We should be guilty of a breach of logic by trying to trace their origin back to the time when the Chronicles were composed, because Solon is known to have given them the law of free organization, and this could not possibly have been earlier than a thousand years before Christ, although his exact date is unknown. We are reminded by some authors of the kind words regarding the artists of Dionysus, written by Arsitotle, who was employed by king Phillip in B. C. 349. Aristotle, on account of his valuable mention³ is accredited to be the ancient who gave them their name. Considerable has been written by the epigraphists of the French, German and other scientific schools now earnestly engaged in the unearthing of monuments of antiquity, in regard to the origin of the name of this enormous organization which was spread, as we shall show, over western Asia and the whole of Europe. Among archæologists this association has come to be known simply as "The great society." This is an appellation received from Böckh, whose learning was so profound and penetrating that the living critics admit him as their authority.⁴ However high their origin, all the

² *Chronicles*, XXV., 1, 2. Did the eranos have a chorister? Asaph, the Assembler, was chorister in musical services. The choir of the musical assemblies of the Dionysan musicians was fully organized and extremely ingenious and efficient.

³ Foucart, *De Colligiis Scenicorum apud Græcos*, p. 6, says: "Vocabulum certe ipsum οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίται, apud Aristotelem primum reperire est." M. Foucart, searching for the earlier records of these unions, mentions Livy, XXIV., 14, who speaks of an artist named Aristonis, as being a tragic actor at Syracuse, and thinks he must have been employed at the great theatre of Syracuse. This would make his date as early as B. C. 400.

records place them as poor, lowly, hard working people; often wandering from stage to stage and performing their popular tragedies, comedies and mimes before the people, as means of obtaining a living. They engrossed the entire field of the histrionic business;⁴ made the tents, machinery, wagons, clothing, scenery and all paraphernalia of their plays, sometimes manufactured their own musical instruments, composed and wrote their own music, made and owned as a common brotherhood their temples and sometimes aped the prytanes, with their tholus, in an ambition to be genteel and respectable.⁵

The Pythian Apollo in Attica was the presiding divinity that employed these artists. In many instances this fact comes to the surface. At the temple of Delphi their music was used in chants, dirges, anthems and choruses. Several melodies have recently been found engraved on large slabs or planks of the rock with which the great edifice was built; and although the ancient musical types or characters were radically different from those of the present day, yet they have been deciphered and were even performed at the opera house in Athens in 1896, to the modern lovers of musical art.⁶

There was an eranos of this Pythian Apollo found at Amergos, in the island of Minoa, which worked for the muses and probably played the popular music for the people of the city at a very early date. Again, there has been found an eranos of these artists at Delos, the great slave mart. It commemorates a consecration. They had consecrations, agonies, camp-meetings, hallelujahs and

⁴Luders, *Die Dionysischen Künstler*, p. 77, says: "Die grosse Gesellschaft nennt sich τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν τῶν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλληνιστῶν καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν καθηγεμόνα Διόνυσον." Bæckh glaubt, dass letztere in dem Verein eine Abtheilung von solchen bildeten." Later it took the name τὸ κοινὸν τῶν συναγωνιστῶν, but Lüder suggests that these were only branches.

⁵CIG., 3160, 3190. They sometimes pretended to be important characters. They chanted hymns, and performed satyrical dances. Fouc. *id.*, p. 116, says they were prytanes; this he probably gleams from the fact that the prytanes ate at the common table at the expense of the state, cf. Oehler in the *Puly-Wissowa*, III., pp. 1020, 1037 article Βουλῆ. But in all places except Attica the prytanes were no more than the Roman Pontifex maximus, and in Asia Minor, where this evidence is found, the prytanes referred to are nothing more than persons of the working class calling themselves prytanes to sound high and dignified. See Liddell, in *verb. Πρύτανις*. Once, later, when Marcus Aurelius honored them with a letter of kind greeting (A. D. 147), they were so inflated that they put up the prices of entrance to their entertainments, CIG., 3176. This letter is contained in the inscription. Their hero worship was thus carried to extravagance. CIG. 3067, 3068, 2620; Le Bas and Wadd., 93 and 2794.

⁶In the summer of 1896, the author was honored with a personal interview with M. Reinach at Paris, who principally worked the queer notes out and brought the hidden treasure to the gaze of modern men. He had no hesitancy in saying that it was the work of the artists of Dionysus and that they developed a very high degree of intelligence and skill.

many other rites suggestively similar to those of the present day.⁷ But the most surprising averment we have found regarding these Dionysan artists is that of Dr. Foucart which is to the effect that Homer was one of them.⁸ There are two mysteries hanging over this great master-poet. He is known as a wanderer through the earth, reciting his stories to the people before letters were invented. This is in accord with the erratic life of the scenic artists. Again, he was mysteriously obscure; and this, again, accords with their habits; since they were always secret organizations, studying means to please the better-to-do, and how to get themselves appointed by the ruling ones, to perform the varied popular labor of the entertainments. Homer might thus have been a secret member; and after being appointed a *kurios* or supreme director of the brotherhood, he could have committed his beautiful and marvelously enchanting stories to memory, assisted by a picked quota of artists who followed his majestic baton, and together they might have wandered through eastern Europe and western Asia delighting the millions who are well-known to have thronged the world centuries before the conquests came.

On the whole, judging from the prodigious magnitude and mysterious influence and genius which are coming to be known to us through their new-found inscriptions, it looks quite probable that the great poet was not alone but that he was backed up by a multitude of lesser lights.

The influence of the Bacchic artists was early felt at Rome. We have already shown their power as a factor in military and social life in the great city, as it is told to us by the historian Livy. The strike of the flutists

⁷ Oehler, *MSS. to the author*: "In Minoa, bei Amergos finden wir *κορδακισταί τῶν περὶ τὸν Πυθῶν Ἀπόλλωνα κορδάκων*, dancers, CIA., add. 2264.—*Ἀπόλλων* und die Musen verehrten die dionysischen Künstler, CIA., II., 629." And again, *id.*, 3479: "Zahlreich sind die Weihungen an Apollo von den Vereinen auf Delos, was nicht auffällig ist."

⁸ Foucart, *De Scenicis Artificibus*, pp. 68, 69, sq. gives Homer as one of them. Also cites the stones and has much to say about it. On p. 70, he says that all the poets were perhaps not members of the collegium, but "*plures tamen eorum participes fuisse certum est*;" and shows stones to prove it. He is also quite elaborate in showing how the scenic artists mixed piety with their games. The truth, however, is, that they were economic unions, working their ingenuity through all conceivable methods to win a living; "*Eleusino vera, qua civitate nulla sanctorum, egregia scenicorum pietas. Quo non solum migrabant ut rem ludicram in theatro, temporeum mysteriorum, faciarent, sed etiam ut sacra sua, collegia nomine, per suos inagistratus Cereri et Proserpinæ peragerent.*" He refers to Lenormant, *Researches at Eleusis*, 26, lines 6-11: 14: 17; and 20-28. Many *κοίνα* existed at that time.

recorded by him occurred B. C. 309.⁹ Of course the organization which yielded to the decree of its secret council who caused this strike, had been in existence a long time, perhaps a hundred years. At any rate it proves that Rome possessed unions of the Bacchic or Dionysan artists at least 400 years before Christ.

All members were initiated into the secrets of their brotherhood, the remains of which are found everywhere. At Nemea, an old city on the Isthmes which divides the Corinthian Gulf from the Æginetan waters, a place near Corinth where the Apostle Paul labored and built a church, there was recently found an inscription remarkably well preserved. It shows a union of these artists. The slab is spoken of as: "Laudatio Philemonis." It speaks of a man from Chalcedona the ancient city standing on the heights of the Bosphorus opposite Constantinople, who was initiated by unions of Isthmes and Nemea, and whose name was Crato. He was *tibicen cyclicus*, one who made the rounds of the organization, performing on his flute.¹⁰ According to the best information we can glean from their inscriptions it is manifest that these play-actors and artists of various kinds struggled very hard sometimes to obtain a living. Dr. Lüders, in his researches on their doings has shown conclusively that they were entirely of the so-called proletarian class, hard workers, vigorous, and yet with all their industry and push, could with difficulty obtain a living, although splendidly organized in self-support.¹¹ The strugglers were nevertheless patronized and supported in an encouraging degree by the state and by public men and institutions. Alexander the Great, who was such an admirer of them that he assembled, on the death of his much loved friend Hephaeston who died soon after his return from the conquest of India, over 3000 of their minstrels, and actors to do him honor at a protracted carnival. For several weeks they had charge of the entire festivity, performing the music as well as the dances. It appears that the em-

⁹ See *supra*, pp. 86-88; story told by Livy, IX., 30, sq. of the strike, B. C. 309, of the musicians of Rome. What is known of the event is there given in full. It must have been an important organization, and full of plucky vigor and genius to get itself copied into the great history of Rome.

¹⁰ Fouc., *De Scenictis Artificibus*, pp. 23, 24; Lenormant, *Recherches d'Eleusis*, 26, l. 25-26; *ibid.*, l. 17, et 39; l. 11-12; 21-27; l. 29-31 etc.

¹¹ Lüders, *Dionys. Kunst.*, p. 110. ". zur Zeit des Demosthenes durch Attica, wandernde Truppen, die nothdürftig, ihren Lebensunterhalt fanden."

peror not only admired them but rewarded them magnificently for this protracted service. Plutarch and Arrian say¹² that Alexander sent for them from all the countries, far and near, and they came from the Peloponessus in Greece, and from the Euphrates in Asia, all agreeing and all being able to combine, converse and perform in concert and union at the great requiem, proving that they were expert in written music.

Chares, who is reported to us by Athenæus, gives a description of them, which accords with the information we are getting from the inscriptions;¹³ and according to Arrian, whose histories, anecdotes, and incidents which have fortunately come down to us in such manner as to have escaped the havoc that has consigned to tatters so many priceless literary monuments of antiquity. Alexander patronized the artists most abundantly at the Olympic games; and on a certain occasion called together three thousand from the whole known world, to perform their so-called agonies before the public.¹⁴ Of these agonies the origin of the familiar words, so precious and beloved by the Christian, we shall have a full dissertation as we proceed. At present we must be content with an occasional and obscure anecdote. The world was filled with the belief that a man-loving messiah, whether, Mithra, Osiris, Dionysos, Attys, Sabazios or Jesus, was persecuted to death, died in the agonies of an ignominious execution, arose and went to the beautiful elysium where he opened the gates to all the struggling and lowly denizens of earth. This wonderful transit through the veil of tears, amid writhings of torture, indescribable gloom and scowls by frowning monsters of

¹²Arrian, *Alexander the Great, Anabasis.*, in book VII., 1 4: "Ἀγῶνά τε ἐπένοε ποιῆσαι γυμνικὸν τε καὶ μουσικὸν ἡλῆθει τε τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καὶ τῇ εἰς αὐτὸν χορηγία πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρόσθεν ἀριδηλοτέρων τρισχιλίουσιν γὰρ ἀγωνιστὰς τοὺς ξύμπαντας παρεκένασε κτλ.," see Plut. *Alex.*, 72: "Ὡς δ' ἤκεν εἰς Ἐκβάτανα τῆς Μηδίας καὶ διώκησε πάλιν ἦν ἐν θεάτροις καὶ παιηγύρεσιν, ἅτε δὴ τρισχιλίω ἀντῷ τεχνιτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀφιγμένων ἔτυχε δὲ περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖνας Ἰφαιστίων πύρεσσων."

¹³Lüders, *Dionys. Künstler*, p. 106, 107 reminds us of this: "Nach der Erzählung des Chares, die bei Athenäus erhalten ist, tratten, wohl in der angegebenen Reihenfolge, folgende Künstler auf: θανάτοποιοί, ραψῳδοί, κισθαφόροι, αὐλωδοί, αὐληταὶ μετὰ τῶν χορῶν, ψιλοκιδαρισταί, κωμῳδοί, τραγῳδοί, ῥαψῳδοί." A 13 13 13, XII., p. 533 Casaubon.

¹⁴Arrian, whose early account is much esteemed; I., 11: "Τῷ τε Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ τὴν θυσίαν τὴν ἀπ' Ἀρχελαῶν ἐτι καθεστῶσαν ἔθυσσε καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐν Αἰγυπτῷ διέθῆκε τὰ Ὀλύμπια· οἱ δὲ καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις λέγουσιν ὅτι ἀγῶνα ἐποίησε. See Diod., XVII. 16: "Θυσίας μεγαλοπρεπεῖς τοῖς θεοῖς συνετέλεσεν ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ σκηνακοῦν ἀγῶνας Διὶ καὶ Μούσαις οὓς Ἀρχελαος πρῶτος κατέδειξε, τὴν δὲ παρηγῆρην ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἐνέεα συνετέλεσεν" Dion appears here to be confounded with Aegh. Dio Chryss., Or., 5, p. 73: "Ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Πιερίας ἔθυσεν ταῖς Μούσαις καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνα τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἐτίθεισαν, ὃν φασιν ἀρχαῖον εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς."

æmoniac shapes and gnashing threats was the subject of their popular plays; for since humanity firmly believed in saviours and a coming redemption from the competitive calamities which beset them, it was a second nature to endorse the plays as true, and the agonies as the realistic presentation of the logic of fate long before the Christian's Saviour came. Again, the very word agony, pure Greek, was the term handed down through a millennial superstition, from long anterior to the date at which the now-known Redeemer suffered it, to save the troubled race. Thus the agony of the cross which long afterward was actually endured by a historic personage of our own era was thoroughly foreknown and had been the subject of tragedy, opera, anthem and mime for at least a thousand years; and its structure was based on salvation from persecution of the lowly who were tortured by greedy aristocrats—kings, slave drivers, traders in human flesh and labor, emperors and their privileged priests, and autocratic prelates of a sanctimonious hypocrisy and the money power.

The plan and texture of the organization was entirely socialistic. The law required them to imitate in their scheme of union, the municipal form or charter of the city in which they were organized into the unions. This was early specified by the law since registered in the Digest, but it was to be that old uncontaminated scheme supposed to have originated with Saturn, although actually from Solon and Cadmus, who instituted the *prytaneum* and the common table.¹⁵

So far as the inscriptions attest, the artists were all socialists of the sort we designate as the microcosm, or the model family. This was the prototype, and still continues the ideal. The members, like the children of the well regulated family, were to love one another; and the father and mother, together with all the children, were to live in the undivided ownership and enjoyment of their homes and means, helping each other to all the emoluments of the paternity, never coveting more than what belonged to each by right of the mutual or social bond. This model is pure socialism. The little family,

¹⁵ This law of initiation ordaining that the Solonic union follow the plan of the city, reads: "Quibus autem permissum est corpus habere collegii, societatis, sive cujusque alterius eorum nomine, proprium est, ad exemplum reipublice habere res communes, arcam communem, et actorem sive syndicum." etc. Dig. III. iv. 1.

in the Solonic dispensation, enlarged with the *hetæra* and the *thiasos*, is what in Rome was the college. Instead of the family of one marriage it swelled so as to take in the membership of the whole union. Then the union or brotherhood, under a *kurios* or director, took the place of the father and mother and the initiated membership of many; all being workers, took the place of the children, and in one large fraternal bond they sought and obtained work for each other, bringing the proceeds at night, or at stated times, to the treasurer, deacon and presbyters, who bought food at wholesale for all the brethren, carefully providing a permanent residence, a common meeting house, a school, clothing, and enough of everything to fill the joys of life. Not infrequently they behaved so judiciously with themselves and the world that they were regarded, even by governments with favor.¹⁷

It is evident that the original design of Solon and Numa, in making this splendid arrangement conform with the plan of the city government from which, according to the law we have quoted, the organization originally sprung, was to ingraft a political economy upon the aged competitive system which, by substituting the votive franchise for the father's judgment, would give the world on a grand scale the socialism of the microcosm or in terms more simple, the socialism of the model family, where all work for each and each for all.

The plan worked for a thousand years. It was attacked twice and fought with fire and sword of extermination through the Roman Conquests, and last by the church prelates, beginning at the close of the Apostolic age, and ending in its destruction through a cruel and jealous interdiction of the Council of Laodicea, A. D. 363, about thirty-eight years after the deal with Constantine.

Before they fell many were the powerful men who took their part, Servius Tullius (B. C. 560), among the rest.¹⁸ He tried to save them because of their valuable services to the state, as well as because he admired them and restored to them the rights which Romulus had

¹⁷ Foucart, *De Scenicis Artificibus*, p. 9: "Collegii patrociniū recipiunt Egyptii reges, tanto favore ut ipsorum nomen cum Baccho consociarent artifices."

¹⁸ Florus, *Hist. Rom.* 1., 6, 3. "Servio Tullio populus Romulus relatus in censum, digestus in classes decuriis." Tullus was the first to have the people inscribed on the public registers, the plebs being divided into colleges or brotherhoods.

pulled down. At the close of their long career of nearly a thousand years they were submerged, never in their ancient form to rise again. Nevertheless there remained glowing embers which could never be consumed, down to the present day; for a principal in justice cannot be annihilated. The date of their suppression, however, is that of Laodicea and they fell only because their common table was made a crime against the law.¹⁹

Among the Dionysan artists were certain agents called ergolaboi who used to go about the country bargaining for contracts for their organizations. Plato speaks of them in his second book of Politics, and their inscriptions reveal quite a number of them in Asia Minor and Macedonia. These were special agents and formed a part of the membership, proving that the artists were genuine unions of the eranoi and thiasoi of Greek-speaking countries, and collegia in the Latin countries. We have the best of evidence that they were workers organized to get a living. They have been well spoken of not only by Athenæus²⁰ in his celebrated Banquet of the Learned, and Hesychius, in his ancient lexicon, but also by Aristotle, the father of literary judges, in his Nicomachian Ethics.²¹ Some authors have undertaken to construct a common name for the whole great institution, to answer for all the various names. Throughout the whole Greek-speaking world, the terms eranos and thiasos have a very similar meaning, and it was proposed, as shown in several inscriptions, to blend the two into one word and to call them erano-thiasos for a common term. We have authority for doing this, and it will not be original in us to make the eranothiasos subserve the pur-

¹⁹ Suppressed by the Christians, A D. 363; the council interdicted the *δείπνα ἀπὸ συμβολῆς*, which stretches through antiquity, Lüders, *Dionys. Kunst.*, p. 7, and note 15: "Die Sitte dieser *δείπνα ἀπὸ συμβολῆς* erstreckt sich durch das ganze Alterthum und noch in der zweiten Hälfte des vierten Jahrhunderts sah sich der Concil von Laodicea veranlasst ein darauf bezügliches Verbot zu erlassen." The words of this decree extinguishing them are: "ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἱερατικούς ἢ κληρικούς ἐκ συμβολῆς συμπόσια ἐπιτελεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ λαικούς." Canon 55, Vol. II., p. 574, Mansi. The prelates and priests could have their meals at the common table, but not the people.

²⁰ Athenæus, VIII., 362: "Ἐρανοὶ δὲ εἰσὶν αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν συμβαλλομένων εἰσαγωγαί, ἀπὸ τοῦ συνερῆν καὶ συνφέρειν ἕκαστον· καλεῖται δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ ἔρανος καὶ θιάσος καὶ οἱ συνιόντες ἐμπίσταται καὶ συνθιασώται." Another definition comes from Hesychius, *Greek Dictionary*, in *verbo* θιάσος. H. here says: θιάσος is not only an organization for democratical ends to obtain means and enjoyment, but it is also to get plenty of work. It reads as follows: "Θιάσον. εὐωχίαν· καὶ πλῆθος οὐ μόνον τὸ βακχικὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐργατικόν."

²¹ Aristot, *Eth. Nic.*, VIII., 11: "Ἔνοιοι δὲ κοινωριῶν δι' ἥδονην δοκοῦσι γίνεσθαι, θιασῶτων καὶ ἔρανοιστῶν· αὐταὶ γὰρ ὕστας ἐνεκα καὶ συνουσίας."

pose even including the Roman collegia which were the same institutions.

As a common term for the celebrated personages, many received eponyms, or names suggestive of deeds and surroundings. Eunus of Apamea, the hero of the great Sicilian revolt, in B. C. 333, had been a member of a union of Dionysian artists, and in all probability was making a living for himself and members of his brotherhood by performing tricks of legerdemain in which he was an expert, when he fell a prisoner to some band of the Roman invaders during the conquests,²² and was sold to a wealthy citizen of Enna where he rebelled against the cruel oppression and plotted that terrible conflict, which at one time bade fair to depopulate the island of Sicily.²³ It is not a little interesting to find that very many of the names mentioned by St. Paul in his Epistles, especially his last chapter of Romans, were assumed; and there is evidence that such was the secrecy of Paul's evangelism among these organizations that when people were initiated, after conversion into the new creed which was contrary to the official religion, new names were given them. Paul himself was a member of the scene-makers branch, and when converted, his name was changed.

It may be well to speak, in a racy manner, of the range of these organizations in the various parts, basing our brief mention upon the actual inscriptions found. There was a union or *eranthiasos* of artists at Eleusis,²⁴ only a few miles from the City of Athens.²⁵ Many are found at Athens, others at Megara, Perinthos and Isthmus. At

²² See Vol. I., chapter ix., pp. 191-231. The war of Eunus lasted ten years during which time several large consular armies of the Romans were routed and destroyed.

²³ Eunus, Greek *Eúnovos*, well-minded, capable. Theophilus, *Epist. to Autolycus*, cap. vii. says the Eunus of mythology was the son of Dionysus. As the unions had Dionysus for their patron divinity, nothing could be more popular for the people of enterprise and genius than to assume this bewitching name at their plays.

²⁴ Foucart, *De Scenicis Artif.*, p. 22. referring to Lenormant, *Recherches a Eleusis*, 26. l. 25, 26. It is an Attic inscription of an eranos and mentions its *ἐπιμελητής*. It was in the time of Philip V. of Macedon. Livy, XXXI., 21, 26, speaking of his vandalism that destroyed it, says: "Quidquid sancti amenive circa urbem erat, incensum est, dirutaque non tecta solum sed etiam sepulcra, . . . ne quid inviolatum relinqueret, templa deum quæ pagatum sacra habebant, dirui atque incendi jussit." The members who, according to Lüders were the wandering *τεχνισταί*, performed the Eleusinian agony.

²⁵ Oehler, *MSS.*: "Βακχεΐα—Athen., *Mith.*, XIX., 1894, p. 249f.—Megara. Inschrift Gr. Soph. nr. 107. Παλαίων Βακχειών, Perinthos: Dumont, *Mélanges d'Arch.*, p. 393, nr. 72c, τῶ Βακχειῶ Ἀσιατῶν; Rhodes, *Inscr. Gr.* ins. I, p. 155. Βακχειῶν ὑπόδοχα."

Troia, during the reign of the emperor Trajan, a thiasos was in existence whose tutelary deity was Dionysus.²⁶ Most singular of all, after the centuries of wonder as to how the Apostle should have been whipped, imprisoned, mysteriously released and spirited off from the Roman and almost Latin city of Philippi, and after his mixture of unexplained persecution and deliverance, it turns out that the emporium was at that moment honeycombed with secret Mithraic and Dionysan societies,²⁶ and at least one permanent Latin troupe of histrions was stationed there.

Smyrna was alive with these organizations. Aside from the unions of porters jewelers, fishermen and other trades in this city there was an influential branch of the Dionsyan artists who performed the agonies with the object of gaining a living.²⁷ At Rome they were always favored. As late as Nero this favor continued; for that monarch went so far as to permanently fix them in their true Greek form.²⁸

The performance of the agonies was a lucrative business with these unions. The theory of the agony was the eleusinian initiation which in fact, was the model initiatory right copied by all the secret organizations. It represented about this:—the passage through this veil of tears; the groping in darkness of the under world in crooked paths which led the wanderer into many a dark and quaggy region; the outward push, under guidance of some stalking, ethereal shade, over lurid waves of the Pyriphlegethon and other murky rivers of

²⁵ Μουσικ. Βιβλιοθ., II., 1875-76, p. 118, no. 5: "αὐτοκράτορι Νέρω, β. Τραϊανῷ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ—τῷ καὶ Θειστῷ Διονύσῳ."

²⁶ Mommsen, *Hermes*, III., 461 ff., 1869. Inscr. from Philippi: Lüders, *Dionys. Kunst.*, p. 97; "Wenn endlich in dem Macedonischen Philippi sogar eine ständige lateinische Truppe engagirt war." Likewise Oehler, *MSS.*, sends us word of labor unions early at Philippi.

²⁷ Oehler, *Eranos Vindobonensis*, p. 277, 278; list of labor organizations. Again, Oehler, *MSS*: SMYRNA: *ἑσπιαρχοδότης*; *Arch. Zeitung*, XXXVI., 1878, p. 94, nr. 148. *Τυχοπατῆς διὰ γένους ἑσπιαρχίας πάντων τῶν ἀγῶνων ἐν Σμύρνῃ. CIG. 3206 τεμμηθεὶς δὲ ἑσπιαρχίας παρὰ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν.*

²⁸ Foucart, *De Scenicis Artif.*, p. 92, makes special mention of this event. Nero cruelly persecuted the regular labor unions but favored the Bacchic actors and musicians. Suetonius, *Nero*, XII., 13, says: "Instituit (Nero) et quinquennale certamen primum omnium Romæ, more Græco triplex, musicum, gymnium equestre, quod appellavit Neronia." Tacitus also gives us valuable evidence: *Annales*, XIV., 20, : "Nerone quartum Cornelio Cosso consulibus, quinquennale ludicrum Romæ institutum est, ad morem Græci certaminis, varia fama, ut cuncta ferme nova." Again, Suet., *Domitianus*, 4: "Instituit et quinquennale certamen capitolino Jove triplex, musicum, equestre gymnium, et aliquanto plurium quam nunc est coronarum. Certabant enim et prosa oratione Græcæ Latinæque ac præter citharæ-los, choro-citharistæ, et psilocitharistæ."

Hell, toward the elysian realm of eternal delights, on the "other side," "where sickness, sorrow, pain and death are felt and feared no more." These meanderings and sufferings and final joys were, in those primitive days, not only preached as now, but played to an enormous extent by the Dionysan artists, among our delighted, bewildered forefathers. What comforts us most in this retrospective sweep of imagination, is the now-known fact that thousands of agonies of different forms, and set to different music and words, were composed and sold, and their performance brought out before the rich, as a merchantable product, and for them, a living.

But the gymnastic struggles of these artists were not confined to the agonies. There was an *eranos* of boxers at Akroinos,²⁹ which is but a single specimen of the acrobats. Many more inscriptions in various places attest the existence of these pugnacious bread-winners among the Dionysan artists.

Then at Olympia, the most celebrated of all the cities of the ancient games, are some inscriptions of these enterprising artists, showing the histrionic dancers.³⁰ Here the athletes, in the Apostolic age, held their Œcumenical councils. This fact is proved by inscriptions of their own which seemingly the prelates of the second and third centuries would have certainly extirpated had they been farsighted enough to discern the future scrutiny of science, which was destined to lift the race into a higher enlightenment. Neglect to deface the inscriptions as they have mutilated and defaced the testimony of the earliest ecclesiastical historians, like Clement, Papias, Hegesippus and others, has given them away. The Œcumenical athletes serve in evidence.³¹ This matter of the œcumenical alliance and œcumenical council turns out to be derived from the associations of the working people organized in their common household throughout all lands and among all peoples.³²

There were great numbers of unions of wanderers,

²⁹ Oehler, *MSS.*: "Ἀκροίνοιο;—Ἀθροφῶν κὲ πυκτῶν ἠϊθεῶν ὀπᾶς ξυστός. Athen. *Mith.*, VII., 1882, p. 142, and others.

³⁰ Oehler; *id.*: OLYMPIA: ξυστάρχης. *Archæol. Zeitung*, XXXVII., 1889, p. 133, nr. 261. Vgl. Bursians, *Jahresbericht*, LXIX., p. 131.

³¹ Oehler, *MSS.*: "Οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀθληταὶ in Knidos: *Anc. Gr. Inscr.*, IV., no. 794, l. bis II., *Jahrb. n. Chr.* In Olympia wird τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀθλητῶν ὁ σύμπας ξυστός καὶ ἡ ἱερά ξυστική συνοδος erwähnt in der Inschrift, ungefähr 85. n. Chr.

³² *Οἰκουμενικός*, the whole sweep of the world.

some of whom were called fakirs. Their monuments have been discovered at Tralles, Isthmus, Nemea, Delphi, Thebes in Greece, and Pergamus, Iasos, Ephesus, Pessinus, Smyrna and other places in Asia Minor. In fact the original fakirs as they are traced back to the Dionysan artists, were numerous in Rome and many an Italian municipium. They are found with their voodooism among the ragpickers of the centonarii which we have already described.³³

Dr. Foucart, who wrote the valuable work on what he, and at that time, the entire world of epigraphy, supposed to be exclusively religious associations, though now seen to have been economic ones, likewise discusses these fakirs and wonder-workers. They are of remote antiquity and so great was the belief in their mysterious magic that they entered into the dramas of the poets³⁴ who wrote more than one valuable play now lost in the vortex of that most sickening syncope of humanity, the feudal ages. The ancient metragurtes was a fakir, nomad, castaway. Threatened by the dangers of the competitive world which gave him neither sympathy nor bread, he organized himself into the Dionysan brotherhoods and went about practicing sleight of hand, peddling philters and exhibiting side-splitting tricks and buffoonery. He practiced every available species of flunkeyism and obsequious palaver before the rich and great with the one purpose of winning success in the struggle for existence. Dr. Am Rhyn thinks the fakirs descended from the Pythagorean school³⁵ of philosophy, or sect of Orphic societies, which, as the world of letters under-

³³ Vol. I., pp. 423-427; Lüders, *Dionys. Künst.*, p. 10, calls them Wunderthäter, Jongleurs, *σαυματοποιοί*. Spieler jeglicher Art an und producirten ihre Fertigkeit mit gleichem Erfolg neben denen der dionysischen Künstler." They used also to be called flatterers, for we have inscriptions cut by their unions mentioning them as *Διονυσοκόλακες*, *Ἀλεξανδροκόλακες* etc. Oehler in *MSS.*, also mentions them as Vereine.

³⁴ Foucart, *Ass'n. Hel.*, p. 176: "Plusieurs pièces, dont il ne restent malheureusement que le titre ou des fragments insignifiants, exposaient le type de ce personnage aux rires du public; *Ἀγύρτης* de Philémon, *Μητραγύρτης*, de Ménandre, ou *Μητραγύρτης* d' Antiphane. On peut rattacher à la même préoccupation de fétir de fraudes et les désordres prévoquées par ces superstitions."

³⁵ Am Rhyn, *Mysteria*, p. 85, cf. Eng. *trans.*, N. Y. 1895: "Being stript of the semi-public and official character attaching to the mysteries, and of the philosophic dignity of the Pythagorean Sect, the Orphic societies became nests of swindlers and mendicants; the vagabond priests, Orphoteleste, admitted to their ridiculous degrees for a consideration, every credulous and marvel-gabbling postulant; for we even find victims who had themselves, with wives and children initiated every month. Other tricksters combined the Orphic cult with the Phrygian cult of Cybele, mother of the gods and with that of Sabazios, known as *Μητραγυρταί*, mother-beggars."

stands them, were hilarious and musical. Menander the poet, in his *Hiereia* and *Desdæmon*, admits that the wandering jugglers and fortunetellers of Cybele did all their art-work to eke out a living, under precarious and indigent circumstances. Thus they made the blind art a trade under the law. Clement of Alexandria attacks them because, by selling philters and love medicines they tended to break up marriages, which the Christians advocated. So also, in his *Superstition*, Menander rails upon these fakirs because their occult influence was to scare and fool the people. They worked their wiles in all directions to fashion ghosts and demons, wood-nymphs, sea urchins and centaurs, ingeniously composing plays wherein these supernatural wraiths and monsters were realistically brought before the believing hordes of playgoers and this is one reason why Plato came down with his powers against them. So great was their influence, on account of the credulity of the people, that it was firmly believed they could call up the dead to life, just as it is to-day believed of Jesus. They even claimed that they could chain up the immortal gods. Plato was much struck with their influence, and being of too high rank in the scale of correct reasoning, he was severe and pitiless against them.³⁶ They interfered with his state religion and political economy.

The fakir tribe of *Metragurtes* or beggars³⁷ for old mother Cybele, parent of all gods, were firmly organized under the *jus coeundi* of the Solonic dispensation. The principal name which they were known by, is *hetæra*. They often assumed the designation of congregation of religious beggars. Very little religion, however, appears to have disturbed them. It was necessary to ape the

³⁶ Plato, "Repub.," II, 364: "Εὰν τέ τις ἐχθρὸν πημῆναι ἐθέλη, μετὰ σμικρῶν δαπανῶν ὁμοίως δίκαιον ἀδίκῳ βλάψειν ἐπαγωγείς τισι καὶ καταδέσμοις τοὺς θεοὺς, ὡς φασί, πείθοντές σφισιν ὑπηρετεῖν." *Again Laws*, X., 910: "Κεῖσθω γὰρ νόμος οὗτος: Μὴ κεκτῆσθαι θεῶν ἐν ἰδίαις οἰκίαις ἱερὰ τὸν δὲ φανέρτα κεκτῆμένον ἕτερα καὶ ὀργιάζοντα πλὴν τὰ δημόσια."

³⁷ Minucius Felix, "Octavius," cap. 24: "Mendicantes vicitim deos ducent." Tertullian, "Apol.," 42: "Non enim sufficimus . . . diis vestris mendicantibus opem ferre." *Juvenal*, VIII, v., 173, 175:

"Permixtum nautis et furibus ac fugitivis,
Inter carnifices et fabros sandapilarum,
Et resupinati cassantis tympani Galli."

Granier de Cassagnac, "Hist. Classes Ouvrières," 377-8, says beggars increased as emancipation did: "On les voyait se grouper tous les matins autour des temples, portant dans leurs mains des petites images des dieux. Parmi eux se mêlaient les prêtres de Cybèle, qui formaient dans le clergé païen, ou dans le collège des prêtres, une congrégation des religieux mendiants."

official religion of the countries they inhabited. Fakirs, nomads, gypsies, castaways! What else? Who else could they have been? Were these beggar-priests of Cybele the original gypsies? Let the kind reader compare them with the Roman *centonarii* whose innumerable organizations are found in Italy, and which we have already described.³⁸ Morally considered, they seem to have been no better than the ragpickers and piecepatchers of the countries farther west, and it is doubtful whether they were not internationally allied.

After the Roman conquests the amphitheatre came into existence in almost every city in pro-consular Rome. The brutal games degraded the finer sensibilities³⁹ of mankind which in earlier days had been cultivated by a higher status of thought, which was constrained to give way to the coarse *munus officium* and its ghastly infatuations, depressing the high-toned ancient gymnastic plays down to the fetid level of human athletics in the death combat with the *gladium*, pitted against both wild beast and fellow man.⁴⁰

In studying the whole subject one thing is observable: the members entered the organization only by initiation. Sometimes a representative of the outside world, such as a rich man, or even in very rare cases, a king or emperor, was willing to descend to their estate and become an initiate. This occasionally happened on account of the agonies which were very alluring and fascinating. The emperor Hadrian went through the initiation of the new Dionysos, perhaps to curry favor with their power and influence.⁴¹ The fact is, the world was in an unscientific, unsettled state, ready to believe any unnatural thing or endorse any imposition. People were in a certain sense, fetich worshipers; and to-day religion gets the better of reason; for often members of our Christian denomina-

³⁸ Vol. I., pp. 423-427.

³⁹ "Idem." p. 277, and indeed, the whole of chapter xii., giving the history of the greatest of gladiators, Spartacus, and his brilliant career.

⁴⁰ Tertullian, "De Spectaculis," cap. 12, describes the origin of the "*munus officium*," which was the service of men dying for their dead masters in combat. Mars and Diana were patrons of these games.

⁴¹ Lüders, "Dionys. Kunst.," p. 78, says Hadrian founded agonies at Athens, sustaining it by mention that there is an inscription in proof; CIG. 4315; "Ἡ ἱερωπάτη βουλή και οἱ Ἀθήνησιν Ἐπικούρειοι φιλόσοφοι και ἡ ἱερά θυμηλική σύνοδος;" and another as titled "Ἱερά Ἀδριανῆ Ἀγτωνείη θυμηλική περιπάτορικὴ μεγάλη σύνοδος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον και Ἀυτοκράτορα καίσαρα Τίτον Αἰλίον Ἀδριανὸν Ἀγτωνεῖνοι Σεβαστόν, Εὐσεβῆ, νέον Διόνυσον."

But this *Néos Dionysos* or new god was certainly not meant to be the old aristocratic god revived on the Eleusinian pattern, in which Hadrian — well known to have been initiated. It was αὐτὸ ὡς Ἀδριανοκόλαξ.

tions—though of late, more rarely—when assembled at their camp meetings, run mad, howl, rave and rage during ecstasies of conversion. The ancients did the same thing except that it was almost always occultized under the veil of initiation. Intermixed with the cult of the mother-beggars or fakirs were hideous reptiles coiling around a staff of Asclepias, the bath in mud and bran and a hundred other absurdities of the Cybelian theology. Much is found to spring from the fairy tales and songs of these brotherhoods of Dionysan artists. Thus Aristophanes describes them.⁴²

The serpent was a foreign symbol.⁴³ They undertook at as early a date as B. C. 350, to introduce the Sabazian initiations into Athens. Many a martyr fell to the cause. The people of Attica were too far advanced for Phrygian superstitions, to carry them away upon the infatuating whirlwinds of fanaticism. The wanderers undertook their weird and dangerous task by the sly insistence of snake charming, hypnotism, oracles, fortune telling, stargazing astrology, magic, undue influence, witchery and in fact, priestcraft and cunning illusion. There is a curious inscription which has recently been discovered, showing the prevalence of the snake superstitions, a thing pushed to the front by these fakir organizations, for the purposes of winning bread for the brotherhood. It was found in Macedonia.⁴⁴

Dr. Oehler speaks of an epicurean chorus of these entertainments in Puteoli. Of this Italian commercial city, once large and flourishing, a short distance from where Naples now stands, we shall say much in a future chapter. It was largely a Phœnician colony and the numerous

⁴² Fragment of "Orpheus," founder of the ancient mysteries:

"But from the sacred womb Phausis begat

Another offspring, horrible and fierce:

In sight a frightful viper, on whose head were hairs; its face was

Comly; but the rest from the neck downward, bore an aspect

Dire of the dread dragon."

⁴³ Foucart, "Ass'ns. Rel.," pp., 8, 134, shows that the Athenians punished priests with death who introduced the Sabazian initiations: note on p. 51: "Καὶ ἐὰν παρείαν ἰδῆ ὄφιν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ- Σαβάζιον καλεῖν. Theophrast., "Charact.," 16. The subject of the persecution and martyrdom of Theoris we shall consider in a more convenient place. See Foucart, "id.," p. 1:

⁴⁴ Henzy, "Palais Grec en Macedoine," p. 30, Paris, 1892: "On y voit une femme assise, tenant enroulé et pelotonné sur les genoux un énorme serpent." Another serpent was discovered inscribed on amber; and Panofka thought it represented Jupiter in the incestuous embrace with his daughter, Proserpine. The serpent is luring her to quietude while the ferocious god accomplishes his purpose. It is read by the epigraphists to be a Phrygian mystery, and consequently must go among workingmen's monuments. It was this very Phrygian serpent that was at the bottom of Alexander's pretended immaculate conception, or assumed parthenogenesis.

unions of labor there were planted by the Phœnicians.⁴⁵ We shall mention their strange reception with the Apostle Paul on his way in chains to his trial at Rome, which resulted in his death. The Dionysan artists thronged lower Italy or what was known as Magna Græcia in the time of Brutus, for that magnate wanted to employ one of their Greek artist actors, whose skill had made him celebrated; and it shows that there were wandering troupes in Rhegium.⁴⁶ According to Tacitus, Rome introduced their plays and pedantry for the first time through Mummius, in honor of his triumphs, after the destruction of Corinth, during the conquests; a cruelty which had to be glozed over by the paltry flattery such a subterfuge afforded.⁴⁷ Like all other trade unions they strove to obtain the public work and succeeded with many magistrates. Plutarch tells us that Nero employed them, disbursing large sums of money.⁴⁸ Nero, who hated the other unions and undertook the impossible task of exterminating them by persecution, was nevertheless very favorable to the Dionysan artists.

Valuable inscriptions of these artists are found in many parts, especially at Rome and neighboring towns. One is recorded from Bovillæ, on the Appian Way, ten miles from Rome, dating from A. D. 165 and must have been there earlier. This scenic eranos was revived under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. Their organization which flourished earlier but had met the disaster of the conquests, arose afresh. Hadrian was a friend of the mysteries, and because the societies helped him through,

⁴⁵ Oehler, "MSS.," "Eine Inschrift aus Rhodapolis, Le Bas, III., 1336 nennt; οἱ Ἀθήνησιν Ἐπικούριοι φιλόσοφοι, womit ich den Epicureus chorus in Puteoli stellen muss, CIL., X., nr. 2971. Bei Athen., VII., 298d werden die Schüler Epikurs genannt, εἰκαδίσται, weil sie in ihrem Vereine den 20 Monats-tag als Gedächtnisstag des Stifters feierten. Eine Inschrift aus Kyme erwähnt einen Πυρρωνιστὰς Μενεκλεῆς, Kaibel, "Epigr.," nr. 2416; Bull. Héli., XIII., 1889, p. 368, nr. 17. Der Menakles gehörte einem θίασος an, als dessen Stifter Pyrrhon angenommen ist."

⁴⁶ Plutarch, "Brutus," 21: "Καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν αὐτὸς εἰς Νεῶν πόλιν καταβὰς ἐνέτυχεν πλείστοις περὶ δὲ Κανουρίου τινὸς εὐημεροῦτος ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἔγραψε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ὅπως πείσαντες αὐτὸν εἰσαγάγῃσιν. Ἕλληνων γὰρ οὐδένα βιασθῆναι προσήκειν."

⁴⁷ Tacitus, "Annales," XIV., 21: "Maiores quoque non abhorruisse spectaculorum oblectamentis pro fortuna quae tum erat, eoque a Tuseis accitis histriones, à Thuriis eorum certamina; et possessa Achaia Asiaeque ludos curatius editos, nec quemquam Romae honesto loco ortum ad theatrales artes degeneravisse, ducentis iam annis a L. Mummi triumpho, qui primus id genus spectaculi in urbe praebuerit."

⁴⁸ Plutarch, "Galba," 16, on which Lütters, "Dinys. Künst.," p. 95, comments as follows: "Nero endlich betrat nicht nur selbst, mit Griechischen Techniten die Bühne, sondern hatte auch stets eine ganze Schaar von ihnen in seiner nächsten Umgebung, denen er Grosse Geldsummen hinterliess."

he was very favorable to them." Not only Hadrian, but Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, and even Caracalla, showed them kindness. The Christians had long before planted faith enormously among these secret unions of bread-winners. This affords some measure of cause why these monarchs who were so kindly disposed to Christianity all through that prosperous period, never attacked them.⁵⁰ Caracalla took to himself the new Bacchus, which in Greek was the workingmen's Dionysus, and endorsed him and his vast organizations as the "Ennobler of mankind and the giver of joys." Foucart says that Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Commodus did the same.⁵¹

The Asiatic scenic artists found their way in early times as far northward into Gaul as Vienna on the Rhone, called Vienne, where, in the old pagan temple afterwards the church of the Christians, but now converted into a museum of antiquities, the author under the guidance of M. Piot, president of the Bank of Beauregard, found a dilapidated inscription of an eranos, in 1896.⁵² Very many epitaphs are found in various parts of Rhegium, now lower Italy, which are recently coming into notice. Some are brought to light from Orange, Lille-

⁵⁰ Orell., no. 2625. "Commune mimorum." It records a union of scenic players, "the best of that time," with their many functions and works. At the end, 50 names are inscribed, as members. This is the Boville inscr.

⁵¹ Foucart, "De Collegiis Scenicorum," p. 93, mentions that these organizations existed at Delphi, "Inscr. Inédites de Delphes," 468, showing the favors of Hadrian: "Imperatori Hadriano servatori qui suam ipsius Græciam restituit et aluit, Græci qui Platæas conveniunt gratiæ monumentum consecrarunt."

⁵² Gibbon, "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," Vol. I., p. 47, Harpers, declares that from Trajan, in A. D. 98, to the last of the Antonines, A. D. 180, a period of 82 years, was the season selected as the most prosperous and happy in the annals of the human race. These better days are proven by Foucart, "De Coll. Scen. Artif.," who speaks of the "new Bacchus," meaning the *Διονύσιος καθηγεμόνος* the world over; a fact which scholars of modern days cannot understand. The artists wrought for him enormous praise and profit. Slab 379, in the CIL is a "tituli fragmentum Thyatiræ repertum," CIG. 3476b. It reads: "Decretum sacræ Hadrianæ, Antoninæ themelicæ periopoliticæ magnæ synodi corum qui ex toto orbe terrarum circa Bacchum et Imperatorem Casarem, T. Ælium Hadrianum Antoninum Augustum Pium novum Bacchum, sunt, artificum."

⁵² It begins: Scenici Asiatici. Lower, on the stone, which is large, and except the lettering, well preserved, are the words: ne et, Qui in eodem corpore sunt vivi. Sibi fecerunt. The members had constructed the monument, probably a sepulchre for themselves. The author saw this by accident in his travels and supposed it to have been hitherto unobserved; but Lüders, "Dionys. Künst.," p. 96, gives it a handsome mention, which need not be repeated, as his rendering conforms with ours. He takes them to be mimic actors. It is recorded in Orell., no. 2642, who thinks the president was the man from Asia. If so, he probably was an apostle of the "Græc. synod.," of whom we shall give more information—it being known that they sent out "Apostles." The Orellian Collection reads it as follows: "Scenici Asiaticiani et qui in eodem corpore sunt, vivi sibi fecerunt." Thus it was a scenic union like all the rest.

bonne, Arles, and elsewhere. The Roman city of Philippi in Macedonia, was well supplied with mimic artists at the time Paul established his church there.⁵³ These unions were commonly called *synods* both in Latin and Greek. Dr. Lueders cites great authority for his statement that the organized artists enjoyed immunity throughout the whole of proconsular Rome which extended from Asia to Britain.⁵⁴ The members, like those of the *collegia* organized to make a living by manual labor, were at Rome excluded from the right of citizenship, sometimes temporarily, on suspicion of being seditious and dangerous. They might have been suspected of too much sympathy with the great secret trade unions we have already described. No doubt they were; for they were all struggling bread-winners together with a common cause. On this subject of comparison with the great Roman and Greek *collegia*, it is comforting to read inscriptions of the scenic artists showing their enjoyment of some civic rights. Probably their numbers and numeric leverage caused it.⁵⁵

It is very interesting to note the variety of entertainment these organizations controlled. They managed the laughing, fun-making entertainments and games from the time of Aristophanes.⁵⁶ So great was the ancient passion for laughing that people would turn out in throngs to see any new joke, callipygian can-can, dance or gymnastic squirm, no matter if it was attended

⁵³ A *titulus* of this sort is mentioned by Foucart, "Scenic Artists," p. 10. CIG., 5762, which is that of a trade union under umbrage of the *lex collegiorum funeraticiorum*.

⁵⁴ "Dionys. Künst.," p. 34, "Auch diese Gesellschaften waren wie die Dionysischen Kunstler für das ganze Römische Reich concessionirt." CIG. 5907, 5913, 3500, 3501, 2931.

⁵⁵ Foucart, "De Coll. Scen. Artificum," p. 28, thus defines these skilled workmen's rights as citizens: "Quin etiam *collegia* suam rem apud civitates tanquam *æquo jure* per *legationes* defendebant." Two slabs from Teos show that their ambassadors were sometimes admitted to a hearing before public tribunals; also one from Delos, CIG. 8067. Their own play-actors were sent as delegates: "Qua *legatione* funguntur poeta tragicus, citharoedus, *synagonista* tragicus, ita suffragiis sociorum designati ut unicuique trium partium quibus constabat *collegium* suus esset legatus."

⁵⁶ Oehler, "MSS.": "Die *Διομειαλάζοντες* bei Aristoph., "Acharn.," vs. 605, und *οἰτὰ γέγους λέγοντες* bei Athenæus, VI., 260a, können mit Lüders, "Dionys. Künst.," p. 17, in gewissen Sinne als *Thiasoten* des Herakles betrachtet werden. In gewissen Sinne waren auch die *ταγηνισταί* (Aristophanes Komödie des *Strattis*, Koch, I., p. 711, fragm. 54-59.) The *γελωτοποιοί*, or buffoons had their *eranói*. On the *θίασοι καίεράνοι* carrying on the *histrionic* profession, see Lüders, "Dionys. Künst.," pp. 59-62, and his note 112, p. 60; Athenæus, XI., 461. "Ἡμεῖς οὖν ὡς καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἐγένετο ἅμα ἀκρωμένοι τῶν γελωτοποιῶν τούτων καὶ μίμων, ἐτι δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνιτῶν ὑποπίνουμεν. The old writers, unless we except large-minded men like Aristotle, can see no other thing than to run down and abuse the poor.

with some lewdness in language and display. They were likewise extremely fond of witnessing gymnastic exercises, wherever made to thoroughly conform to the expression. As a consequence we have great numbers of inscriptions of the thiasitic gymnasts in all parts of the then known world.⁵⁷

But it is now proved that for whatever industry or profession these unions were engaged the ultimate object was to get a living. They were as strictly economical as the trade unions of to-day.⁵⁸

It has been recently advanced by some authors engaged in the analysis of this subject that the thiasos was not religious. On account of the rigid watchfulness of the law a certain devotion to the pagan gods was necessary, but they did not feel the piety they assumed.⁵⁹ The fist-fighters of Greek-speaking countries do not appear to have been so fierce and bloody as those of Rome, except perhaps in Antioch and Ephesus where the strictly Roman games were introduced. But tragedies found their birthplace there. During the life of the younger Sophocles, B. C. 200, the tragedies of Teos, which may

⁵⁷ Oehler, *Ibid.*: on gymnasts, athletes, pugilists, etc.: "Akroinois ἀγλοφόρων κὲ πικτῶν ἡθῶων ὅπᾳς ξυστός" Athen., *Mith.*, VII., 1882, p. 142." This is sufficient proof that acrobats and pugilists, called πικτοί or fist-fighters were included among the Dionysian artists. Again, *id.*: "Σύνοδος als Bezeichnung eines Athletenvereins finden wir in dem Rescripte des Triumphir, M. Antonius, in einem Papyrus des British Museum erhalten und vom Kenyon: *The Classical Review*, VII., 1893, p. 477, veröffentlicht ist. Es wird der σύνοδος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἱερoneϊκῶν καὶ στεφανειῶν die Befreiung von Militärdienst und von bürgerlichen Leistungen bestätigt."

⁵⁸ Foucart *De Collegiis Scenicorum*, p. 6; "A principio scenici artifices private vitam agebant, nec nisi exercendi artificii causa, et id quidem ad tempus, convenire solebant; tandem in corpus perpetuum sese congregaverunt non actores modo sed etiam poetæ, musici et omnes quicunque Bacchi festis inserviebant." So Oehler, *MSS.*, *id.*, makes this open acknowledgment, on years of experience in the field; VEREINE DER DIONYSISCHEN KUENSTLER: Diese sind sowohl als Kultvereine des Dionysos, als auch Erwerbsgesellschaften zu betrachten." Dr. Poland likewise says the same: *De Collegiis Artificum Dionysiacorum*. They were both artists and bread-winners.

⁵⁹ Athenæus, *Deipnosophistæ*, 20, undertakes to show that they sometimes had their drinking bouts: "Θιασον, ὅσπερ ἐστὶν ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ πίνειν συναγωγή." But this, while at as late a date as Athenæus, may have applied to some cases, was the reverse of the record of Aristotle who said many kind things of them and gave them an excellent character. We fail to find evidence that they ever changed. At the time of Paul they had a strong business character. The eranos, thiasos and collegium were so peaceful and business-like that Hannibal on entering Italy with his conquering army suppressed them because they were not enough warlike to satisfy his vengeful blood thirst. He attacked and broke up the συσσιτοι in order to make them truculent enough to turn against and destroy one another. Strabo, *Geog.*, 250. vi. "Καμπανοῖς δὲ συνέβη διὰ τὴν τῆς χώρας εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπ' ἴσον ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύσαι καὶ κακῶν. Ἐπὶ τοσούτου γὰρ ἐξετρώφθησαν ὥστ' ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐκάλουον πρὸς ζεύγη μονομάχων, ὀρίζοντες ἀριθμὸν κατὰ τὴν τῶν συνδείπνων ἀξίαν. Ἀντίβα δ' ἐξ' ἐνδόσεως λαβόντος αὐτοῦς, δεξάμενοι χειμαδίους τὴν στρατιάν ὅπως ἐξεθῆλυσαν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ὥσθ' ὁ Ἀντίβας εἶπε νικῶν κινδυνεύειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκθροῖς γενέσθαι, γυναῖκας ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπολαβῶν."

be denominated the hot-bed of the great co-operative union of Dionysan artists, existed. Gravestones to their memory are found bearing inscriptions showing that they were skilled in all the varieties of the scenic profession. They performed the Greek trilogies.⁶⁰

The penetrating and learned Dr. Lüders reminds us in his brilliant and much quoted work on these associations, that they were often very poor and had a hard life of it even with all their skill and system. We are not entirely confined to their inscriptions for this information. Lucian considered them no better than dogs that constantly deserved a whipping. He tells us that their beautiful clothes were often seen with holes and sometimes patched up for want of earnings wherewith to buy new, and their critics on the stage were brutal to them, often hissing them out and boisterously insulting them; and it was not an uncommon thing for their manager to drive the poor fellows out into the homeless night if they failed to get the required applause.⁶¹

Again, we are fortunate enough to possess some remnants from the ancient pen indicating furthermore the life they led.⁶² Such was the taint blighting labor in those days that they actually got the name of being too poor to be good. The great Aristotle whose records we have often quoted as kindly in their favor, is reported to have classed a certain portion of mankind, among which these organized artists are numbered, as being too poor to be good! Is not this the case with millions at this moment? Organized working men too poor to be good! Here is a most remarkable acknowledgment, and by a great authority, of the economic poverty of the poor working people at that time highly organized, B.C. 384-322, in which it is explained that the Dionysan artists as well as mechanics were so enslaved in their means

⁶⁰ See Welcker, on the *Greek Trilogies*.

⁶¹ Lucian, *Apol. pro Merc. Cond.*, 5; "Ἄλλ' οἱ μὲν, τοῖς τραγικοῖς ὑποκράταις εἰκάσονται" οἱ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς σκηνῆς Ἀγαμέμνων ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἢ κρέων, ἢ αὐτὸς Ἡρακλῆς εἰσιν. ἔξω δὲ Πῶλος ἢ Ἀριστόδημος, ἀποδέμενοι τὰ προσωπίδια, γίνονται ὑπόμισθοι, τραγωδοῦντες, ἐκπίπτοντες καὶ συριττόμενοι ἐνίστε δὲ μαστιγοῦμενοι τινες αὐτῶν, ὡς ἂν τῷ θεάτρῳ δοκῇ."

⁶² Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticæ*, XX., 4, speaks of them rather kindly perhaps too dolefully, but virtually admits that the state hired and paid them for their delicious services: "Comædos quispiam et tragædos et tibicines dives adulescens Tauri philosophi discipulus liberos homines in deliciis atque in delectamentis habebat. Id genus autem artifices Græce appellatur "οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται." Eum adulescentem Taurus a sodalitatibus convictique hominum scenæcorum abducere volens, misit ei verba hæc ex Aristotelis libro excerpta, qui προβλήματα ἐγκύκλια inscriptus est, jussitque uti ea cotidie lectitaret διὰ τί κ.τ.λ. See note 68.

of existence that they could never be good members of society!⁶³ The question which naturally arises is whether governments can afford to permit such a state of things. Is this not, after all, one of the great causes, aye the principal cause of the proverbially short life of the nations of the earth? Who ever went down so deep as Aristotle into the origin of causes as to dig up this great fact?

We make bold to venture the remark that Aristotle's averment is well based. It stands on the authority of the world's ideal philosopher and political economist. It is thus written as a Bible scripture, that when governments tolerate conditions wherein their working people are too poor, too depressed, too lowly to be good, they have arrived at the brink of the deep abyss of decomposition and death. A search into the records of a natural life shows this; and it is high time to harken to the deathless voice of Aristotle and to look up the compendious thunders of Kant whose wonderful unwinding of moral phenomena clears the intellectual sky so that we may behold his dazzling "categorical imperative" thundering to men that what they ought to do they *must* do, even though the doing require the drastic powers of individuals and of governments combined.

The ancient fishermen and huntsmen probably allied their unions likewise with the Dionysan organizations of the *jus coeundi* of the Solonic dispensation.

More than 300 years before our era began there were hunters regularly established in their special business, working for the Indian government under pay of the wise king Sandrakotta. They were exempt from military duty and enjoyed other immunities, which must have made them not only independent but justly proud. There are many evidences that their organization was conducted under the law of Solon.⁶⁴ Strabo not only gives us the full business of the professional hunters of India and manner in which they received their instructions and

⁶³ Aristotle, *Prob.*, XXX., 10: "Διὰ τί οἱ Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνίται ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ πονηροὶ εἰσιν; ἢ ὅτι ἥκιστα λόγον σοφίας κοινωνοῦσι διὰ τὸ περὶ τὰς ἀναγκαίας τέχνας τὸ πολὺ μέρος τοῦ βίου εἰσιν, καὶ ὅτι ἐν ἀκρασίαις τὸν πολὺν κρόνον εἰσιν, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀπορίαις, ἀμφότερα δὲ φαυλότητος παρασκευαστικά."

⁶⁴ Strabo, *Geog.*, 704: "Τρίτον τὸ τῶν ποιμένων καὶ θηρευτῶν, οἷς μόνοις ἔξεστι θηρεύειν καὶ θρεμματοτροφεῖν ὡνία τε παρέχειν καὶ μισθοῦ ζεύγη' ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τὴν γῆν ἐλευθεροῦν θηρίων καὶ τῶν σπερμολόγων ὄρνέων μετροῦνται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως σίτον, πλάγητα καὶ σκηνίτην νεμόμενοι βίον. Ἴππων δὲ καὶ ἐλέφαντα τρέφειν οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἰδιώτη' βασιλικὸν δ' ἐκάτερον νεόμισται τὸ κτήμα, καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληταί."

their pay from the king, but how they used to catch and subdue the animals, and his lengthy account of this is very interesting. They thus controlled the supply of wild, fighting beasts for the amphitheatres, adding to the Dionysan amusements.

An organization of fisherman of more than ordinary numbers and importance existed at the Sea of Tiberias in the north of Palestine, at an age not far from the celebrated choice of a fisherman there, by the founder of Christianity.⁶⁵ Though the discovery is recent, it furnishes auxiliary proof regarding some of the great transactions of that day. Smyrna was a complete Billingsgate and it appears they were rigidly organized together into a powerful and judiciously conducted eranothiasos, so strong and political that they dictated by their votes on election days who should be their agoranomos or commissioner of public works, markets and provisions, thus in a certain degree, controlling the price of fish foods for the people.⁶⁶ Ephesus was also well organized in the fish business, and had a large number of unions of fishermen who plied their nets in the bays at night, and with their fishing smacks even ventured far into the sea in quest of game.⁶⁷ This was going on in a very brisk manner during the apostolic age.

Unions of fishermen are found to have existed at almost every seaport in Asia Minor, and even as far inland as Hierapolis and Thyateira. Cyzicus furnishes us with a fisherman's organization which seems to have been somewhat connected with the shipping trade. An inscription shows it to have been a consecration to Poseidon and Aphrodite. No one need be surprised on contemplating all these old and beaten paths of the ancient trade unionism under the Solonic dispensation, to find such beloved biblical words crop out, as "consecrations," "hallelujahs," "resurrections," "synods," "baptisms," "new births," love feasts, or "presbyters." Being all borrowed terms, they with their rites, were engrafted into Chris-

⁶⁵ Mention is made of it in several works. Our information is as yet, inaccurate and unreliable, because we do not possess the exact text of the slab. It may appear later.

⁶⁶ Oehler, *MSS*: "SMYRNA: eine *συνεργασία* derselben wird erwähnt, welche *κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς* irgend eine Ehrenstatue aufstellte, *Μουσ. Βιβλ., I., 1878, p. 65, nr. 7*; ungenau Reinach, *Μυσ., XXVI., 1872, p. 464.*"

⁶⁷ Oehl., *ibid.*: "Es mögen hier angefügt werden die *σολιατάς*, welche mit der Fischerei oder der Abgabe von Fischfange zu thun hatten. In Ephesus finden wir: *οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ τελευτιοντῆς ἰχθυϊκῆς πραγματευόμενοι.* *Ερмес. IV., 1870, p. 187.*"

tianity from these unions because they were good and pure, and therefore eternal. They have from time immemorial existed and are destined to exist through time and eternity, sublime, hallowed, and though encysted in the scums of greed, yet ever the brilliant gems of justice and of truth.

A union of pearl fishers which seems to have combined its labors with those of the divers at Rome is mentioned by us in the first volume of this work.⁶⁸ But there were many unions of them stretching all along the Italian coasts wherever an estuary of the rivers existed, whether in or near large towns. In the same manner all along the Mediterranean, stretching through a coast line of nearly 3000 miles, traces of the enormous fishing business are picked up in form of unpretentious stone slabs, engraved upon by their unions, which preserved their singular but silent and modest history past the ages that have consigned all else to an eternal oblivion.

Having cursorily sketched the game hunters of the waters, let us return to those of wild animals of the land. We left this subject off with a picturesque description of Strabo and Arrian, who brought under contribution for their valuable geography, writers who about 300 years before them had seen and faithfully sketched the facts. They were Nearchus, Onesiphorus, Aristotle, Megasthenes, Nymphodorus, and others, all of whose valuable works are lost. It is possible that the science of epigraphy may find a new and charming field in India. Certainly their correct and efficient culture, now degenerated into a ghastly skeleton, has never been properly presented in literature, and what of them has been left in the vortex of revolution and disintegration is not fit to be quoted as a factor to return to.

One prominent mention of the unions of hunters is that of Haliartus. It had for its overwatching divinity the goddess Artemis, or Diana.⁶⁹ Dr. Oehler thinks it

⁶⁸L., p. 113, note 62 and 389, note 1. For some account of the pearl fishers, called in Latin margaritarii, see p. 434, and note 18. It should here be admitted that the line between pearl fishers, fishermen, hunters, and the other branches of the Great Dionysan Gemeinde can be drawn with absolute certainty. It stands to reason, however, that in the case of the huntsmen who made an extensive business of catching and corraling wild beasts for amphitheatrical amusements, their alliance with this great international must have been perfectly natural.

⁶⁹Oehler, *MSS.*: "Κυνηγοί: In Ηαλιάρτος bestand eine σύνδοξ των κυνηγιών, Inscr. Græcæ, no. 2850." It was probably running the business at the time of Vespasian and Trajan. It resembles the Italian collegium venatorum, Vol. 1., p. 393, Cf. Welker, *Gr. G.* 1. 564; Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 1. 249.

had communication with kindred organizations in Mylassa. Dr. Lüders mentions in connection with this at Halicartus, another whose inscription was found on a flag of stone at Steiris, in Phocis,⁷⁰ which contains a list of the names of members, who also were worshipers of Diana the tutelary protectrice of the huntsmen. There was in Smyrna, a thiasos of them but dedicated to the god Anubis, also a tutelary patron of the chase and Dr. Foucart believes it to have been Egyptian, because Anubis was an Egyptian divinity.⁷¹ Dumont, in his *Mix of the Archives* has mentioned a similar find of what is by the archæologists, called a huntsman's union at Philipopolis, likewise a consecration to Diana.

What did the hunters do, and how came it about that they were so important? The answer is easy. After the conquests, Rome and her newly acquired dependencies fell into a quinque-centennial spell of profligacy and greed in which all the sullen and hideous appetites of the ring came forth as never before. The craze in every nook and corner of the vast empire was to bet on physical powers as exhibited in bloody and brutal combat. The blood from wounds and gashes of soldiers, prisoners and military victims could no longer be seen, to glut the scenes of torture and death; for the world was conquered and the rage of horrors had been stifled in the peace-policy of Augustus. But the hunger for acts of cruelty, whetted by a dozen generations of carnage was not to be cooled down by the languor which followed a stoppage of war. Men and women longed to behold deeds of blood and cruelty; the gladiatorial ring and its fights with wild beasts in the amphitheatre, were invented to fill the gap.⁷² Great numbers of these amphitheatres were built by the ring speculators, and nearly every city of any considerable population possessed a theatre large or small, where the blood-thirsty people could assemble, pay their entrance tribute, and on tiers of stone steps, often in open skies, whether in rain or shine, feast their eyes with sights of naked men, with lions, tigers, leopards, serpents, panthers, and all the

⁷⁰Lüders, *Dionys. Künstl.*, "Weihinschrift aus Steiris in Phokis: *οὐ κεντροί*" etc.

⁷¹Foucart *Assens Religieuses* p. 117: "Anubis est le dieu à tête de chacal, qui est représenté sur un grand nombre de stèles funéraires de la Basse-Egypte, amenant les âmes au tribunal d'Osiris."

⁷²See I. chapter xii., p. 277 sqq. and fin., p. 332.

beasts of the world's wild forests and swamps, were huddled and starved into a condition of fury, that the multitude in their frenzy of wine, women and lust, might behold conflicts of tooth and claw and constricture, and writhing, moaning death.

The reader will now understand why so many organizations of huntsmen existed to leave their monumental history for the higher science of an advanced civilization. They were genuine workingmen, organized in protective unions, to more successfully carry out their profession in scouring forest and stream to entrap and secure the lions, tigers, panthers, serpents which were to satisfy this savage lust for sights of rage and conflict.

Dr. Waltzing, in his valuable work on the labor associations of the Romans, mentions a collegium of hunters who made the seizure of wild beasts for the amphitheatre a specialty of the chase.⁷³ This chase of wild beasts for the amphitheatre was especially imperative among the Romans proper, whose internecine conquests had been the cradle of every grade of cruelty, leading finally to their own downfall and extermination. From Rome the passion extended out in all directions until it compassed the known world. There is quite a numerous mention of the Roman hunters or venatores showing that there was a demand for wild animals, and no doubt the unions sometimes succeeded in securing enough to support themselves and their families well.

Dr. Oehler reminds us of such an organization at Pantopolis,⁷⁴ Egypt, whose entire business was to trap and gather wild beasts for the Pantopolitan amphitheatre. In Citios, a town of Cyprus also, there was a hunters' society, with a boss hunter or manager. They also had for their regular daily business the entrapping and securing of game, not only for the table but the more royal monsters, elephants, lions and tigers, even sometimes a huge boa constrictor or other serpent to nerve the pitiless myrmidons of the sands.

⁷³ *Hist. Corp. Ches les Romains*, I. p. 198: "Collegium venatorum sacerdotum Dianæ; chasseurs de bêtes fauves dans le cirque, à Rocca d' Arce;" and cites the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Vol. X., no. 5671, by which we understand "pour le Cirque."

⁷⁴ *MSS*: "ΠΑΝΤΟΠΟΛΙΣ, (Ægypten), versorgten κυνηγοί unter einem ἀρχικύνιγος die städtische Menagerie mit dem nöthigen Futter: *Rev. des Études Grecques*, IV., 1891, p. 53, nr. IV., mehrere Inschriften." Again, *ibid*: "In Kition auf Kyphos finden wir κυνηγοί mit einem ἀρχικύνιγος. CIG. 2619.

CHAPTER XI.

OLD INTERNATIONAL

ITS TENETS, RULES AND METHODS.

A LIVELY Modern inquiry—Work of the Academies—Dr Böckh's Comprehensive Name—The Organizations' Greek and Latin Chisel-Work—Reliability of Our Authority—Secret Behind the Old Reverence for the Jus Coeundi—Their Headquarters—Trades Engrossed by it—Saint Paul the Tent-Maker, Proved to have been a Member—Their Classical Literature—Ionian Synod—Numbered Millions—Countries Occupied—The Didasculus—They had Schools and Taught the Rich—Popular with Emperors—Domitian Persecuted them—How Dr. Ramsay Found their Inscriptions—Ad Exemplum Reipublicæ—Twelve Tables—About their Temples—Theatres—Why Called Gemeinde—Cicero's Denunciation—Killed by Cruel Money Power with Aid of Standing Army.

WHAT is the true meaning of the inquiry now going on among our scholars in the academies of archæology? Since the prime of life of that great and accurate scholar, August Böckh, who first pronounced upon such an association among the ancients, and was so fearless as to give it a comprehensive name, great numbers of relic-hunting epigraphists, alumni from the academies of inscriptions, directors of excavations, critics in hieroglyphics and Greek and Latin chisel-work, and sometimes even business travelers and amateurs, have been alert, and on the search for more of these strange treasures which, skeleton-like, are grinning at man's ambitious wisdom and mistaken politics, ogling backward upon this grim and ghostly lore of the lost socialism.

We are safe, on the strength of such irrefutable authority, to make the startling announcement that at the time when Jesus was in the flesh teaching socialism, this organization was at its height of power and efficiency, act-

ually numbering several millions in the various cities and districts of proconsular Rome. Secreted behind the reverence which made the *jus cœundi* of Solon impregnable, it had survived the attacks of the Roman conquests, outlived the war policy of suppression by extermination, gathered strength by mutual protection, sympathy and love which had become its tenets, and was at that moment blooming with a grim and occult triumph over the world. We shall show that its tenets were economic, its methods socialistic and its vitality inextinguishable.

It is now admitted that the headquarters of the so-called Great International Association of Artists were at Teos. It closely interlinked and federated with its branches in Greece, Macedonia, Palestine, Phrygia, Syria, Egypt, Italy and Gaul. Although this enormous association, stretching far and wide, was supposed to be strictly musical and histrionic, it in reality, engrossed more than a dozen trades of mechanical and professional men. Among the trades co-ordinating with the general scheme were tentmakers, of whom St. Paul is now proved to have been one; the masons, because temples, school houses and residences had to be built; gardeners and cultivators who embellished and tilled the land they owned in common; mechanics who manufactured musical instruments; engravers who chiseled the inscriptions, often illy because unlettered workmen; clothes makers and menders, ordinary and theatrical, who kept the play actors in trim; cooks, butchers, water carriers, scene painters and decorators, and other trades too numerous to mention.

Then, as to the more strictly professional occupations, there are known to have been teachers of more than a dozen different branches of quite classical literature; for they are not only found to have furnished music and other entertainments for the people but they gave valuable instruction to the wealthy and better-to-do, to which class they could not aspire to belong.¹ Dr. Lüders has explained the schools.²

¹ Athenæus, *Deipnosophistæ*, XIV., 626: "Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς Φιλοξένου καὶ Τιμοθέου νόμους μανθάνοντες πολλῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ χορεύουσι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τοῖς Διονυσιακοῖς ἀλληταῖς ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις. οἱ μὲν παῖδες τοὺς παιδικοὺς ἀγῶνας, οἱ δὲ νεανίσκοι τοὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν λεγόμενους.

² Lüders, *Dionys. Kunst.*, pp. 134-40 shows the manner of these schools as taken from the elaborate inscriptions containing lists of prizes, won by the boys, and the various names of the plays in which the children and others had excelled.

There existed what was known as the great Ionian Synod, which came under the Ætolian Law. A synod, such as in those days was common, was a union of these artists under a statute legalizing them in great numbers, all through the Ionian towns and cities. In direct connection with them is what is known as the great synod of Teos which, away back in those days was the central city of the Dionysian union.³ This powerful god Dionysos, protector of the products of nature, “ennobler of mankind and giver of joys,” was overseer of the dramatic artists and patron of the stage. Consequently all these wandering scenic playwrights were necessarily Dionysic or Bacchic. The great federation of Teos must have numbered millions. The inscriptions show us a list of fifty-three places small and great where they were established, and where they carried on their business of public amusement, and of teaching. This list which makes no pretensions to completeness, only covers a small part of Asia Minor, Greece and Macedonia. The schools entered into competitory strife for supremacy.⁴

³ Lüders, *Dionys. Künst.*, pp. 112-132, where it is shown that in the religious point of view the members were the cultivators of the Pythian and Delphic Bacchus, or Dionysus. See Ross, *De Baccho Delphico* and Welcker, *Alle Denkmäler*, 1., p. 151 sq. They worshiped the Σωτήρ or Saviour, thinking him to be Dionysus, Protector of all good in nature.

⁴ Lüders, *Dionys. Künst.*, pp. 136-137 gives a list of winners who received rewards for superiority. History again, is indebted to recently found inscriptions for a knowledge of the ancient workmen's schools. The list of prizes and of names of males of various ages and conditions winning them was found on a stone at Teos, headquarters of the great Ionian International, called by Böckh, the Great Gemeinde, a word which in German is well-known as a church community. The inscription is registered in the CIG. as 3088; see also 3059 and 3060:

ADULTS, ABOVE PRIME OF LIFE:—Πρεσβυτέρας ηλικίας.

(This portion of the stone is illegible.)

PRIZES AWARDED

For rendering and reciting rhapsody:—ὑποβολῆς ανταποδόσεως;

to Zoilus, son of Zoilus:

For reading and assiduity in studies:—ἀναγνώσεως;

to Zoilus, son of Zoilus, other prizes.

PRIME OF LIFE:—Μεσης ηλικίας;

For superiority in recitations:—ὑποβολῆς.

PRIZES AWARDED

to Metrodorus, son of Attalus:

For excelling in general purity of knowledge:—ἀναγνώσεως;

to Dionysicles, son of Metrodorus:

For superiority in high attainments and varied excellence:—πολυμαθίας;

to Athenæus, son of Apollodorus:

For skill in painting:—ζωγραφίας:

to Dionysius, son of Dionysius,

also to Dionysius, son of Menecratus.

Other persons whose names are too dim to be read with certainty, obtained prizes for categorically listed excellence in:

καλλιγραφία:—beautiful penmanship and painting;

λαμπάδος (λαμπάς); torch racing or flambeau gymnastics;

ψαλμού; psalm-singing or perhaps composition, or both;

κιθάρισμού; cithara-playing;

κιθαρῳδίας; singing to the cithara, and others.

Judging from inscriptions and various desultory hints of the writers of those times, it is safe to state that there were thousands of them; and that, to a very large extent they were employed by the state, or municipal corporations.

In their art, schools of no very despicable size and excellence arose and flourished everywhere. Their didascalus or teacher, in many cities became so popular that wealthy families patronized them by sending their sons and sometimes, though rarely, their daughters, to be educated by them, especially in singing and amateur accomplishments, fitting them for their debut in society. The reason why they were popular with the emperors Nero and Domitian, while other communistic associations, such as the regular trade and voting unions, were persecuted and massacred by such potentates, was that they made flattery and legerdemain their business, and were obsequious and time-serving, always paying the humblest and most respectful homage to all persons in power.⁵ They were called wanderers everywhere at the time of Hadrian. There is a regular title to this effect which is brought to light by the Newtonian inscription,⁶ showing that the association was legalized throughout proconsular Rome.

Biographers of great men who have imagined Anacreon to have been a member of this association in its earliest days, B. C. 561, may be surprised to learn that such allegiance but contributed proof to his personal or social glory. It is true, he might have known them; but it must have been a comparatively short time after Solon ordained the law. We are inclined to the opinion that the wonderful lyrics in dithyrambic verse of this great poet might have contributed a great deal toward establishing the organization and placing it on grounds of perpetuity. The monuments at Teos, Halicarnassus and in many parts of Asia Minor, are almost innumerable. So also we have a valuable notice from Dr. Ram-

⁵ CIG. 4315. "Ἡ ἱερωτάτη βουλή καὶ οἱ Ἀθηῆνσιν Ἐπικουρείοι φιλόσοφοι καὶ ἡ ἱερὰ θυμαλικὴ σύνοδος." Again, Le Bas 1336, showing that some of them were rather Epicurean in character.

⁶ Discoveries in Halicarnassus, II., p. 60; For more, consult CIG. 4897, 5127, 6786, 6829; Welcker, *Nachtr. z. Tril.*, p. 196; *G. G.* III., p. 311. Their compliment to Hadrian reads: "Ἡ ἱερὰ Ἀδριανῆ Ἀντωνείνη θυμαλικὴ περιπολιστικὴ μεγάλη σύνοδος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσσον καὶ αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τίτον Ἀίλιον Ἀδριανὸν Ἀντωνείνον Σεβαστόν, Εὐσεβῆ, νέον Διόνυσσον." Lüders, p. 74, says: "Die Truppe war für den ganzen Erdkreis concessionirt, nach der Formel: ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης."

say who, to secure accurate information for his critical geography of the bishoprics and churches of Phrygia, traveled over most of the territory, and adds his personal observation to numberless quotations from learned men who preceded him in this interesting field.' He quotes from an eranos or thiasos—evidently not understanding the lowliness of those makers of his inscription—which if not already converted, are very near to being a full-fledged Christian church through a union of poor people who communicate their adoration of the mysterious forerunner-god who was slaughtered, and suffered martyrdom. They are proud that they could erect to him an altar out of their own means; and mention upon the epigraph that they are a thiasos. The date appears to be of the Apostolic age, and they are mithraic, the nearest pagan approach, if not already converted to Christianity. The city and district are Akmonia and Phrygia.⁸

Dr. August Böckh who edited the Body of Greek Inscriptions undertaken by the Berlin Academy, after giving the subject much time and study concludes that the Great Ionian Association of actors had for the basis of its organization the pattern of the Attic city in conformity with a clause in the original Solonic law which is lost, but fragmentarily preserved in the Roman provincial edict of Gaius. There appears nothing in the Digest containing it, which we quote in a note, to show that the law took its original form from Solon's measure; but the hint given by Böckh in various places, that this is probable, makes us feel that the comparison is the richer.⁹ It is unlikely that the words in this singular edict: "*ad exemplum reipublicæ*," were at all intended for the then existing political bodies. It is much more

⁷ Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, II., pp. 644-645, *inscr.* no. 546: "Susuz-Keui, 'Αγ.] Τ. Διονύσω Καθηγεμόνι οἰ μύσται τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἁ θιάσον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων κατιέρωσαν εἰς τὴν ἐαυτῶν χρῆσιν τὴν τε ἐξέδραν καὶ τὴν προσκειμένην διαίτην." Again, on the subject of the wonderful forerunner: "The title Dionysos Kathegemon," continues the learned author, p.644, "was used at Pergamus. He was also chief god at Teos, and in his worship the Great Association of actors, οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται was united."

⁸ Foucart, *De Coll. Scen. Artf.*, p. 20, speaking of the multitude of priests, mentions this, but cites CIG. 3068, 3070 to show their numbers elsewhere: "Apud Teos, institutum fuit etiam alterum sacerdotium quum Pergameno; reges Eumenem et Attalum, quorum beneficiis collegium auctum et amplificatum fuerat, artifices, Asiatica adulatione, et vivos divinis honoribus prosequerentur et mortuos in deorum numerum referrent."

⁹ *Digest*, III., 4: "GAIUS, *libro tertio ad edictum provinciale* Quibus autem permissum est corpus habere collegii societatis sive cujusque alterius eorum nomine, proprium est ad exemplum reipublicæ habere res communes, arcam communem et actorem sive syndicum, per quem, tamquam in republica, quod communiter agi fierique oporteat, agatur fiat."

probable that Gaius had a copy either of the Solonic law containing this important provision, or a copy of the same law as translated for the Twelve Tables of Roman statutes.

Dr. Foucart published a valuable contribution in proof that these actors were numerous at Tralles in Asia Minor, and were worshipers of Hermes, the Latin Mercury, giver of good luck, and tutelary divinity who was believed to preside over skill, gymnastic arts, sciences, public business, markets and roads. In this respect, as implied by these organizations, Hermes differs little from Dionysos himself who was the Ennobler of mankind, giver of joys etc.¹⁰ The temple of these associations was used not only for devotional exercises¹¹ which frequently amounted to very little, but to the practical work of their rehearsals, schools, and evening meetings, as well as their common meals and banquets. At Mitylene an inscription was found which was also the work of the great co-working organization centered at Teos. The members played dithyrambs and agonies. All over Phrygia are found their relics. At Pessinus, where the apostles Paul and Barnabas were snubbed at the synagogues and turned away, and where, through some mysterious influence of which we shall speak in a later chapter, they found ready-made brethren, a fine slab of the wandering troupes of the same body, turns up,¹² with a glaringly suggestive reminder that St. Paul, a scene maker by trade if not a member, was taken in; for somebody was there all equipped with sympathy, with a little temple, a brotherhood and means; and this somebody secretly helped them to work in a revival and establish a church at Pessinus. We shall prove that the "somebody" were unions of trade brotherhoods.

The Great Ionian Theatrical Society had powerful churches, or as they are designated by the German archæologists "Gemeinden" in a dozen cities, chief among which was Teos, and thence spreading over a large portion of the world. At Tyre there was one performing the agonies, there designated as the great Alexandrian plays. At Rome and in many parts of Italy there were

¹⁰ Cf. any good *Lexicon*, in verb. Βακχος.

¹¹ Foucart, *Revue Archéol.*, 1865, I., p. 222; Lüders, *Dionys. Künst.*, pp. 5, 22. Also *id.*, p. 33, gymnasts and playwrights of Delos. Το κοινὸν τῶν Εὐπατοριστῶν.

¹² Lüders, *Dionys. Künst.* p. 92, *inscr.* 98: Ἡ ἱερὰ μουσικὴ περιπολιστικὴ σύνοδος τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν, CIG. 4081: *id.*, pp. 93-94 and his *inscr.* 101; CIG. 5762, found at Syracuse

organizations known as the Lupercalia,¹³ which became so considerable that the attention of the senate was several times called to them and they were mentioned by historians.¹⁴ Cicero speaks of them in terms denoting contempt, regarding them as no better than wild beasts.¹⁵ His contempt for the Germans, like a great part of his aristocratic notions brilliantly expressed in contemptuous tones, is a poor offset against the great human fact that the Germans, perhaps on this very account, have outlived Cicero and Rome, and have for some reason or another planted an immortal civilization upon the ruins of that aristocracy so boastingly upheld by the proud oratorical lawyer of Rome. The lupercalia were no other than innocent societies of the play actors, being allied to the great international association of playwrights which had their headquarters in far off Teos of Asia Minor. We strongly suspect that the trouble with Cicero was, that these "lupercalia he denounces as wild beasts, whose institutions were founded in forests and fields before the dawn of humanity and law," were on the side of Clodius, his mortal enemy, who is now well known to have defended the poor workingmen and their organizations, whom Cicero hated, persecuted and suppressed. History recounts that Clodius, to shun the vengeance of his pursuers, escaped to Bovilla whither he was chased, entering into the temple of the Bona Dea, a crime entailing death under the Roman law. Evidence now turns up that this temple was of the lower mysteries, not the great official; and that this her Dionysic habitat was one of the many asylums of retreat, in perfect accordance with usage among the poor.¹⁶ It opened its doors freely to all persecuted persons of the fraternity to which it belonged. It was an asylum for the oppressed and persecuted. The cruel money power against which personages like Jesus, Clodius, Socrates and other mar-

¹³ Büchh, CIG. 3065, Τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Ἐχίνου συμμορίας, seems to be a slight variation. Some compare it with collegia gentilicia. They are genuine *διασοὶ* and their tombstones are numerous in Teos. They made garlanded epigraphs. Nos. 3101, and 3112 CIG. say: Ὅτι διασοὶ πάντες, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Παναθηναίων: τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Διονυσιαστῶν, showing that they had a community of economic interests. They were all busy with the means of existence, using religion to pave the way.

¹⁴ Orell. 6010—Lanuvii, AVC. 741, B.C. 6. "Magnum Collegium Lupercorum et capitolinorum;" Referred to by Cic., see Orell., *id.*, note. The Capitol was the temple and is the origin of the great Lanuvian inscription.

¹⁵ Cicero, *Pro Marco Caelio*, 11; "Fera quædam sodalitas et plane pastoritia atque agrestis Germanorum lupercorum: quorum coitio illa sylvestris ante est instituta, quam humanitas atque leges."

¹⁶ Vol. 1., *Index in verb. Asylum*, explaining this.

tyrs fought, used its low subterfuge of tergiversation, and to this day makes the encyclopedias, the histories and the rhetoricians fervid in calumnious defamation of Clodius for having invaded the secret penetralia of the Bona Dea. The least insight into facts would disabuse the encyclopedists of their error; since the Bona Dea was none other than Diana, the great protectress of the poor and provider for their fortunes, pleasures and joys. Kinship is indeed claimed for her, with Nemesis, the goddess who pursued and scourged with vengeful fury the greedy who grasped and appropriated more than their share.

CHAPTER XII.

ANCIENT MUSIC.

STONES BRINGING WRITTEN MELODIES BACK TO LIFE.

Music of the Unions Described—Introductory Reflections—Exploded Belief That Ancient Forefathers possessed no Knowledge of Musical Notes—Discovery at Delphi in 1895—Wonderful Musical Find Chiseled on Pronaos of Temple of Pythian Apollo—Olympian Hill-Slopes—Dr. Theodor Reinach's Heliograph—Author's Visit to the Temple of Oracles—Keen Criticism of Reinach, Crusius, Welcher—Frogs of Aristophanes—Music of the Agonies—Pausanias' Treasury of the Athenians—Gevaert on Instrumental Music—Second Musical Find in 1896, Still better—Valuable Illustration—Third Musical Find—A Treasure from Tralles in Asia—Influence of the Unions who possessed the Science—Outfit of the Musicians—Power of the Drama—They Sang a Doxology—Orphic Canticle—Wide Range of the Singers—The Harmonios Nomos—A Mournful Strain—The Hymnodoi—What, when at Last the Christians Came—Jealous Prelates Stabbed Genius to the Heart—Victimized by Prelate Power—Suppression at Laodicea—They Fell Forever.

So wonderful and enchanting are the fruits of investigating science which sprout and ripen out of the critical reading by our savants in the seminaries of inscription, that we are constrained from sheer amazement to ask : Are we singing to-day the identical strains that were familiarly hummed and chanted by our ancestors more than 2,000 years ago?

Such a thought reproves ridicule and assumes the serious, as we plunge down into its resources of evidence and drag up from the lugubrious literature of the forgotten workingman, the startling glyptics of his facile chisel. Not only did they compose music but they wrote

it; and adapted it to beautiful verse which is preserved to us in hymns to the divinities they loved. It has long been assumed that the ancients had no musical literature; no notes by which others could read or perform on instruments the delicious strains which thrill the tasteful moderns with half of what makes life worth living. All this belittling of departed ages is giving way before the discoveries that are illuminating this brilliant science of the past. The splendid triumph of modern research is, that this cumulus of facts proving art and music and multiform learning, whose fossilized history rises from submergence into science worthy of recognition by universities of Europe, to be wholly the work of an organization of laboring people, so humble and lowly that in their own lifetime they could not regard themselves as citizens, or hardly as human beings.

The ancient musical guilds, like the burial societies, were a part of the scheme of unions whose description occupies the three preceding chapters of this work. The musical attachment was a natural adjunct which completed the whole vast business of what we have just described as the "Great Ionian Gemeinde," or church of artists and playwrights. It was not perfect without the necessary music; and as a result, this accomplishment was worked out to a state of much perfection.

We proceed immediately to a consideration of the Delphic Hymns. The analysts of the ancient music, who devoted time and talent to the subject are Welcker, Reinach, Weil, Crusius,¹ Weber, Homolle, Wessely, and others devoting their lives to the work.

In 1895 there was found in the ancient temple of Apollo, at Delphi, a small city of Antiquity situated on the little river Plistos, some miles from the Gulf of

¹ Crusius, *Die Delphischen Hymnen*, p. 90, quotes the stanzas, in his analysis of some fragments of the Glyconian hymn, with instrumental notes. In the fourth line of the second stanza occur the words: ἀπταίστους Βακχου θιάσους; and line 5: "αἰεὶ σώζετε προσπόλοις" which we take as clear proof. Weil, backed by the highly creditable Homolle, director of the excavations, believed it to be as late as B. C. 40. If true, then so much the nearer to the beginning of the Christian era, and so much the more powerful the musical argument. It proves that they actually sang into being the new Gospel; and that at Delphi the great emancipation pieces took their rise. Thus Weil and Homolle place date of hymn at B. C. 40, and Crusius, *ibid.*, p. 90, suggests that it may be so; otherwise accounting for the mention of Romans: ". . . dass die ungesungene ἀρχά die Herrschaft der Römer sei." But Polybius who lived and wrote 100 years before, talks of the subject matter, *Histories*, II, 35: "Ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ Γαλατῶν φόβος οὐ μόνον τὸ παλαιόν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἦδη πλεονάκις ἐξέπληξε τοὺς Ἕλληνας." There was certainly a great scare among the Athenians about that time. For the κόγξ ὄμπαξ, see Loeb, *Aglaoph.*, 775 sqq.

Corinth and lying at the foot of Mount Parnassus, an extraordinary inscription engraved upon the pronaos of the once vast and magnificent temple of the Pythian Apollo. There was once an earthquake that engulfed this mountain city in catastrophe and ruin. On account of the paganism which existed in the ancient past, the Christians ascribe this seismic upheaval to the Almighty Jehovah. But curiously enough, this was after all, about the same being as the Jove of the inhabitants they condemn.

Delphi still nestles at the foot of this celebrated Mount, in a craggy dell, classic and beautiful, exquisite to the romanticist, with pocket-gulfs, flowery fragrance, gushing springs, oriental birds and crag-climbing herds, seemingly the only survivors of an ancient majesty which presided there, over the destinies of men. A purring creek still foams and tumbles past the ruins of Apollo's temple. One great mountain spring, the Castalia gurgles from the heights. It is the self-same prophetic fountain of antiquity, whose liquid, when tasted by the priest and priestess in charge of the secret work, caused them to fall into an ecstatic trance and to sing with inarticulate tones, the dirges and requiems of the great cathegemonean Apollo.

Among the recently discovered monuments of art which are fixed to the credit of the Dionysan artists, are two inscriptions of written music, of the age of B. C. 134, or as Weil and Crusius inform us, the age of Augustus. These trophies completely overthrow the aged belief that the ancients did not write music. In our recent visit to the scene of these discoveries, we received much new information through a personal conversation with M. Theodore Reinach, the critical epigraphist, whom the French Academy of Inscriptions detailed to work out the new finds at Delphi. He found the key to the musical powers of certain hitherto incomprehensible characters not belonging to the Greek alphabet. He was so kind as to present us with heliographic representations of them, taken by the artists at the excavations.

In ancient Greek music, the notes were written in a straight line and not, as with us, in a scale of ascending and descending tones. There were many characters, each of a different power and the tone was known by the shape rather than the position of the note.

SECOND HYMNE A APOLLON

Col. 1. u
 ... ΑΝΔΕΚΑΙΙ' ΙΟΝΕΙΣΤΟ (ΙΣΕ)

10
 ετ' ἐ - πί τη - λεί - σκο - πον τὰ ἄν - [δ]ε Πη[ρ] - νας - αι -] ἄν (?) [ὀ - φρυ - ῶν]

5
 δι - κό - ρυ - φον κλειει - τὸν ὕ - μνων χ[ατ - ἀύρ] - χ[ε - τε δ' ἐ - μῶν]

5
 Πι - ε - ρί - δες αἶ - νι - φο - βό - λους [π]έτρας ναι - εῖθ' [Ἐ - λι] - κω - νι - δ[ας]

5
 μέλ - πε - τε δὲ Πύ - θι - ον [χρυ] - σε - ο - χαι - ταν εἴ - κα - τ]ον εὐ - λύ - ραν

6
 φοτ - βον ὄν ε - τι - κτε λα - τῷ μά - και - ρα προ - [ρά λι - μναι] κλυταῖ

7
 χρο - σί γλαυ - καῆς ἐ - λαι - ας θι - γουοῦ[σ' ὀ - ζον ἐν ἄ - γω - νί - αι]ς

8
 ἰ - ρι - θη - [λή]. Πη[ἄς δὲ γ]ᾶ - θη - σε πό - λος εὐ - ρά - νι - ο[ς ἀν - νέ - φε - λος]

10
 ἄ - γλα - ὄς ν]η - νί - μους δ' ἐ - σχει αι - θηῆρ ἄ[- ελ - λωῶν τα - χυ - πε -

10
 τ]εῖς [δρῶ] - μους λῆ - ξε δὲ βα - ρύ - θεο - μων Νη[η - ρί - ως ζα - με - νίς ο]εῖ -

The experts of the Athenian school under the auspices of the French government, discovered a hymn to Apollo, which they call the first find. It was published in 1894 and is here represented, with the translation from the original heliograph. Some account of it was given in the newspapers of that time. Later, another discovery was made in the same temple, consisting of a large flag, part of the pronaos or the portal, upon which were engraved suspicious-looking letter-like characters, likewise found to be music. The old rock was so broken and worn by the convulsions of nature and the vandalism of man which had been going on since about B. C. 134, or 2160 years, that the work of reconstructing and adjusting its fragments to expose the lettering in a legible shape was at first thought impossible. Patience and skill at last prevailed. The broken fragments were toggled together and the artists succeeded in taking an indifferent heliograph such as is shown in the cuts. From this the true study of deciphering and modernizing the music was conducted, until the world is in proud possession of the precious monuments of the skill of the ancient laborer.

The scientific world had long been anticipating rich discoveries now going on under other powerful writers. Crusius brought out some new points on the Papyrus of Euripides.² Theodore Reinach showed us a quotation on the subject, from Dion Chrysostom,³ referring directly to their written music. This, then was a significant hint, being from so ancient and so reliable an author. Furthermore, they found in the celebrated Frogs of Aristophanes something very significant, regarding the Delphic hymns which they afterwards discovered, as we have described.⁴ Even Cicero who, like Pliny, wrote on a multitude of subjects, gives us some suggestive points which were carefully noted by the scientific experts on the track of the lost works on Dionysian artists. Crusius, perceiving the importance of all this honorable

² Crusius, "Delphische Hymnen." p. 92. sqq.

³ Reinach, in "Bull. de Correspondence Hell." 1896, p. 350, note 2, quoting Dion Chrys., "Orat.," LXVIII., p. 234; Dindorf; "Ὅσπερ ἐν λίτρᾳ τῶν μέσων φηλόγγον καταστήσαντες ἔπειτα πρὸς τοῦτον ἀρμόττονται τοὺς ἄλλους."

⁴ Crusius, "Delph. Hymn.," p. 21. quotes Aristophanes, "Frogs," V. 390. ff.:

"Ἰακχ' ᾧ πολυτμοῖς ἐν ἔδραις ἐνθ' ἔδαι ναίων,

"Ἰακχ. ᾧ Ἰακχε,

ἐλθὲ τὸνδ' ἀνὰ λειμῶνα χωρεῦσσω

ὄσιους ἐς διασώτας

πολύκαρπον μὲν τινάσσω

περὶ κρατὶ σφ' βρῦντα

στέφανον μῦρτων," κτλ.

mention, even by men elsewhere expressing the greatest contempt for their organizations, bewails the fragmentary condition of the evidence.⁵ Hints from modern writers, together with their quotations, all show an acknowledgment that they are unions of the Dionysian artists.⁶ Notable among those who foresaw the discoveries of written music is the great author, Dr. Welcker, whose magnificent work on the Greek trilogies surpasses all others in penetration and truthfulness to the customs and forms of the ancients. This earlier work contributed much in inspiring the French and other governments to appropriate funds with which to unearth and bring to the surface their sunken treasures.⁷ The discoveries thus far at Delphi show that the agonies with the people there, were the principal attraction; and the Athenians, Corinthians, Megarians and Eleusinians during the summer, used to make pilgrimages to Mount Olympus and in the cool shades of the Delphian Parnassus, in the sacred city,⁸ regale themselves in the delightful concerts and the agonies, performed by the Dionysian artists.⁹

There is a good deal of doubt as to the date of the Delphic hymns.¹⁰ In the wording, mention is made in praise of the Romans, giving us to infer that the hymns were not written until after the conquest of Greece by the Romans which historical event took place in B. C. 146. As a consequence, Weil and Reinach are in favor

⁵ Cicero, "Tusculanarum Disputatio," l., 2: "Summam eruditionem Græci sitam censebant in nervorum vocumque cantibus." And again, "Pro Murræna," 13, he says: "Ut aiunt in Græcis artificibus eos auledos esse qui citharœdi fieri non potuerunt." Similar laudations are everywhere inscribed on the stones.

⁶ Crusius, "Delph. Hymn.," p. 92, regrets the "Lüchenschaftigkeit der Fragmente" found near the main inscription of the Delphic Hymn, and admits that it speaks of the *Βάκχου Θιάσους*, hinting that it may be a prayer for Frieden or peace; perhaps it is a prayer for Freiheit, or freedom.

⁷ Lüders, "Dionys. Künst.," pp. 116, 117, speaks of there being an organized body of poor bread earners. He gives an interesting account of their chorus, and its early and later uses as well as the paraphernalia in use by them on page 118; and his hints of the then unknown, show that in his mind, written music was a certainty, a fact which has been discovered since Welcker's work was published.

⁸ Welcker, "Aeschyleische Trilogie;" "Griech, Tragödien."

⁹ Crusius, "Delph. Hymn.," p. 64: "Auf alle Fälle aber sind attische Festgesandtschaften in Delphi bei allen Agonen etwas so gewöhnliches, dass man aus ihrer Erwähnung die besondere Art des Festes kaum bestimmen kann."

¹⁰ Crusius, "Delph. Hymn.," p. 99: "Die Hymnen müssen, nach ihrem Inhalt, wie nach ihrem poetischen und musikalischen Stil, ziemlich der gleichen Zeit, etwa der Mitte des dritten Jahrhunderts vor Chr., angehören." This would be B.C. 250, or about 100 years earlier than the estimate of the French Academy.

of placing the date at B. C. 146,¹¹ while Crusius suggests that it might have been composed as early as B. C. 250. Still another authority gives the date as B. C. 40. On this subject we may append some remarks indirectly from the "London Times" but directly from the "New York Sun," published at the time of the analysis of Reinach which was finished in 1896, considering it worthy of transcription into a note.¹²

Saint Saëns, an ingenious and successful musical composer first undertook to reproduce the *Antigone* of Æschylus, and no little interest was created regarding the outcome of the attempt.¹³ At any rate the labors of Weil, Reinach and Crusius recently, have so improved upon every former work, great as is the investigation of Welcker and others and admitting that these pioneers blazed their pathway, for which we are determined that so far as lies in our power they shall receive full credit, have penetrated no less than three immortal inscriptions, and overturned the old belief that the ancients did not know how to write and teach music scientifically. There have been rehabilitations of the music of the forefathers produced in the theatres of Athens, Paris and elsewhere, in form of the modern concert; and living humanity has been regaled with the delightful strains which were composed thousands of years ago by the ancient poor man and at an age when he was regarded as little better than the dog. The whole is a triumph to his glory and honor.

¹¹ "Journal de Corresp. Hellenique," 1806.

¹² New York "Sun": "In their excavations at Delphi the French have unearthed the building Pausanias called the Treasury of the Athenians. They discovered the remains of two large slabs of stone, inscribed with words and music. In the first season's work they found fourteen fragments of various sizes, of which they published an account last year. Four of the fragments were distinguished from the other ten by a difference in the notation of the music, and these four made up a piece that was introduced to the public as the 'Hymn of Apollo.' They recently found another large fragment, to which the remaining ten were adjusted, and now they have a second hymn. The first line of the new hymn is followed by the first line of a decree. This shows how these compositions came to be inscribed upon the stone. The purport of both hymns is substantially the same. After the invocation of the muses the poet gives various legends of Apollo's life and works, ending with the slaughter of the Gauls at Delphi, in 179 B.C. He then implored the gods for protection for Delphi and Athens and the government at Rome. The date is therefore after 146 B.C., when the Romans took possession of Greece." Yet it might have been 100 years later.

¹³ New York "Musical Courier," Dec. 27, 1893: "Choruses in imitation of the ancient (music); but are they the self-same? Gevaert proves that they were rendered instrumentally by the ancients." And still again, *ibid*: "One brief phrase, twice repeated, of the chorus in dialogue with *Antigone* is given in the hypophrygian mode; but one of the choruses, the invocation to Bacchus, is written in the syntonolydian mode (fa ending on the mediant la), and has an essentially plaintive character. 'The rudimentary polyphony,' says Gevaert, 'was practiced by the ancients.'"

The third musical find is that near Tralles in Asia Minor, known to the scientific world as the Seikilos. It is an inscription of pre-Christian antiquity, well preserved on a smooth slab of stone, and bearing the notes and also the words, composed for a wealthy citizen who, on his death-bed willed the musical branch of the Dionysan artists a sum of money out of whose use they were to commemorate his anniversary by banquet and song. The words and music are, as in the Delphic hymns, worked out into modern notes; and we are thankfully cognizant to M. Theo. Reinach who personally furnished us copies in heliograph, which we here present. This gentleman was firm in his assurance that the Delphic music, if not that of the Seikilos, which as is easily seen has not exactly the same literary system, is theirs. The monument to the Dionysan artists, from so high an authority, is certainly flattering in their favor: since M. Reinach thought that so far as he had investigated their science and aptitude, in the furtherance of the ancient civilization, he had found that they possessed high skill and efficiency.

The importance of the musical and gymnastic influence of these organizations did not escape the commentators and lexicographers of their own age. It is not generally known that there were several very good dictionaries of the Greek and Latin languages.¹⁴ There was great rivalry in musical performances of the Dionysan artists.¹⁵ Their skill was so great and their behavior so good that they were very popular and their music took preference to all others.¹⁶ Mummius, Marius, Crassus, Antony, Nero, Heliogabalus, and many others of Rome's soldiers and emperors hired them to perform, and we have already recounted how Alexander at one time got three thousand from all parts of the world. That these musicians were furnished with a complete outfit, in-

¹⁴ Pollux, "Onomasticon. III., 142: "Ἐράνος. Τῶν δὲ ἀγῶνων οἱ μὲν γυμνικοί οἱ δὲ καλούμεγοι σκηνηκικοὶ ὀνομασθεῖν ἄν Διονυσιακοὶ τε καὶ μουσικοί." This definition was given in the time of the emperors, and included gladiatorial entertainments occasionally.

¹⁵ Lüders, "Dionys. Künst.," p. 116; says: "Wetteifern" between the φιλοκίθαρισταί, who did not sing, but played; meaning their competitive rivalry. So also the same rivalry between the αὐληταὶ and τῶν σὺλφοῶν, the latter of whom sang to the flute.

¹⁶ They were constantly called upon to perform for rich Roman gentlemen. Tacitus, "Ann." XIV., 21, informs us that Mummius after his triumph over Corinth, engaged great numbers of these artists to perform at his protracted festivities. Polybius, XXX., 13; and Athenæus, XIV., p. 615, speak of their performances. For an account of their schools and list of prize-winners see supra, p. 233, and note 4.

cluding tents, mechanical tools and even water carriers, is made manifest by inscriptions and pictures, one of which we present as an illustration.¹⁷ Unlike modern methods, where society is furnished with theatres, and equipments ready to receive traveling troupes, these Dionysan playwrights furnished their own paraphernalia and had means for transportation from place to place. Printing and advertising were defective, and there being no great public means of conveyance running on time like our railroads and steamers, they had to work a wandering voyage through the world, often arriving at new places unannounced, and in consequence they sometimes appeared as amateurs, although in reality they were old, practiced, professional artists.

One of the great and favorite themes which the people of those days delighted to see played and acted out was the martyrdom of their beloved god. In Phrygia, this imaginary victim was Attys, or Adonis; in Egypt he was Osiris; in Teos and its environs he was Dionysos Kathegemonia; in Caucassus, he was Prometheus chained to a rock and tortured to death by ravenous birds. Each of these messiahs, while on the rack of torture, in his dying gasp gave up the ghost, feelingly imploring the Great Father to forgive his pursuers and through his death redeem humanity. This in skeleton, as the ancient salvation, was the subject of innumerable plays, all dramatically elaborated on scenes, some of which were of highest art and perhaps, in painting and exquisite portrayal, never equalled. It is possible that they sometimes developed artistic efforts equalling if not surpassing our modern spectacular views, with weird effects, as charmingly produced by our electric and calcium beams. Thus they certainly exhibited the passion plays, including the apotheosis, while the anima of their typical man, writhing, but towering above an ignis of fiendish torture, with a benevolent omnipotence when at the triumphant pinnacle of dissolution, long before the arrival of our

¹⁷ Crusius, *Die Delphisch. Hymnen*, p. 31, and 42, gives a collegium of holy water-carriers which is explained: "Unter den *κλυταί* Δελφίδες wird ein bestimmtes collegium aus dem delphischen Priesteradel zu verstehn sein. Dem ganzen Zusammenhang nach, könnte man an Hydrophoren denken, wie sie im apollonischen Kultus bei Sühnbräuchen und bei der Orakelspendung amtierten." Again, Dr. Ramsay, *Cit. and Bish. Phrygia*, II., p. 553, found their inscriptions at Akmonia, and discovered that they sometimes owned land: "The Hymnodia were a body of persons connected with the native cultus, doubtless practicing certain ceremonies of a musical character in honor of the gods." etc.

Saviour, used to be made to cry out "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do."¹⁸ It is known that when these plays were announced to take place, no matter in what city or locality of Greek or Latin-speaking regions of the world, the people would throng together, render in their hard-earned pittances of money to pay entrance and sit on stone steps in the open air without covering from the elements of nature, in dizzy qualms of religious delight often rising to infatuation, a chill, damp night, or a blazing afternoon, frequently contracting colds and malaria, often bringing them to the grave.¹⁹ All along the route of their strange history we find scattering relics of these playwrights' long time existence. There was a sermon once delivered, fragments of which were picked up by the keen observers of the renaissance. It was a "Word" to the "Initiates;" and the hymn which they sang, accompanied with a doxology, comes to us in the well-known fragment attributed to Sanchuniatho, which is as much as to say that Philon was the author although he was only the translator. There was likewise a parting benediction which Warburton and Le Clerk declare to have been the *kogx ompax* which means about the same thing as watch and pray. The hymn, or Orphic canticle was attributed to the Jew Aristobulus.

There has also been found in the Columbarium at Rome, an inscription of schools where the hymns of the Asiatic artists of Dionysos, organized under the jus coeundi of the Solonic dispensation, were taught. In 1726, there was discovered, in a field at Rome near the Apian way, a large sepulchral building, so sunken in neglectful oblivion of the ages, that it was covered some seven feet under the ground. Of this strange tomb we shall have more to say in future. It is a vast edifice full of inscriptions of the life, the doings of the ancient lowly and none other. This magnificent building could not have been constructed for less than a million of dollars

¹⁸ Miller has translated some words of the celebrated Orphic hymn: "Attis. Les Assyriens l'appellent le Trois fois regrettable Adonis." "Ἄττι, σὲ καλοῦσι μὲν Ἀσσυρίοι τριποθήτῶν Ἄδωνιν." *Philosophoumena*, ed. Miller, p. 118, showing that Attis, or Attys and Adonis were one and the same. On the *Hymnodidascales*, see Foucart, *Ass. R.L.*, p. 114. Even then the artists of Διόνυσος were writing music as well as words. Cf. Liddell in *verb. ὕμνος*.

¹⁹ Oehler, *MSS.*, calls to mind an eranos of hymn singers at Ephesus, etc: 'Ich stelle hier die Inschriften zusammen, in welchen diese allein, oder mit den θεόλογοι genannt werden. Ὑμνοδοί werden erwähnt in *Ἀκμωνία*, *Bull. Hell.*, XVIII., 1893, p. 261, nr. 44; in *Νικοπολις ad Istrum*; *Archéol. Épig.*; *Mithr.*, aus Oesterreich, XV., 1892, 2 Inschriften, in deren einer ὕμνοδοί.'

in our own days of architectural facilities. In it we find the self-same hymn singers.²⁰ They existed in Rome in large numbers. They were, in fact, organized in such force that their inscriptions are found in every country of the known world, and probably numbered in the Augustian age, after human life began to recuperate under the peaceful policy of the first Cæsars which refilled the earth with population, two or three millions of initiates, all working for a living by the art of music.

There is a slab from Coreyra which shows that in the eastern Mediterranean the same struggle for existence was going on.²¹ Lüders, as shown in the note below, proves a good deal regarding the personnel of the singers and accompanying musicians of the Dionysan artists' order. There is another inscription of the wandering tribe, chiseled to the memory of the burning of Delphi, showing the personnel of these workers.²² There are monuments which show the emulatory exercises of the youth in the schools of the associations. Some of these schools were large, and judging from appearances they must have been very worthy of respect. But the real

²⁰ Gorius, *Monumentum sive Columbarium*, etc., p. 99, where a broken epitaph is portrayed, showing the Διδάσκαλοι τῶν Διονυσίου τεχνιτῶν and proving that they existed in Rome. The fraternity extended to Pergamos and some of its members were evidently country people even bucolic cowherds. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishop. of Phryg.*, II., p. 359: "The Βουκόλοι worshippers of Dionysos Καθηγεμῶν (forerunner), the ἄξιος ταῦρος, formed a society at Pergamos which contained, besides 18 ordinary Βουκόλοι, an archiboukolos, two hymn teachers, two Silenoi, and a Χορηγός." But these Bucolic Orphic hymns and music are very respectfully dealt with by another author Oehler, *MS*, No. 72, 22: "Culturvereine besondere Art Βουκόλοι—Ich habe Eranos Vindobonensis die Boukoloi in Pergamos nach Curtius (Hermes, VII., 1873 p. 39-40 nr. XII.), unrichtig als Reinderhirten erklärt, weil mir damals nur neue Publikation in Schedenapparate vorlag, was ich gegen Ziebarth's gehässige Bemerkungen feststelle. Dass darunter Diener u. Verehrer des Dionysos zu verestehn sei, hat Schöll *Satura Philologica*, p. 176. 177 erkannt. Dann haben A. Dietrich; *De Hymnis Orphicis. Capitula quinque*, p. 3-13. Reitzensteln, *Epigramm und Skolion*, p. 193. *les.* p. 203 f. u. a. ausführlich darüber gehandelt. Wir finden sie inschriftlich bezeugt in Apollonia-Sozopolis CIGr. 2052; Ephesos: *Anc. Gr. Insers.*, III., nr. 6020; *Pergamos. Hermes*, VII., p. 39, 40, nr. 12; Fränkel, *Inschriften v. Pergamon*, II., 485; *ibid.*, nr. 72^d, 486-488; I., nr. 222 und II., p. 509; Perinthos, Dumont, *Mél. d' Arch.* p. 382.

²¹ Lüders, *Dionys. Künst.*, p. 121, speaks of "Eine interessante Inschrift aus Korkyra." A wealthy citizen had bequeathed a sum of money to this Dionysan Gemeinde or church, with which annually to celebrate, by dramatic and musical performances. The inscription is well known. It stipulates that on the interest accruing from this capital the plays were to be given. The personnel is given: Three flute players, three tragedians, and three comedians had to be engaged besides the vocalists. But Dr. Lüders calculates that 3 must be accounted 3 & 3; because in other inscriptions it is proved that each foreman had 3, or a small troupe of 3, making 7. This scientific discovery comes from a debate between Böckh and Welcker.

²² The stone which is in the ruins of the Delphic temple of Apollo, reads: Ἰ Γ ραυφοῖ; β κιδαρῖστοι; β κιδαρφοῖ; ε παιδες χορευται; ε ἀνδρσχορευται; β ἀληται; β διδάσκαλοι ἀλητῶν; ι τραγωδοὶ γ οὐληται και γ διδασκαλοι; η χορευται κωμικοι και γ ιματομισται." These last took care of the wardrobe.

fact is, that however worthy they may have been, they got very little respect or honorable consideration, judging from the words of Demosthenes, Cicero, Lucian and Athenæus, of whom we shall give specimens as we proceed.

Near Orchomenos, Corinth, has been found an inscription showing a celebration of the Dionysan games,²³ commemorating the music of the Dionysan chorus. These organizations were not without their laws. There was a law of wills handed down to us by means of an inscription on a piece of stone, of about the time of the emperor Trajan.²⁴

The musical unions were so thoroughly interlinked and organized that they acquired a habit of making pilgrimages from one part of the country to another.²⁵ On the march in these wanderings, the music they sang and played was the hypophrygian style, used for all dirge-like occasions, having the enharmonic rhythm and composed in accordance with their *Harmotios nomos*, a mournful and passionate strain, to which a chorus of the Orestes was set. Dr. Ramsay in his *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*,²⁶ in the province of Akmonia, correctly finds that they sometimes possessed property, especially in lands; but appears ignorant of the now well-known *eranothiasos* and does not speak of their final extinction by the canon of the Council of Laodicea which

²³ Rose, *Inscriptiones Græcæ*, p. 300-301: "Ἐτι δ' ἀνδρασι χορηγῶν εἰς Διονύσια ἐνίκησα καὶ ἀνήλωσα σὺν τῇ τοῦ τριπόδος ἀναδέσει πεντακισχιλίας δραχμῶν." The author adds: "Hujusmodi marmora Athenis scripta multa extant," showing that they were common throughout Greece at an early day. They are the Dionysan chorus.

²⁴ Foucart, *De Coll. Artf. Scenicorum*, p. 14, touching these laws, says: "Exemplum etiam legis constituendæ ex uno titulo (id est lapide) tenemus, quo tibericus Crato hereditatis suæ, cujus partem Teiis sodalibus reliquit, usum per legem, et eam quidem sacram, definivit." CIG. 3078.

²⁵ The name of the regularly organized band of pilgrims was "Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν συμπορευομένων παρ Δία Ἰέτιον." The rain god was connected with Zeus, the Jehovah. The object of the society in making the pilgrimages was to implore the rain governing divinity for copious showers in days of drouth. Luders, *Dionys. Kunst.* p. 27, says: "Wer von den Bürgern sich den Pilgern anschloss, wurde nach den gottesdienstlichen Ceremonien von dem Vereine empfangen."

²⁶ We quote the following from his recent work: "*Hymnodoi* at Akmonia, for the first time in Phrygia, we meet this body, whose existence, however, may be assumed in most Phrygian cities. The *Hymnodoi* were a body of persons connected with the native cults, doubtless practicing certain ceremonies of a musical character in honor of the gods, as their name denotes; but also, in all probability, having a social side, with the management of which the *Ἀργυροταμίας* was concerned: and this income was perhaps secured according to the method that has remained in use in Anatolia for religions, to the present century." And in note 4, he says: "The government recently took over the revenues of most foundations" (another word for society).

forbade the singing of compositions of their own, a most cruel and jealous piece of inhumanity.

Summing it all up, we shall find that when the Christians appeared upon the earth, they found in these musical, economical and peaceful societies existing in every nook and corner of the world, a rich and mellow soil to plant in; and they took to themselves the spirit of their beautiful music, some of which has undoubtedly been handed down to us from an ingenious, struggling, hymn-chanting antiquity.²⁷ But alas! jealousy and a malignant concupiscence of the so-called fathers but actual despoilers, finally succeeded in suppressing and uprooting all this innocence and genius. As we have shown, they had, from immemorial antiquity been growing into the possession of an occasional patch of ground, and had erected innumerable pretty little schools and temples; and it being in close harmony with their tenets, they took to their bosom this originally pure Christianity which grew to be the greedy monster of empire until they were suppressed by suffocation. The reptile coveted their little properties, and took the contemptible method of suppression to fasten its hideous coil around their holdings.²⁸

It will be shown that there are reasonable grounds for believing that the original founders of Christianity, including the Master himself, were initiated into the secret penetralia of this vast order.²⁹ Celsus shows beyond cavil and Origen does not deny, that the Christians

²⁷ *Coloss.*, III., 16; "Ὁ λόγος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐνοικεῖτω ἐν ὑμῖν πλουσιῶς ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ διδάσκοντες καὶ νοουθετοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ψαλμοῖς ὑμνοῖς καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς ἐν χάριτι ᾄδοντες ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν τῷ δεῶ. St. Paul speaks of singing psalms, hymns and spiritual songs, sing with grace in your hearts to the Lord

²⁸ Dionysius, *Book of Promises*, Frag., 1: "τῆς πολλῆς ψαλμοδίας. One Noëtus, or Nepos, a sort of so-called heretic, composed and delighted people, by singing psalms, which were approved. The sanctimonious priests construed this to be a sin, and watching their opportunity, waited for the Council of Laodicea, A.D. 363. Here the Dionysian artists were attacked and suppressed, a thing which could be done, because their order had become mostly Christianized. The psalm-singers were attacked by the Orthodox and exterminated. The narrow subterfuge was that psalms composed by mere laymen, were not inspired!" Argobardus, *De Ritu Canendi Psalmos in Ecclesia*, explains as follows: "Mention is made of these psalms in the epistle of the Council of Antioch, against Paul of Samostata, and in the Pentimate Canon of the Council of Laodicea, where there is a clear prohibition of the use of ψαλμοὶ ἰδιωτικοὶ in the church; i.e. of the psalms composed by private individuals. For this custom had obtained great prevalence, so that many persons composed psalms in honor of Christ, and had them sung in the church. It is psalms of this kind, consequently, which the Fathers of the Council of Laodicea forbade to be sung thereafter in the church, designating them ἰδιωτικοί, *id. est.*: composed by unskilled men, or not dictated by the Holy Spirit."

²⁹ *Matth.*, XXVI., 30: "And when they had sung an hymn, they went out into the Mount of Olives."

blended copiously with the Dionysan artists of those earlier days.³⁰

Summing it all up, we find that the Dionysan artists were a part of the great economical structure of the poor and lowly races of mankind, who had organized themselves under the *jus coeundi* of Solon, purely for protection against the outside warring world. Being in an age of superstition, wonder-working and love of excitement, they naturally cultivated music; and as musicians and artists in rhythm and melody, branched off by themselves, although in constant concert with their congenital neighbors, the magicians, wandering tinkers, and houseless nomads who lived in tents. All worked for an economical existence; and all longed for and even worshiped a messiah whom they persistently believed to be forthcoming, with power to redeem them from their precarious condition. Their unions almost always had a burial attachment, and were at base strictly economical institutions.³¹ The Dionysan experts and artists were not exclusively religious organizations. An examination of Foucart's great work, which is crowded with valuable information, reveals this clearly.³² We were so happy as to enjoy a pleasant and instructive conversation with this savant at the Academy of Inscriptions, and remember his interest in our mention of the connection of the Solonic law with our estimate of the great orders of *collegia* in ancient times. Likewise we shall be a long while forgetting the delicious visits by special invitation, with MM. Cagnat, Reinach and many others connected with the Athenian Academy. Several of these men of investigation and science, were pronounced in their opinion that the religion of Jesus was originally planted into, if not an outgrowth of the organizations here described; that for the first three centuries they were shielded, protected and reared, like fledglings,

³⁰ Neander, *Hist. Church*, I., p. 161, commenting on Celsus' criticism of the Christians, taken from Origen's book, *Contra Celsum*, VI., c. 41, says that Celsus heard it from Dionysius, an Egyptian musician, that music exercised an influence over the uncultivated and profligate, but not over those who had received philosophical education."

³¹ Böckh, *CIG.* 2834, 2845, shows members of the burial societies; *Lüd., D. K.* pp. 24, 25.

³² Foucart. *Associations Religieuses.* After studying this celebrated work thoroughly, we cannot but arrive at the conclusion that, however foreclosed may be our prejudices, the radical fact remains, that they had at base but one great object in their vast and long-enduring organizations—that of tiding themselves through their terrible economical struggle for existence. They all had the burial attachment.

against danger, under their secret shield, until able to stand alone and assume the dignity of open Christianity. In most functions woman was prominent.³³

But we now come to the phenomenal fact of their suppression; not by the vindictive conquests, which failed to accomplish that dismal design, but by the ungrateful church itself, whose ambitious prelates, perhaps to obtain their little properties, conspired to annihilate them under the accusation that their music was sinful because uninspired, and that their common table was criminal except for themselves and the priests.

The suppression of the unions at Laodicea sealed the doom of Christianity and its delicious music for at least 1500 years. That stroke of misjudged piety stripped off all the original economic scheme of Jesus. The plan as clearly and undisguisedly portrayed by this master, was to make of the holy family scheme, ancient, beautiful and perfect, where the babes and the fledglings and the mother and father cling around the common table and the happy threshold of the domestic home, making it a sacred sanctuary, father, mother, children and dear ones, enjoying and owning all in common. We say the plan of the great Redeemer of struggling mankind, was to burst away from the fetters of the competitive world; build wider and more wisely; substitute the brotherhood for the model family; broaden the microcosm of the original few into the cosmic hundred and thousand; so finally the government, by which, under one common interest, all mankind own the tools of manufacture and distribution, emancipating the race. This was the plan; and it worked so well that the world was being filled with millions of little loving fraternities, singing, chanting, composing, inventing, sustaining one another through the cold struggles for existence. Men and women under this scheme, co-operated in the ever purifying, ever civilizing, ennobling and mutually enfranchising *jus coeundi* of this dispensation. This was the famous economic scheme of that masterful and exquisite life which so sublimely descended into the pits of the brotherhoods,

³³ Foucart, *De Collegiis Scenicorum*, p. 15, says that mimic players were not found among these collegia; and adds about women: "Vix est quod moneam mulieribus nullum locum in scenicis collegiis fuisse, quum res ludicra per viros tantum boneste agi putaretur; quæcumque feminæ aut saltarent aut canerent ad tibiam citharamve, serviles et plerumque meretricium ioco habitas fuisse satis est compertum." But we find her extremely useful in all the symposiums and other fields of usefulness.

and taught them to enlarge out of the fraternity into the state.

Divine wisdom, thinks Plato, is too pure and eternal to be founded on time-serving billows of mere generations and flitting centuries. It may be better for humanity on the long score, that the greedy prelates and the harpies of the money power struck the unions when they did and drove them from the earth. Perhaps so sublime a revolution, all things considered, was too early to go into effect. It may have been the ineffable foresight of omniscience that intuitively saw unwisdom in so rapid a growth of the outcasts of mankind. Aristotle had the penetration to so see what our own perception is too poor to distinguish. The fact remains that the cruel edict suppressed both the sweet music and the psalms, and their common table. All we can do is to regret the disaster. But the suppression of the Solonic law at the Council of Laodicea was the last and fatal writ of injunction, whose effects upon the world are deeply felt to this day. As we see it we must think that had the right of the *syssiti* been fully accorded to all instead of being restricted to the priests, the economical half of Christianity would not have been interfered with and suppressed. The money power would have given way to citizen ownership and management of all things, and labor would have long since been able to solve the problem of poverty and of lowliness.

CHAPTER XIII.

HAGIOS EUSEBES AGATHOS

COMPOSITION, HABITS, MORALS, LAWS.

THE Solonic Unions not Guilds—Neither did they resemble the Trade-Unions of to-day—Voting Trades - Brotherhoods—Meals in Common—Property in Common—Tools of Labor in Common—Question, What were They?—Categorically Answered—Best Greek Name Eranothiasos—Best Latin Name Collegium—Best Aramaic-Hebrew, was Ebionim—How this Poor Man's Name got Pilfered and Stiffened in the Schools—Love One Another a Principle—Numbers and Moral Status at Time of Advent—Determined Adherence to Marriage—Not Gnostics—Amalgamated with Christians but had to be Secret—Statistics Gleaned from the Stones—Admission Fees Known—The Dokimasia—Own Strict Rules—Charity, Beggary and Blasphemy disallowed—Initiations—Fines for the Non-Payment of Dues—Work or Starve—Contributions to Valuable Knowledge by French, Austrian, German and Athenian Academies—Author's Personal Reception by Them—Encouraged to Proceed—Scrutiny of Laws Governing the Unions—Financially Helped Each other—Revenue—Nemesis—Turned Mills of the Gods Against Unfair Distribution—Fines for Desecrating Graves—Cremation vs. Burial—"Sub Prætextu Religionis"—Whippers and Rhabdophores—Contortion of Word Charity—Ignominious Alms-Giving or Profiter not Tolerated—Original Prytaneum—Essenes ate in Common at Temple of Jerusalem—Cœnobium at Rome.

HAVING thus far shown the existence of a hitherto unknown, but vast and wide spreading labor organization among the ancients, its attempted suppression by the Roman conquests which failed, and its final suppression by the emperors under the money power, the lords and the high-toned aspirants, the intelligent reader will ask for more about their tenets, morals and habits.

They were not guilds. Most writers, overlooking the

distinction between true trade unions and guilds of the feudal ages, treat them as no better than truckling, beggarly guilds, manipulated by petty bosses, and who so catered to feudal lords that they were suppressed by the French Revolution. It was largely this enslavement of their membership and the accumulations of their unpaid labor which built up the bourgeoisie and formed later the extremes of wealth and poverty in Europe, until suppressed in 1789.

It is a radical mistake to characterize the ancient economic organizations of the lowly workers under the jus coeundi of Solon, as no better than cringing, degenerate guilds. They were voting trade unionists; in other words, unions of men and women bereft of other means of existence, whose object in combining was to win better chances for the work of their hands, brain, their physical and mental endowments.

We are so fortunate as to possess enough of their own literature which has transcended to us, not through history or epistolary correspondence but through their own voluminous inscriptions, to prove that while the tenets and career of men and states, society and statesmen, of the great outside, competing world so graciously portrayed to us by historians, were grasping, immoral and cruel, the unheard-of men and women were all along following rules and tenets which were of the sublimest nature and replete with moral and religious lessons destined to stand as the basis of higher civilization and to abide forever.¹ They certainly understood the dignity of labor and were not ashamed to perform it. Like Adam Smith, they seemed to have known that it was they who produced the wealth of nations.²

In answering categorically what they were, it is very necessary to go to the bottom and bring up definitions both from their own inscriptions and from writers who

¹ Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, II., 161, says the object of the organizations was economic, and denies that they were like guilds of the middle ages: "Trop souvent on s'est laissé tromper par le souvenir des florissantes Ghildes du moyen age, si dégénérées sous l'ancien régime." But the old certainly possessed virtues which the more modern lacked.

² Mauri, *I. Cittadini Lav.*, p. 63: "Gli Ateneisi si vantavano con orgogliosa compiacenza d'essere figli di Pallade e d'Efesto, Æschilus, *Eumenides*, 12, τὸ τῶν δημιουργικῶν γένος. Plato, *Legg.* XI., 290; Inscr. CIA. II., i., 114^b, i due attivi lavoratori dell'Olympio che coll'audace ed altruista Prometeo compivano la triade divina dell'operosità manuale." sq. The Divine Triad was Pallas, Ephestus and Prometheus, who especially favored manual labor, Mauri refers to Plato's mention: "Οἶκμα κοῖνόν ἐν ᾧ ἐφιλοτεχνεῖτην" *Protagoras*, 321. He also quotes Xenophon for similar sentiments.

lived in their times. There is scarcely any difference between the three names thiasos, eranos and collegium. This was long ago admitted by Aristotle and many others.³ They were sometimes appropriately entitled the commonwealth of the eranists. Bekker, the Greek scholar of our own times similarly defines them.⁴ Van Holst who wrote a work on this subject was of opinion that these eranist societies were strictly civil institutions and therefore different in principle from the thiasos; but his work though a valuable contribution,⁵ was published before the scientific world had become thoroughly aroused regarding them.

These unions were magnificent specimens of practical mankind. They conformed to the usages of the times in which they existed. Their fundamental principle was love for one another.⁶ This great precept is purely Christian, yet it was practiced a thousand years before the Advent. We are constrained to admit that the unions of love were in the world in great numbers before the birth of Christ and their strength and numbers existed at a keen height at the time the apostles were preaching the gospel of Christianity. The goodness which inspired them was often appreciated by the poets, and they gave the credit to their gods for influencing their dignity and tone.⁷

Their morality was looked upon as a pattern. They lived in days of great profligacy, but seem to have stood aloof from the temptations of the outside world. This was especially true regarding marriage. All the evidence of the monuments, from centuries before the Advent down to the close of the third century are to the effect that monogamous marriage was held very sacred. Almost everywhere we find it was firmly adhered to by the societies. Marriage was always desired by them and the slave population and their descendant freedmen and women practiced marriage in spite of the fact that there

³ Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, p. 2, cuts it off as follows: "Pour Athénée les deux termes, θίασος, ἐράνος, étaient tout à fait synonymes." And for Aristotle, he says: "Aristote employait les mots thiasse et érane pour désigner des associations de nature analogue." *Aristot., Ethica Nicomach.*, VIII., ix., 7.

⁴ Bekker, *Anecdota*, p. 264, 23: "Θιασῶτης—ὁ κοινωνὸς τῶν θυσιῶν δὲ καὶ οὐτοὶ ὄργεῶνες," *id est*: A communist who participates at the sacrifices.

⁵ Van Holst, *De Eranis Veterum Græcorum*. Leyden, 1832.

⁶ "Κοινὸν τῶν ἐρανιστῶν," Ross, *Inscrs. inédites Grecques*, no. 107.

⁷ Euripides, *Bacchus*, 77, 549, 378, 557, 680, even when speaking of their dancing and singing in honor of the gods, carries the idea that there was the holiness of love among them

was no law permitting it. In the teeth of hostile and forbidding statutes these poor workers went unauthorized through life, in the conjugal bond; and it may be said they laid the base of marriage under the Christian regime. It was they who eventually called forth the laws of marriage among the people of the world.

Numberless inscriptions in form of epitaphs are discovered showing that a burial attachment of the unions, which alone was legalized, encouraged marriage.⁸ The early Christians encouraged marriage in consequence; and there is a canon of Peter, composed by Clement of Rome, Peter's friend, afterwards bishop of Rome, which was first to make marriage a holy rite. Peter, Philip, Tertullian were married and had children. The influence of the Solonic organization was so great that in course of time there sprang up philosophies and their concomitant wranglings and dissensions, among them being Montanism which was so hypocritically pious that it denounced marriage. Gibbon, who treats celibacy of the early Christians as a monstrous offense against nature may mean one of these gnostic bodies; he certainly cannot mean the early Christians who were commanded to marry, which was in strict conformity with the practices of the unions.⁹

We now come to the more important tenets of the societies. It is made clear by the discovery of a number of inscriptions, that applicants for membership were subjected to a very strict examination before they could be admitted.¹⁰ They must be found to be good, pious and true. The remarkable fact is here disclosed that the essenes, therapeuts, orgeons and ebionites were sub-

⁸ Ramsay, *Cil. and Bish. Phryg.*, II., p. 385 no. 231 Ἀρχήλιος Γάιος Ἀπελλά κατασκευάσεν τὸ μνημεῖον αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ γυναικί αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ χρηστῶ φίλῳ Οἰησίμῳ καὶ τῇ γυναικί αὐτοῦ· εἰ δὲ τις ἐπιχειρήσει ἀνασκευάσαι τὸν τόπον, ἔστω αὐτῶν κατὰρα τέκνων τεκνοῖς καὶ τῶ συμβουλευσασι. ὁ βίος ταῦτα." The συμβούλευσις here mentioned is the council of the union to which they all belonged, and it came under the Roman law of the collegia funeraticia. Numbers of epitaphs like this are found everywhere, showing marriage among working people and the endeared, self-protected families.

⁹ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, I., pp. 549-550 Harpers. analyzes early Christian asceticism and, as if misunderstanding the great fact that the early Christians married, inveighs against celibacy as a monstrous offense against nature. On the subject, see Cleveland Coxe, in *Early Fathers*, II., p. 57, *Emendations of Similitude* 9, chap. xi. of Pastor Hermes; Euseb, *Hist. Eccles.*, III., 30.

¹⁰ Lüdgers, *Dionys. Künst.*, pp. 37-38: "Bevor er. in dem ehrwürdigen Verband, εις την σεμνοτάτην συνοδον aufgenommen werden durfte musste er sich legitimiren als ein ἄγιος καὶ εὐσεβής καὶ ἀγαθός." Then, having established all these qualities and paid his admission fee of three drachmas, about 60 cents, and the proper dues, he, or she, is considered to have undergone the δοκιμασία or scrutiny necessary before initiation. This is the investigation of the candidate's character.

jected to the same scrutiny. Their conduct must be found to have been based upon, and consistent with, the love of God, the love of virtue and the love of man. It looks not a little strange that Neander, the powerful and penetrating historian, should discover this very principle in the power of Christian fellowship; indeed the two organizations, in the scrutiny, in baptism, in initiations and many other things, were identical.¹¹ An eranos is found elaborately describing the dokimasia or examination of the applicant for admission. It is given in full by Dr. Foucart, as no. 20 of his celebrated work where in line 33, occur the remarkable words. We give the entire inscription which has caused a considerable discussion among the savants.¹² More recently others have found inscriptions of the same purport. Dr. Ramsay brings a self-composed epitaph of Apameia in Phrygia which is Christian, or the work of a partly converted Christian named Gaius. This man claims to have possessed the same qualities.¹³ Schömann declares that this rigid dokimasia, or scrutiny into the character of applicants was the law. This again, brings evidence that it was the Solonic law, which unfortunately was so badly mangled during the revolutions that the clause is no longer extant. The main points of the law in addition to these already given, on which admission was

¹¹ Neand., *Planting*, VI., chap. viii., *trans.*, says: "At these lovefeasts, the power of Christian fellowship was shown in overcoming all the differences of rank and education: rich and poor, masters and slaves, partook with one another of the same simple meal;" meaning that of the common table. Dr. Oehler in his *MSS.*, to the author has given an inscription in proof, mentioning that they frequently required the words ἅγιος καὶ εὐσεβῆς καὶ ἀγαθός as a result of their δοκιμασία.

¹² For a full quotation, see *supra*, pp. 150-151; but we may here repeat a part of it, Cf. CIG, 126; Foucart, no. 20. Wescher, *Revue Archéol.*, 1865, II., p. 220 and 226; "Ἄρχων μὲν Ταύρισκος, ἀτὰρ μὲν Μουνυχιῶν ἦν ὀκτωκαίδεκάτῃ δ' ἔρανον σὺναγον φίλοι ἄνδρες, καὶ κοινῇ βουλῇ θεσμόν φιλικῆς ὑπέγραψαν.

Νόμος ἐρανιστῶν.

Μηδενὶ ἐξέστω ἐπιέναι εἰς τὴν σεμνοτάτην συνοδὸν τῶν ἐρανιστῶν, πρὶν ἂν δοκιμασθῇ εἰ ἐστὶ ἅγιος καὶ εὐσεβῆς καὶ ἀγαθός· δοκιμαζέτω δὲ ὁ προστάτης καὶ ὁ ἀρχιεραριστῆς καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ οἱ ταμίαι καὶ σὺνδικοί· ἔστωσαν δὲ οὗτοι κληρωτοὶ κατὰ ἔτος χωρὶς τοῦ προστάτου ὁμολείτωρ? δὲ εἰς τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ ὁ ἐπιήρως? καταληφθεὶς· αὐξανετω δὲ ὁ ἐρανος ἐπὶ φιλοτειμαίαις· εἰ δὲ τις μάχας ἢ θορύβους κεινῶν φαίνοιτο, ἐκβαλλέσθω τοῦ ἐράνου, ζημιούμενος ταῖς διπλαῖς, . . . κρίσειως . . . πληγαῖς." Early in the imperial age of Rome.

¹³ Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, II., p. 386, *inscr.* no 232; spoken of as the identical jurist Gaius, which perhaps is an error. It is from Eumeneia or a town near.

Γάιος ὡς ἅγιος ὡς ἀγαθός·

Ramsay says it talks about the Christians; it certainly does, but is nevertheless skeptical regarding the Christian idea of a resurrection. Roubes defines ἅγιος a servant of the great Jehovah. It is clear that Gaius belonged to an eranos.

required was secrecy, majority ballot, 30 drachmas admission fee and the regular monthly dues.

Although this admission to the eranos was the law of Solon which demanded the rigid dokimasia we have just described, and was therefore very ancient, yet it is certain that the same virtues were required of members applying for admission to the Christian union; and the Therapeuts and Essenes followed the same rules.¹⁴ This principle down to this day underlies the structure of the Christian religion and is likewise the basis of socialism being the physical half of the great principle of salvation.¹⁵ Fulfilling these requirements was equivalent to being the agnus castus which in time became the figurative Lamb. This agnus castus, pure willow, was a favorite symbol of the thiasotes, used in weaving crowns, and also by their working people's unions of pre-Christian times.

To be pure, upright, respectful, lamb-like, honest and just to one another, in other words, to love neighbors as we love ourselves, were the fundamental tenets of millions of human beings of both sexes, organized under the mystically secret veil of the Solonic brotherhoods. They had been driven to the endorsement and practice of these really Christian tenets by the cruelty of their masters who held them as chattels from a time remote in antiquity; and after æons of torture and misery the good men like Solon, Numa, and Amasis had come to legalize their unions, hitherto precarious and illicit, and had given them the great coeundi so beautifully covered under their dispensation. But until a momentous Advent, their order had been hidden in an impenetrable secrecy and cowed in mysteries that darkled of doubt, and shut off the orb of publicity. Bye and bye there came another Solon who burst the bars of occultism and introduced the slow-working god of universal knowledge. He is yet proclaiming the

¹⁴ Smith, *Bib. Dict.*, p. 772, speaking of the Essenes, quotes Philo, *Quod Omn. Prob. Liber*, § 12, p. 877. M. as saying that "their conduct generally was directed by their rules: Love of God, love of virtue and love of man." This conforms with the requirements chiseled upon the Athenian inscription we have quoted. These requirements are found in the Talmud.

¹⁵ The requirements to membership everywhere were ἀγνος καὶ εὐσεβής καὶ ἀγαθός. These are fundamental. What more could be asked? So again, Clement's *Epistle to James*, cap. 3, says: "James the lord and bishop of bishops, who ruled Jerusalem." It relates that Peter at Rome, being about to die, ordained Clement as bishop, saying, among other things of Clement: "Whom I have found above all others, pious, philanthropic, pure, learned, chaste, good, upright, large-hearted and striving generally to bear ingratitude."

self-same principles until all men shall know from the least to the greatest and nations shall learn strife no more.

Next in importance after their initiation is the manner in which they paid their dues and upheld their organization. Whether these various unions had signs known only to the members is a matter which has but recently been established.¹⁶ Some inscriptions clear it up. Fortunately we have written documents of early authorities on this point.¹⁷ Many ancient authors have added their contributions to this information, and the same flags we have quoted as to their tenets also furnish data regarding their fees, fines and dues. Numbers of fines are found recorded upon the epitaphs. They are mostly for mutilating graves. The unions, as already seen, had a burial attachment to their order besides being shielded from molestation in the umbrage of the Roman statute known as the *lex collegia funeraticia*,¹⁸ which served them for centuries as a helmet to unlimited organization, and was afterwards the law used by the Christians to shield and legalize them after they had been engrafted into the economic unions all over the world.¹⁹ This wonderful law of the *collegia licita*, or legalized economic unions is that which saved Christianity from sure destruction until it had grown in abodes of darkness and secrecy, to be a vast power and became strong enough to stand and defy persecution. We are fortunate enough to know by the highest authority what the poor fellows had to pay in order to enter, and receive the benefits of the brotherhood.²⁰

¹⁶ Dumont, *De Plumbeis apud Græcos Tesseras*, p. 100; also Apuleius, *De Magnia*, 55. Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, p. 11: "Les signa doivent être des emblèmes que les initiés adoraient en secret."

¹⁷ Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, p. 141: "La cotisation était également obligatoire, et nous avons vu que la société menaçait les retardataires d'abord d'une amende, puis, de l'exclusion." He here refers to Harpocraton, *Lexicon*, in *verb.* 'Εράνος as follows: 'Ερανιστής μέντοι κυρίως, ἐστίν ὁ τοῦ ἐράνου μετέχων καὶ τὴν φอรὰν ἣν ἐκάστου μὲνός ἔδει καταβαλεῖν εἰσφέρειν. On voit également par cette citation que la cotisation mensuelle était obligatoire."

¹⁸ *Digest*, XLVII., xxii., *De Collegiis et Corporibus*.

¹⁹ Cagnat, *Revue Contemporaine*, Jan. 1896, fin. Dr. Cagnat does not hesitate to admit with considerable earnestness that this was the case and is doubtful if Christianity without their aid and watchful care would not have been overwhelmed and lost.

²⁰ Lüders, *Dionys. Kunst*, p. 38: "Sogleich beim Eintritt sind dreissig Drachmen zu erlegen: verlässt ein Mitglied Athen, so hat es um ferner an dem Eranos Theil zu haben, periodisch drei Drachmen als Contribution zu leisten. Dann tritt es nach seiner Rückkehr wieder in die alten Rechte ein. Der vorgeschriebene Beitrag jedoch für die an alle Versammlungen und Vortheilen participirenden einheimischen Mitglieder beträgt sechs Drachmen. Diese müssen jedesmal entrichtet werden." etc.

The entrance fee was thirty drachmas, or at that time about \$6.00. But first of all he must, as we have shown, undergo the dokimasia or scrutiny of high character.²¹ Thus the member was compelled to contribute regularly his or her three drachmas as periodical payments, and sometimes six. If dismissed he could get back by good behavior.

Now comes the important question. What became of all these incomes into the eranos? They went to buy, in quantities and at wholesale without the usual middleman and his system of selfish profits, the food for the common table, to which all the members had an equal, democratic right. Why not? Each without exception, paid into a common fund the same sum, in form of periodical dues, sufficient to keep him or her supplied with nourishment, which under that system of the syssittoi, was furnished by the society out of these in-pouring funds; and it had a complete set of cooks, buyers, waiters²² and officers of every kind whereby to carry out the system to perfection. Frequently as in Rhodes, they also had a periodical banquet where several societies, kindred in trade or character, enjoyed a grand reunion, accompanied by music and a variety of amusements. We give the deciding inscription in a note in full,²³ and as the subject furnishes a key to our history, we append various views regarding it, in a note bearing a close relationship to the inscription. The attendance at the meetings was compulsory, thus fixed in order to collect the dues with perfect regularity. The certainty is

²¹ Lüders, *Ibid.* p. 37: εἰς τὴν σεμινασίην συνοδοῦν. To get in he must prove himself ἀγνός καὶ εὐσεβής καὶ ἀγαθός. All of these requirements came under the unalterable law, and they carried out this law with rigid discipline.

²² We shall soon show these waiters to be διακονοὶ, deacons, who afterwards became church deacons, though from their original functions of waiters, and assistants in the "daily ministrations" (Acts VI., 1), they have sadly degenerated into their almost useless office of deacons. The διάκονος was very lively in the olden time.

²³ Foucart, *Ass'sns Religieuses*, p. 42, *inscr.* 21, and his learned opinions, subscribing a few remarks of our own on this highly important inscription, which Dr. Pittakis, 'Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς, no. 861, and Rangabé, *Antiqu. Hell.*, no. 811, Le Bas, *Attique*, no. 384, have already celebrated for the information of the world. It reads: 'Ἐπὶ Διοκλέους τοῦ Διοκ. ἀρχόντος, . ταμιεύοντος Ἀρόπου τοῦ Σελεύκου Πειραιεύως Ἡροιστῶν τῶν Διοτίμου καὶ . καὶ Παμμένου ἄρχερανιστῆς ἡν' Ἀντιόχου Μαραυῶντιος, ἔδοξεν τοῖς κοινῶσι τῶν Ἡροιστῶν προνοηθῆναι τῆς φορᾶς, ὅπως οἱ ἀποδημοῦντες τῶν Ἡροιστῶν οἶον δηποτεοῦν τρόπον διδώσιν κατὰ μῆνα τὰς δραχμὰς τρεῖς, οἱ δὲ ἐπιδημοῦντες καὶ μὴ παραγινομένοι ἐπαναγαγῶσιν σι τὴν φορὰν, τὰς εἴς δραχμὰς, ὅταν τῶν ἰερῶν ? λάβωσιν τὰ μέρη' ἔαν δὲ μὴ δίδωσιν τὸ διπλοῦν, ἔδοξεν μὴ μετέχειν αὐτοῖς πλέον τοῦ ἔρανου, ἔαν μὴ τινι συμβῆι ἢ διὰ πένθος ἢ διὰ ἀσθένειαν ἀπολειφθῆναι' ὁμοίως δὲ ἔδοξε ἄμβιβάζειν ἔξαινα τοῖς ὄν δραχμῶν τριάκοντα κα τῶν εἴς δραχμῶν καὶ μὴ π ὑπὲρ τούτων δὲ ἀναδιδόναι τὴν ψῆφον

that these meetings were regulated by law,²⁴ as is well known afterwards; and the members met about once a week.²⁵ Another inscription²⁶ of great importance quoted in full by Dr. Foucart and of a very early pre-Christian date, corroborates this which we have described and also shows that the laws, customs and rules changed very little from age to age. The same rules of initiation and the thirty drachmas, about five dollars and twenty-eight cents were paid by the members of the fishermen's union at Hierapolis in the first Christian century that was paid 350 years before Christ, as an entrance fee.²⁷ We note as proof of these collections of fees that the same practices were observed in all countries and all cities as well as among all trades and professions organized under the Solonic rule. Dr. Waltzing of the University of Louvain, who has brought out in three valuable volumes a history of these organizations as they existed in ancient Italy, shrewdly perceives their strictly economic object, in the manner of employing the income from fees, dues, and fines; and we recognize his authority as important in substantiating our own groping views, early entertained and now corroborated beyond the power of any argument which can be brought against us.²⁸

²⁴ Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, p. 42, shows that in the heroes' society, which, in all particulars was a typical brotherhood under the *jus coeundi* of the Solonic dispensation, the members, after passing the scrutinizing *δοκιμασία*, before being initiated, had to pay 30 *δραχμαί* entrance fee and 3 *δραχμαί* monthly thereafter. The littleness of this sum is astonishing when we consider the amount they realized. Three *δραχμαί* amount to 18 *ὀβολοί*. An *ὀβολός* was of the value of about 3 cents of our federal money. These 3 *δραχμαί* then, amounted to about 17 6-16, which was the amount of the dues imposed on each member, monthly, after such admission to membership. There is no direct information as to how often after; perhaps it was four times per month; though they had no weeks.

²⁵ This would fix the regular dues at about 52 cents per week. Harporation, who, in about A.D. 200 wrote of them for his *Λεξικόν*, speaks of their compulsory payment of monthly dues: "Ἐραμιστῆς μέντοι κυρίως ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ ἐράνου μετέχων καὶ τὴν φορὰν ἣν ἐκάστου μηνὸς ἔδει καταβαλεῖν εἰσφέρειν."

²⁶ Foucart, *id.*, p. 189. *Inscr.* no. 2, which is an important fragment found at the Peiræus, Athens, whose date is fixed at some time in the second half of the fourth century before Christ. In most particulars it agrees with the figures given in no 21, which we have just quoted.

²⁷ Mention is made of the *Ἐρανος κυρτοβόλων*—piscatores, fishermen, by Oehler, in his list of labor unions, *Eranos Vinlobonensis*, p. 279: "Der arχωνής der Genossenschaft in Hieropolis, Le Bas, III., 741, wohl richtig als Einnehmer der Beiträge der mitglieder arklärt." In another place, *MSS. to the author*, he speaks of the *εἰσφέρειν εἰς τὴν σύνοδον*.

²⁸ Lüders, *Dionys. Künst.*, p. 24, speaks of a list of contributions of a *θίασος* discovered by Newton: it appears they cherished the relationship of Apollo with Cybele, the Phrygian mother of the gods. Their cult, methods of fees and otherwise were also the same in Athens, Megapolis, Laodicea and many other places; CIG. 4893; Welcker, 419; Lenormant. *Eleusis*, 106. Another somewhat defaced slab of the orgeons, Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, p. 43, *line* 21, of no. 2, shows that the entrance fee was 30 drachmas 350 years B.C.

Dr. Lüders refers to the lengthy and remarkable inscription found among the ruins of the ancient theatre at Teos, maternal center of the international *Gemeinde* of Dionysian artists. It relates a piece of statistical history of the ancient poor. A union of playwrights at Teos in Iasos, fell into debt by some mishap; and unable to extricate itself from embarrassment alone, and being a regular branch of the international, applied to it for help. The time for this was propitious because the Dionysian festivities of the city were approaching. The cities, on account of the political influence of their voting unions and their large numbers of well organized members who worked for each other hand in hand not only as musicians and actors, but also as voters, in order to secure their choice of proper agoranomoi or commissioners of public works, employed their organizations to do all the art-work of the festivities.²⁹

The petition for help from the branch that had met with "calamity," was taken up by the main synod after proper presentation of the grievance, through regular delegates, presenting the same in secret session, and complied with.³⁰ They then turned their influence upon the commissioners of public order for the city and induced them to select their performers from the branch in trouble, themselves lending them aid in their own way. The inscription gives a list of the experts employed. There were among them machinists for the scenic art-work, who attended to the apparatus; one tragical poet; one player of tragedy; one singer to the cithera, two flute players; two melodramists for tragedy; two comedians, an extra cithera player who had a singer for his music. In another place it is shown that such figures are to be multiplied by three, the ones mentioned being foremen of parts.³¹

²⁹ Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, I., p. 320: "Dans les collèges païens, chacun verse sa cotisation au jour fixé, et s'il est en retard, il perd ses droits." There was no dawdling beggary, or reliance upon some "pull," or "beeler," as we see in our corrupt competitive times. Every one must work. No recognized favors because of superior means or influence: "Chez les païens," (meaning these unions) "on ne distingue pas entre pauvres et riches; tous avaient le même droit." *Ibidem*, p. 320.

³⁰ See *supra*, II., pp. 203-230, chap. x., where it is frequently explained how this German word *Gemeinde* best answers to the Greek *συνωδο*s, afterwards becoming the synod of the Christians. The "*Great Gemeinde*" in after years was enormously planted into by Paul and other apostles, because it had the same principles.

³¹ Lüders *Dionys. Künst.*, pp. 78-88, note 165, p. 88, reads: "Die Inschrift ist um die Mitte des zweiten Jahrhunderts vor. Chr. verfasst." Another list of artists is given by Dr. Foucart. *De Coll. Scen. Apud Græc*, p. 55.

But there was another source of revenues quite frequently brought under consideration by the old Solonic organizations, which was that of receiving donations from the outside rich³² and sometimes even from zealous persons of means, who became members because they admired the institution and were honored by it for so doing, by receiving an annual memorial banquet after death, a thing frequent among the ancients. There is no doubt that during, and for a long time subsequent to the Roman conquests, the unions, in spite of their economic vigilance and uprightness, were often very poor and glad to get aid. Persecuted by petty traders who hated them because their wholesale purchases on socialistic principles, interfered with profits of speculating craft, such skinflints often worked their influence against the poor fellows down in the darksome secrets of communal unionism, while above they stirred up the monarchs against them. They were often so poor that the emulatory incentive among outsiders was less than the innate goodness which resides within the hearts of some rich men. M. Foucart speaks of their falling in arrears and being glad to accept occasional benefactions from the disinterestedly good but better-to-do.³³ In this class, the state was their best and principal benefactor.

Among these ancient people, ere the Christians taught them monotheism, there was a goddess, Nemesis by name, a divinity presiding over human fortunes. She was firmly believed by such strugglers to be the enemy of unjust distribution. She is represented in their engravings as riding through aerial smoke and tempest, in a fiery chariot drawn by dragons, in one hand holding a scale of justice to all men, and in the other grasping

³² Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, pp. 46-47: "Le plus souvent, la communauté se tirait d'affaire, grâce à la libéralité de quelques-uns de ses membres plus riches et plus zélés. Tantôt ils lui prêtaient de l'argent sans intérêt;" and refers to *inscription* no. 42 of his work; also no. 6, line 13; and no. 26, lines 10-11. The first 7 lines of no. 42, which is the nos. 2629 and 3003, of 'Αρχιολογική Ἐφημερίς, read:

Ἐδοξεν τοῖς Σεραπιασταῖς
Ἐπειδὴ Ἐπαμεινων Σωμένου
Ἀνὴρ καλὸς κάγαθὸς ὡν διατελεῖ
περὶ τὸν θάνατον καὶ φιλότιμος,
χρείας τε γενομένης ἀργυρίου
εἰς ἔξυλωναίαν τῷ θιάσῳ
προεσίγηνεκε τὸ ἀργύριον ἄτοκον.

No. 6, lines 13-14, read: εἰς τὰς ἐπισκευὰς δὲ προαναλίσκων, καὶ τοῦ ἀργυρίου ἀρχηγὸς γεγόμενος συναχθῆναι, κτλ.

³³ *Ass. Rel.*, p. 47: "En somme, ce qui ressort de l'étude des inscriptions c'est que ces sociétés étaient le plus souvent embarrassées, et qu'elles ne faisaient face aux dépenses que par la générosité des bienfaiteurs."

terrible storms of pent up lightning; the whole swooping down upon millionaires, the military, the Cæsars and their standing armies, the craving sensualists whose greed for money has ever choked earth's lovely valleys with dry bones of good men robbed, starved and deprived of their just and honest dues. This fairy goddess of retribution was worshiped by the unions.³⁴

Nemesis is spoken of in the writings of many authors.³⁵ Hers are the mills of the gods which though they grind slowly, "grind exceeding fine."³⁶ She is often the goddess of vengeance; also protectrice of dumb animals against the brutality of man; and did we still believe in her, she would be the divinity in charge of humane societies. She was endorsed by the trade unions of ancient Rome, among others, those of the bagpipers.

Having spoken of the methods of replenishing their common treasury it is in order to illustrate another method, that of punitive incomes. These incomes were from fines for non-attendance, awards accruing from lawsuits such as judgments, and fines for mutilating property. The latter which was far the most common, was mostly from offenders who mutilated graves and belonged to their burial attachment which was fully legalized by the Roman law. A large number of trade unions in Phrygia, Lydia, Caria, and other parts of Asia Minor have given us valuable inscriptions. We have carefully scanned Dr. Ramsay's work on the Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia and counted no less than a hundred epitaphs, many of which were erected by unions as the context shows, and mentioning the sums forfeited in fines for mutilating graves, sepulchres, mausoleums and heroons. Specimens of these inscriptions may be interesting to the reader as curiosities, the epitaphs, being often dictated in advance by the person or persons buried. The fine in many cases is ordered to be

³⁴Orell., nos. 1787, 1790, 4121 and innumerable others. It is significant that working people had the boldness to organize themselves under the frowning Nemesis who guarded against the unjust and unequal distribution of their labors. The bagpipers' union of Temisvar worshiped her: Orell, no. 4121, "Deæ Nemesi Ael. Diogenes et Silia Valeria pro salute sua et Filiorum suorum mater et pater ex voto. A solo templum ex suo fecerunt. Collegio utriculariorum; Temisvarii. Mur., 551, 4."

³⁵The best dictionaries mention her as an important divinity: "She brings down all immoderate good fortune and checks the presumption that attends it; being thus directly opposed to ἕβρις; and herewith she is often the punisher of extraordinary crimes." Liddell. See *supra*. Vol. I., p. 413, quoting *Cod. Theol., lib. XIV., Nat. et leg. tit. VII.*

³⁶Plutarch, *De Sera Numinis Vindicta*, III.

paid into the *tameion* or receptacle which of itself, that is, this *tameion*, was the treasury of an association unexpressed.³⁷

Sometimes it was a serious thing to meddle with the sepulchres of the sacred dead; for it will soon be explained how intense were the loves existing, after death and burial, or rather cremation, as it existed in their imagination. The fines often rose to 500 drachmas; and in several instances 1500 were collected, after due process of law.³⁸ Many fresh discoveries make it certain that the *orgeon*, *thiasos* and *eranos* were trade unions having burial attachments under the law, while at the same time they were very busy attending to the economic problems of life. In this habit of burials and cremations among the poor, half enslaved people of those days, there was a habit of burial in imagination when owners of slaves and serfs refused to grant the corpse to them for proper sepulture under their union's rules.³⁹ There was a fine attached in case of neglect to fulfil the rules.⁴⁰

A very large sum of 2500⁴¹ denarii was exacted by the bag carriers' union of Cyzicus, an organization of freight

³⁷ CIL., III., 1547: 'Deæ Nemesi illi templum. Pons Augusta.'

³⁸ Rams., II., p. 392, no. 260: 'Ἐλπὶς Μελίτωνος τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ κατεσκευάσεν τὸ ἥρώων καὶ τὸν κατ' αὐτοῦ βωμόν' ἐφ' ᾧ αὐτῇ ἡ Ἐλπὶς κηδεύθησεται καὶ Εὐτύχης καὶ Μελίτων, καὶ εἰ τινὰ ἄλλον βουληθῆ κηδεύσαι ζῶσα ἡ Ἐλπὶς. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευταίαν αὐτῆς οὐδενὶ ἐξέσται τεθῆναι ἕτερω χωρὶς τῶν προγεγραμμένων' ὅς δὲ ἂν ἐπιτηδένουσι, θήσει ἰς τὸ ἱερώτατον ταμείον δην.' 5000 denarii. Perhaps Chr.' The word Ἐλπὶς, according to Ramsay, p. 493, *id.*, indicates that it is Christian and the sacred treasury, *ταμείον*, shows that it was of a body of organized persons, not an individual. Like hundreds similar, now coming to light in this immediate region of Eumeneia, Phrygia. See Oehler. It in all probability is a union or guild, like R's nos. 294, 295.

³⁹ Oehler, *MSS.*, "In Perinthos, hat Aurelius Eutiches gegen den Verletzer seines Grabes eine Geldstrafe von je 506 zu Gunsten der *συμβιωσις τῶν χαλκείων*; CIG. 363g und add. In Smyrna von 250 τοῖς φορητοῖς τοῖς περὶ τοῖς βείκον' *American Journal of Archaeology*, I., p. 141; und in Thyateira an ein κοινόν . . . eine ihrer Höhe noch nicht bekannte Grabmalt: *Monatshr., Berliner Akad.*, 1855, p. 192, no. 11." As much as 1000 danaria were paid in fines at the seaport Cyzicus, for mutilating the graves of the *ἱερώτατον συνέδριον τῶν σακκοφόρων*, vide *Συλλογος*, VII., 1873-74, p. 171. Dr. Oehler further assembles a valuable list of others who paid fines, one as high as 1500. It was a union of woolworkers who received the sum. Dr. Ramsay thinks the sign * is Christian. Dr. Ramsay says this sign to be Christian must have one of the stems vertical; otherwise it is pagau, and we notice that Oehler's *MSS.* likewise makes it vertical.

⁴⁰ Momms. *De Coll. et Sodal. Rom.*, p. 101, refers to the law of the union of Lanuvium. see Vol. I., p. 355; "Item placuit, quisquis ex hoc collegio servus defunctus fuerit et corpus ejus a domino, dominave, sepulturæ datum non fuerit, neque tabulas fecerit, ei funus imaginarius fiet;" and refers to Cardinalis, *Dipl. Imp.*, p. 254: "Cremabatur, scilicet imago ejus et sepeliebatur pro corpore ipso; cave cum Italis quibusdam cogites de imaginibus majorum ante funus latis."

⁴¹ *Mith. Athen.*, VI., 1881, p. 125 Κυζίκος, 250 δανάρια. *ἱεροσυνηδῶν τῶν σακκαφόρων τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πετρητοῦ*. On the stone the figures we give are expressed in certain Greek letters.

handlers, called sackphoroi. They sued for damaging a grave, and recovered this sum. The same methods of exacting money for mutilating graves, extended to the columbarium at Rome, and the fines were accompanied with language containing the most fearful threats.⁴² An important work written by Menadier, an Italian savant, ranks the *gerusiæ* among the organized unions, a fact seemingly unknown to Dr. Ramsay, although we ourselves suspected, long since, that it would turn out so, after full investigation of the slabs.⁴³ The excavations and other resources for modern science are almost daily bringing to light from their long oblivion valuable contributions to the history of the ancient world. One of some moment is that of Thyateira, where certainly immense organized industries existed of many trades during the apostolic age, and into whose economic activities the religion of Jesus was planted and nurtured for the first 300 years. All the towns in the neighborhood had these unions, with the legalized burial attachment and they have left their epitaphs which tell us of the fines.⁴⁴ The synod of the society of Heroes of Akraiphia, once inflicted the heavy fine of 2000 denarii which, considering relative values, was equivalent \$250, for mutilating and opening sepulchres.⁴⁵ The archæologist Mommsen declares that great numbers of colleges, or unions had this burial attachment; and the most significant of his statements is, that they used the burial clause more for the sake of holding their whole union legalized, than for the ostensible purpose of funeral benefits;⁴⁶ although he places far more to the credit of the funeral attachment, important as it was, than it ever deserved. In this burial attachment we have striking evidence that the ancient unions, on account of the severe laws, were obliged to play the makeshift of the mortuary and

⁴² Gorins, *Mon. Sive Columbar.*, p. 10: "Quare eas aperire, infringere, aliud corpus superponere, obviolare, mortuos inquietare, pœnis, ac diris vetitum, summumque nefas creditum."

⁴³ Menadier, *Qua Conditione Ephesi*, etc. p. 59: "Ex qua natura *gerusiæ* pendere arbitramur, quod totiens sepulcorum læsorum pœnas *gerusiæ* solvendas esse statuitur. Asiæ enim in oppidis privatorum hominum collegio, nisi omnino fallimur, nusquam hoc evenit."

⁴⁴ Oehler, *MSS.*: "In Sigceion, finden wir eine Grabmalt von 500 denarii, zu Gunsten der *συμβίωσις τῶν χαλκίων*: CIG. 3639 add."

⁴⁵ *Inscr. Græc.* Sept., 2728. It was paid to the *σύνδοδος τῶν ἡρωαστῶν*.

⁴⁶ Momms. *De Coll. et Sodol. Rom.*, p. 97: "Omnino quidquid de singulis exemplis his certari potest casu evenire non potuit, ut leges collegiorum sacrorum omnes in urbe, in Italia, in Pannonia inventæ ea non instituta esse Deorum causa, sed ad funera curanda indicarent; ut in plerisque collegiis ex innumerabilibus quæ Deorum nomina præ se ferant eandem naturam latere facile suspiciuntur."

of religion, while they actually organized for economic, and social purposes.⁴⁷

Fining members for multitudes of trivial offenses appears to have been sometimes carried to excess, and to an abuse,⁴⁸ carrying it to an extent that victims were condemned and their names were inscribed to their everlasting infamy. There is a monument of an eranos or thiasos at Troezen showing fines paid to the goddess Cybele; but as she was a creature of ethereal imagination, the fines must have been paid to the society wherewith to defray their economic wants. The whippers of Athens enforced fines. Certain over zealous persons, in defense of the sanctity of the mysteries organized in the capacity of rhabdophores, and exacted fines from persons suspected of betraying the licitors' awful secrets, thus getting money.⁴⁹ The needs of these organizations for money as a means of existence was frequently so great, especially among the scenic actors who led a far more precarious life, that they may have sometimes abused their guaranteed powers and exacted fines out of proportion with the justice of the case.⁵⁰ Nevertheless every indication derived from their inscriptions proves that exact justice was meted out to their members and that everything was sedulously performed under the unalterable law. We now turn to the question of the ancient charity, to show how outrageously the word has been contorted.

There was no such thing as gift-giving or so-called charity recognized among the organized labor unions of the ancient lowly. The disgraceful and degrading eleemosynary scheme of proffer and alms, is the invention of church prelates but not of early Christianity. The myriad original unions into which the apostles planted Christianity wanted no charity. Each was a

⁴⁷ *Dig.*, XLVII., 11, *lez* 2. *De Extra Crim.* "Sub prætextu religionis vel sub specie solvendi voti, coetus illicitos nec a veteranis tentare oportet." The enactment of this statute shows how prone the unions were to shield themselves under the wings of any subterfuge.

⁴⁸ Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, p. 23, cites lines 13-16, of his *inscr.*, no. 4, p. 191: "Καθιστάτω δὲ ἡ αἰεὶ λαγχάνουσα ἱέρεια ζάκορον ἐκ τῶν ἱερείων τῶν γεγενησῶν πρότερον. δις δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν μὴ ἐξεῖναι καταστήσαι ἕως. . . εἰ δὲ μὴ, αἴτιος ἔστω" κτλ.

⁴⁹ Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, p. 182: "Le γυναικόννομος, assisté de 'ραβδοφοροί, a le droit de frapper et de punir d' une amende ceux qui causent quelque désordre ou enfreignent le règlement."

⁵⁰ Foucart, *De Scen. Artif.*, pp. 17-18: "Suffragiis designabantur ii quibus in externas civitates ad agendos senicos ludos eundum esset, mulcta mille drachmarum irrogata, si quis designatus imposito muneri deesset." *Vide* also p. 59.

microcosm of the forthcoming state which took care of the members, furnished them with work, kindness when sick, food at a common table like the typical father and mother, and burial with honors after their decease.

The good old Saint Augustine,⁵¹ after more than 200 years of abuse of this term and of attempted malpractice against the principle, disgusted with their attendant failure, declares for the true old Christians who stuck to their first loves and tells us they were known at sight. "There is charity in their choice of diet; charity in their speech; charity in their dress; charity in their looks; at every point at which they meet, and plan, and act." It is plain by this, that the charity which, in the modern religion influencing our civilization, is made to assume the rôle of almsgiving, is not meant by St. Augustine who was disgusted. He meant and championed the word in its original and uncontorted definition, porting no such meaning as this modernized gorgon, which blights manhood and belittles labor under the ignominious proffer and reciprocity of alms. The fact is, modern associated charities, so soon as it is discovered that prelates prostituting the church, are driving her paganward, out of her original economic design, will begin slowly to differentiate from the degrading eleemosynary idea, as now understood in its horrid, insulting deformity, into the ancient and honorable idea of manliness, natural to their methods of furnishing work.

The great unions we have so elaborately described were practically economical, and necessarily so under the Solonic law. This is everywhere acknowledged.⁵² The *eranos* was not a charitable institution. Dr. Foucart, while trying to make himself believe that it was exclusively religious, seriously contradicts his own honest if not well-founded statements in showing that it was a strikingly business concern. There was no room for fakirs or loafers there. If a member without a satisfactory excuse established by law, failed to pay the sum periodically required for the common meal, he was uncompromisingly ejected.

⁵¹ *Manichæan Heresy*, XXXIV., 73.

⁵² Luders, *Dionys. Kunst.*, p. 2: ". . . fanden sie doch in nächster Nähe eine in allen Einzelheiten ausgebildete praktische Form von Vereinigungen vor, deren Hauptzüge sie nur herübernehmen und ihren Zwecken mit leichter Mühe anpassen konnten. So verstehen wir leicht die Zusammensetzung in dem Solonischen Gesetz."

The natural outcome through the growth and spread of that vast movement, commencing in the mere microcosm, in form of the happy family and expanding into the union of many families with a tendency to become political and be the state which is the modern and correct theory of socialism, is to elevate, not to depress public dignity. It was contrary to manhood to receive any eleemosynary proffers, since labor is the source of all revenues of the family and of the wealth of nations. Charity then, is a direct blow against human dignity; and manhood cannot for a moment accept it only as a vile insult.⁵³ Labor creates everything and should logically have everything. To cringe to the paltry acceptance of gifts is to recognize the brigand as a factor in society. This brigand is the speculator upon labor's products. Charity therefore, is an unmanly acceptance of the rule of brigands who have gotten labor's products and thus robbed the producers of honorably created goods. To yield to this laborer, creator of all necessities of life as the results of labor, and to punish the speculator as a common robber, was the ultimate tendency of the Solonic law. Speculation is at best but another phase of the ancient brigandage not yet outgrown. By the hand of socialism it has become stricken and is moribund.

We now come to speak of the forms of usage in vogue for the common table and the communal code of Solon. During the times in which this lawgiver lived there was a hall in Athens and in many other towns and cities in Greece where men of recognition could be offered food furnished at public expense. It was a public kitchen, supplied with the best cooks and the purest and choicest products of nature and of labor. This hall was the celebrated Prytaneum.⁵⁴ It was galaxied with statues of the great. Athens honored its marble tables contain the Solonic statutes, and it was the classic enclosure of

⁵³ Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, p 302: 'On n' en trouve aucun exemple ni acune trace.' This is in response to a previous remark in this same page. viz: "Ni les collèges funéraires. ni les collèges professionnelles ne se proposaient un but charitable." Waltzing denies absolutely that the Roman associations practiced charity at all; and precisely the same must be said of the Greek societies.

⁵⁴ Oehler, in *Pauly Wissowa*, II., p. 1027, *sub verbo* Βουλή. "Ταμίαι, des Prutaneions." He was held in close accountability and "τὰ κατὰ ψήφισματα ἀναλισκόμενα τῇ βουλῇ." These two ταμίαι are treasurers; and they also: "hatten die Kasse zu verwalten, aus der die Ausgaben für μισθὸς βουλευτικῶς, den Sold der Diener, die Kosten der Aufzeichnung der Ratsbeschlüsse und der Herrichtung gewissen Opfer bestritten wurden."

the true civilization of antiquity.⁵⁶ Thus the practice of meals in common, furnished by the state was not a new thing with the unions we are describing. It was long esteemed as a public dining hall, and thoroughly engrafted into the scheme of labor organizations, which had a house of their own, called an *oikos*.⁵⁶ In after years this *oikos* of the numberless unions became the *kuriois*, that is, the *oikos* with a presiding officer, of considerable power, crowned or garlanded for having been faithful for five years or more, and who functionated as a president of a union or guild. This officer in a great number of cases, was afterward awarded the dignity of a Christian bishop, on the absorption by the Christians; a subject remaining for another chapter.

The common table was once a great economic system of the ancient world. The celebrated plan of Lycurgus was based upon it. It is no new thing. It had been the successful plan which from time immemorial had kept the vast population of Crete alive. Cadmus had authorized it and it had succeeded. These men are still honored among the wisest lawyers the world ever produced. All was destined to succumb to the villainous intrigues of the money power, jealous of every good which did not fill the individual's pocket or glut the ambition of monarchs.⁵⁷ Literature on this subject is not wanting, written by statesmen and philosophers of those and later times.⁵⁸ But not alone did the people enjoy the common table in Crete and Greece. It stretched to Magna Graecia in Lower Italy, especially the city of Crotona. This was a region, almost another Garden of Eden, where Pythagoras settled with his celebrated scheme, to emancipate the earth from dense ignorance and competition.⁵⁹

In the temple of Jerusalem they had the common table,

⁵⁶ For something on this, see Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, p. 45, quoting Hesychius, *Lexicon*, in verb. *Θιασώνας* "οἶκος ἐν οἷς σπινοτες δειπνοῦσιν οἱ θιάσοι." Fouc., *id.*, says "Des salles plus grandes destinées aux réunions de l'assemblée φιλοτιμῶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ οἴκου etc. Le Bas, *Attique*, no. 389; Pittakis, no. 2583.

⁵⁶ For the system pro and contra, of Lycurgus, see Vol. I., Chap. xxiv., *Final Review, Plans and Models*.

⁵⁷ Aristotle, *De Rep.*, II., 49. Bekker, Cf. Mommsen, *De Coll. et Sodal. Rom.*, p. 2: Οὐ καλῶς δ' οὐδὲ περὶ τα συσοίτια τὰ καλουμένα φιδίτια νενομομετρεται (apud Lacedaemonios) τῷ καταστήσαντι πρῶτον' ἔδει γὰρ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ μάλλον εἶναι τὴν σὺν-οδοὺν καθάπερ ἐν Κρήτῃ· παρα δε τοῖς Λάκωσιν ἑκαστον διὰ φέρειν καὶ σφόδρα πενήτων ἐπιωρόντων καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀνάλωμα οὐ δυναμένων δαπανᾶν.

⁵⁸ Am Rhyn, *Mystéria*, pp. 88-89, Eng. *trans.* "The Pythagorean League with its gymnastic exercises diligently practiced and made the cornerstone of his therapeutics, which, for the rest, was a science of dietetics. They had a common table."

⁵⁹ Josephus, *Wars*, II., viii., 5. Christianity took its earliest foothold there.

enjoyed by the Essenes and perhaps by many others.⁶⁰ This is a matter of history as any well-read scholar knows. But we doubt whether they were so well organized in the idea as the Pythagoreans, who had the *syssitia* with common meals and like the Numan scheme of the trade unions, were organized in companies of ten and divided into three classes: *Acustici*, *Mathematici*, *Physici*. They had secret, conventional symbols, by which members of the fraternity could recognize each other.⁶¹ This interlinking of the brotherhoods was of value in carrying out commercial enterprises, and was enormously used by the Phœnicians in their colonization schemes. They could help each other in arranging and working the details of emigrations of which their wealthy colony at Putei, near Naples is a fair example. St. Paul found a flourishing and wealthy colony in form of a genuine collegium there, on his way to Rome a prisoner bound and fettered; and we shall see that they, for some wonderful, unexplained reason, took him in, being Christians, and sent a strong delegation to escort him almost to the gates of Rome.

The societies of men and women, carrying on a trade acted differently from the trade unions of to-day. We once visited an organization of silk weavers at Valencia, Spain, which seemed to partake of the same nature as the ancients in point of common meals; for they were all interwoven so fondly, lovingly together that they had a dining hall, cooks, musicians and common entertainments. It was so in ancient Rhodes, the island in which innumerable inscriptions now prove a great movement to have once existed, but for some unaccountable reason cast off; perhaps by the Diocletian massacre or suppressed by conquest or other political convulsion. Great numbers of Rhodian inscriptions, however, are left, showing the once prosperous condition of that commercial island.

It was not an uncommon thing for boatmen and even ship owners to unite in each others interests in the same way, forming themselves into a *thiasos*, and have a common table, whither to assemble daily and take

⁶⁰ This is an extended argument for the high antiquity of Free Masonry. The signs were common to all the mysteries. Gould, *Free Masonry*, I., p. 20.

⁶¹ Consult Vol. I., p. 169, note 10; Fou., *Ass. Rel.*, p. 43, citing no. 46. *lines* 20-24, says; "Pour les repas en commun, les membres semblent avoir apporté leur part, d'abord en nature, puis en argent;" CIG. 2525 b.

meals together in common.⁶² Little difference existed between the methods of the various business or economic organizations under different names.⁶³

Then there were the "defiant comparisons" of good old Origen. He was a very thorough Greek scholar and for years of Christian prelacy, to which he was never fully admitted because of his honest doubtings, he advocated truth.⁶⁴ This great man saw the economy in the *synsitia* whose common table originated in the old Prytaneum of the Solonic time.

Now it is necessary to constantly recur to the fact that all these Solonic unions of trades and professions were modeled after the ancient city; and that the ancient city had its *Prytaneion* with a typical common table and common meals.⁶⁵ It was the very *cœnobium*, of which so much was said in ancient times.⁶⁶ The common table of the *thiasos* and all other ancient unions of this economic nature were borrowed from the *prytaneum*, instituted by Solon. Dr. Oehler's valuable article in Pauly-Wissowa, entitled "*Boule*," to which we have referred, makes it clear that there was a close relationship

⁶² Lüders, *Dionys. Künst.*, p. 32, cites one at Athens, where the members lived, called ἡ *συνδοξὸς τοῦ Διὸς ἑπιτοῦ τῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων*, house and ship-owners or builders.

⁶³ Some light is thrown on this curious subject by Dr. Lightfoot in his work on the *Colossians*, p. 357, where *thiasotes*, *essenæ*, *therapeutæ* and probably the *collegia* appear reconciled in the *Mishna Parke Aboth*, V., 10; whence Dr. Lightfoot quotes the significant words: "He who says mine is thine and thine is mine is chasid; 'ie: an initiated fellow of the brotherhood. Gratz, III., 81 and 467, makes the reading of this celebrated communistic clause to be as here stated, and it is also so admitted by Keim. It stands this way twice on one page in the *Mishna*."

⁶⁴ Origen, *Adversus Celsum*, III., 29-30, where he compares the Christian communal system with the original Athenian city, and its *Prytaneum*, communal code of Solon, and common meals.

⁶⁵ Oehler, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, III., p. 1026; Am Rhyn, *Mysteria*, p. 80, on the Pythagorean League: "This institution called the *κοινῶνιον* (*cœnobium*), a place where people live in community), was a world in itself, and embraced all the conveniences of plain living—gardens, groves, promenades, halls, baths, etc., so that the students did not regret the hurly-burly of the outside world. Henceforth the *ἄκουσματικοί*, or *acustici* were no longer persons of all classes and degrees but newly admitted pupils," etc.

⁶⁶ The *Prytaneum* of the official city was an eating house, owned and operated by the city itself; Athens especially. Dittenberger, *De Ephemer Atticis*, p. 23; Lüders, *Dionys. Künst.*, p. 39; Liddell, in *verb. Πρυτανεῖον*; This last admits that earlier, the *Prytaneum* was a public communistic eating-house and existed in the country towns as well as Athens; "Ἐν πρυτανεῖῳ εδεῖπνον, ἐπιτοῦντο. Ar. Pac., 1081; Plat. *Apol.*, 36. It was a "penetrabile orbis, ubi publice, quibus is honos datus est, vescuntur." Livy, XLI., 20. From its name it is evident that the sacred fire was kept forever burning. The *Prytaneum* was consecrated to *Vesta*. At Athens it was called *Θόλος*, a *rotunda* for the common kitchen; Böckh, *CIG.* 3173, like *εἰσηλύσις*, *sacrificia introitus*; see Solon, in *Inscr. of Rhegium*, Orell., 3838; Lüders, *Dionys. Künst.* p. 39, compares the similar *εἰσιτήρια* of the *θιασος*, with the *Prytaneum*. It is derived from Solon, who made it a public kitchen, or coöperative eating-house.

in the manner of initiating the system by the unions. But in doing so the society was to imagine itself the city or state in miniature. It was a microcosmic state; for inasmuch as the state supported the prytanic kitchen by levying taxes against the people, so the miniature state, the union had to levy dues from its members. It was therefore, far more democratic and just than the official or state prytanea; for it took from each alike, and fed them all, without exception, a thing which the public kitchens did not do.⁶⁷ This fact is delightfully shown by Aristotle, who has often a kind word for the poor.⁶⁸ The truth is, the grasping propensity of mankind has always stood in the way against carrying out this plan. The original prytanic system of Solon was good for the common people, especially applicable to the thiasitic organizations; but it was not long before it began to be abused. Dr. Lüders shows how this took place at Athens. They turned it into an aristocracy, making the labor of the very poor who were ruled out of its enjoyments, pay the expenses of gluttony at the common table. The aristocrats soon enacted a law excluding all but high-borns from participation at this great and economical source of public comfort.⁶⁹ The serpent of avarice and selfishness got his monstrous head into this beautiful system of the people,

It has been affirmed by many that the main pillar of Christianity rests upon that important, original promise, that the seed of woman should bruise the serpent's head. Its original plan for bruising his head was by bringing man under a communal inter-acting, inter-loving fraternity with all things common. But it lived only under the secret unions. This plan was not only spiritual but economical, which at that day had to be densely secret; and it failed temporarily in the fourth century, because it was subjected to the temptations of avaricious reptiles; men of luxury who transformed Christ's original plant-

⁶⁷ Lüders, *Dionys, Künst.*, p. 6, gives us assurance that the eranos furnished its members not only food and drink, but also "Alles andere zum Schmuck oder zur Bequemlichkeit Tagliche von den Theilnehmern zusammen getragen wurde."

⁶⁸ Ethics, VIII., 11: "Ἐνιαὶ δὲ τῶν κοινωτιῶν δι' ἡδονὴν δοκοῦσι γίνεσθαι, διασωτῶν καὶ ἐρανοῦστων· αὐταὶ γὰρ θυσίας ἐτίμα καὶ συνουσίας," κτλ.

⁶⁹ Lüders *Dionys, Künst.*, p. 18, explains that there were twelve pure or fullblooded citizens, who "allmonatlich im Heiligthum des Herakles speisten und Parasiten genannt wurden." It became an aristocratic *θιασος* whose members got the privilege of partaking at this public institution, elegant and fashionable meals which were prepared and paid for by the true workers who were barred out. These were the original parasites.

ing into a hierarchy of wealth and luxury hunters. They became disgusting parasites, and in fact gave origin to the word.⁷⁰ All along the line this aristocratical grasping undermined the beautiful socialism engrafted by the law of Solon.⁷¹ The reason so much was said about the Law of Moses being supplanted by some new, unexplained dispensation, appears to be that this Solonic dispensation which took its root in the prytanic eating house, was intended by Stephen,⁷² and all the early practical economic Christians, to supplant Moses in Solon.

We have at this moment an occasional divine who has enough penetration to fully understand socialism such as was wrapped up in the secret depths of the Mosaic dispensation; but they know little or nothing about the socialism of Solon, believing that it is all in-woven into the impenetrable vortex of Mosaism. A more radical mistake cannot be comprehended. The good and pure Bishop of Durham, has expressed some living, ascendant thoughts, in saying: "Men suffering and rejoicing together when each touches all and all help each with a practical influence, teaching that as we live *by* others we can find no rest till we can live *for* others."

The system of common tables and pleasure banquets constantly shows forth in the inscriptions, and we have the great authority of Dirksen, that it was regularly endorsed and upheld by the Twelve Tables of Rome.⁷³ especially favoring those trade unions of Numa and Servius Tullius, who made for the Roman army the munitions of war. They were employed by the state in

⁷⁰ Lüders *Dionys. Künst.*, p. 19: "Denen die Ehre zu Theil wurde vom Staate zu solchen Parasiten gewählt zu werden, war es gestattet, auch ihre heranwachsenden Söhne am mahle Theil nehmen zu lassen." And quotes Isae., *De Astyp. Her.*, 30: "Εἰς τοίνυν τὰ ἱερά ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐμός τὸν Ἀστυφίλον παῖδα ἤγε μετ' αὐτοῦ ὡσάπερ καὶ ἐμέ πενταχῆ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς θιάσους τοὺς Πρακλεοῦς ἐκέειν ἐσθήγαγς, ἵνα μετεχοί τῆς κοινωνίας· αὐτοὶ δ' ὑμῖν οἱ θιασῶται μαρτυρήσουσιν.

⁷¹ Acts, Chapter VII.

⁷² Ducange, *Judaea*, V. on *Socialism of the Hebrews*, attempts to show that their socialism meant, first give to kings everything and leave it to their magnanimity to distribute the goods back to the people! It went no higher than kingly power, and consequently must fall: "Judæus vero nihil proprium habere potest, quia quicquid acquirit, non sibi acquirit, sed regi, quia non vivunt sibi ipsis, sed aliis, et sic aliis acquirunt, et non sibi ipsis." Thus the Hebrew is a socialist through the Mosaic law. What kills it all is, he is infatuated with the idea of kings. Such a believer is always known by his spirit cringing before the gloze of power and majesty.

⁷³ Oehler, *MSS*: "Die *συσσιται* kommen als staatliche Einrichtungen zunächst nicht in Betracht; wohl aber ist zu erwähnen eine Prülstüek gesellschaft *συνάριστων*, in Nisyros. Miller in der *Wochenschrift für Class. Philol.*, 1896, nr. 3; Sparta, 80, und eine Schmausgesellschaft *χοῦς*, Panormos bei Kyzikos: Ziebarth, p. 66.,"

large force, especially during the conquests as we have elaborately explained.⁷²

We close this section of our chapter by reminding the reader that evidences exist proving that the great economies accruing in favor of the organized workers who adopted this system, so enraged the speculators making money by the exploitation of labor, that they mutilated, and sometimes burned the books that contained accounts of the abundance which the system yielded. One of the saddest losses to future humanity is that of the work of Papias the Apostle of Hierapolis and Laodicea and probably also of Colossae; friend of Paul and powerful orator, who is well known to have written a valuable work now believed to be irretrievably lost. It is known by a few fragments which escaped vandalism,⁷³ that this good man wrote out a full schedule of the economies which come from entirely dispensing with middlemen, contractors and speculators and having the work of supply, both of production and distribution, performed by, and for, society in common.⁷⁴ We shall later speak of it again. It is sufficient here to say that, although there appears to be much secrecy and very little written record of the fate of these unions practicing the economies which flow from their system, and of course, no inscriptions to elaborate the tale, the canons of the Council of Laodicea of A.D. 363 are extant; and one of them is the fatal document which extinguished the practice, and left the ancient lowly to struggle and die, without even the privilege of longer organizing for self-sustenance and happiness.⁷⁵

⁷²We have already, I. p. 325, quoted the words of Dirksen on this subject, as given by Mommsen. Waltzing, *Hist Corp Prof* I. p. 163, note 1, also says "Dirksen, disait déjà: 'Ursprünglich hat der römische Staat lediglich denjenigen Gewerben, welche den Bedürfnissen des Krieges und des Gottesdienstes zunächst förhnten, seinen unmittelbaren Schutz und eine selbstständige communalverfassung bewilligt."

⁷³See *supra*, chap. I., *Solitudo Magistratum*.

⁷⁴Irenæus, *Adv. Har.*, V., xxxiii., 1, gives us a few fragments from this work which though written in the apostolic age, was still extant when Irenæus wrote.

⁷⁵*Οπιου* 55, Vol. II., p. 571 Mansi: ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἱερατικούς η κληρικούς ἐκ συμβολῆς συμπροσια ἐπιτελεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ λαικούς. These few words signify much. By these words Christianity became a despotism.

CHAPTER XIV.

POLITICAL FUNCTIONS.

THE ANCIENT VOTING UNIONS.

POLITICAL Functions—The Oath of Dreros in Crete—"Dangerously Political" is Aristotle's Shibboleth—Strange Clause in Solonic Law on Corsair Trade—Rite of Baptism Originated among them—Was for Cleanliness—Members to be Pure and Clean—Against Leprosy—Tyrannos, the Pedagogue—Sabazian Thiasos—Trouble between Æschines and Demosthenes—Hadrian's Letter on the Mithraic Christians—Hierophant—Sabbath a Strictly Union Rite—Pagan Labor Year 365 Days—Love Feasts—Eight Hours Day—Synod—Congregations—Symposiums—Cremation—Cinerary Urns—Rosalia—Day of Violets—Hallelujah—Kathegemon or Forerunner—Thought to Resemble John the Baptist—The Mageireion or Common Kitchen—Public Cookshop—Resembled Grenoble—The Rule of Proxy—Functions of the Kurios or Lord-Dictator—Discovery of Dual Habits—Untwists a Curious Clause of Solon's Law—Evidence that it Stretched to Ceylon—Irrigation—System of Crowns—Crowns of Willow, Wild Olive, Tulip, Gold—The Thallou Stephanos—Crowning the Dead—Statistics of Wages from their own Inscriptions—Day's Pay for Plowmen—Cleaning—Woodwork Polishing—Hod Carriers—Mechanics—Difference between Pay of Organized and Unorganized Workmen—Dr. Maury's Researches—Statistics of Cost of Living—How Slaves as Tools of Labor Competed with Free Work—Human Machines—Pitted Slave Against Union Labor—List and Prices of Slaves—Asylums of Refuge but No Hospitals—Purchased Slaves in Order to Set them Free—Edict of Prices of Diocletian—Ideas of a Vast Workshop in the Beyond—The Demiourgos.

A SPECIAL chapter will now be necessary showing the political power and importance of the Solonic unions. We have already seen how political action permeated every tissue from the highest antiquity; and their enormous influence through the ballot, especially in voting

into office the commissioners of public works, thus securing for the voting unions a pledge of an award of the public employment not only in towns and cities but on the great highways called itineraries or government military roads. Dr. Oehler in the appended note,¹ mentions certain inscriptions proving balloting activities which, as Aristotle hints, were "dangerously political."

The inscriptions are not only those of the unions who, promise to be good but of their enemies, who call them conspirators, and force them to swear oaths that they will abstain from political broils; as much as to say the unions were threatened against political action. Thus they were constantly girded about with lowering hostilities and afraid of assuming rights guaranteed them by the *jus coeundi* of Solon. All along it is observed that the wealthy opposed them; and the historians remind us of danger in the political action of these unions, and many laws were enacted for their suppression.²

There is a strange passage in the *jus coeundi*, translated, into the Latin and engraved upon one of the Twelve Tables, which has called forth a great deal of comment. It is the clause permitting the corsair business among other legitimate trades and professions, embracing brotherhoods of trade unions like orgeons, thiasotes and collegia, organized by sailors, shippers and people who live on the seas. In the corsair trade were people organized for burial purposes and those combining with one another in several crafts or professions.³ The singular course referred to is that permitting and legalizing the privateering business; something akin to piracy, which in early times was practiced on the seas. Solon instituted the *jus coeundi*, as generally thought, nearly a thousand years before Christ. At the time

¹ Oehler, *MSS.*; "Aus Aristoteles, *Pol.*, VIII., (vulgo, V.) c. 6, wissen wir, dass die Mitglieder der Hetairien einen Eid leisteten. Ich möchte hier nur einige Inschriften anführen, in denen solcher politischer Vereine Erwähnung geschieht. In dem Eide von Dreros auf Kreta ist die Bestimmung enthalten: *μηδέ συνωμοσίας συνοξείν*, *Museo Italiano*, III, p. 657, no. 73^b, vgl. auch c. In Itanos lesen wir in dem Eide der Bürger. *οὐδέ συλλογον οὐδέ συνωμοσίαν ποιήσω ἐπὶ τῷ κακίονι τὰς πόλεως ἢ τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐδέ ἄλλῃ συνίσεσθαι οὐδενι*. Erwähnt werden *συνωμοσίαι* in einer Inschrift aus Kythira auf Kypros; *Le Bas*, III., 1212; *καταλύσαντα συνωμοσίαν μεγάλην τὰ μάλιστα λυπούσαν τὴν πόλιν*.

² Suetonius, *Jul. Cæs.*, 42, says this potentate broke up all except the older ones: "Cuncta collegia præter antiquitates constituta, distraxit."

³ *Digest.*, XLVII., 22, 4. *εάν δε δῆμος ἢ φράτορες ἢ κερῶν ὄργιον ἢ ναῦται ἢ ἀντίστοι ἢ ὁμόταφοι ἢ θιασῶται ἢ ἐπὶ λιαν οἰχόμενοι ἢ εἰς ἐμπορίαν. ἅ τῃ ἀν τούτων διαθῶνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους, κυρίον εἶναι εἴαν μὴ ἀπαγορευσιθ δῆμοσια γραμματα.*

Thucydides wrote his histories, about B.C. 398, the corsair business was still legal, and considered by many to be respectable; for he has a remarkable passage over which modern scholars are stumbling.⁴ More than 200 years afterwards, from Polybius to Nero, the seas still swarmed with legalized pirates,⁵ and some 70 years B.C., Rome sent Pompey the Great to destroy them. The best information at command assures us that this brigandage was originally authorized by the ancient jus coeundi; but that it was absurd and finally suppressed. Piracy or at least privateering, was certainly permitted by this clause of the Solonic law.⁶

These Solonic unions were the originators of the rite of baptism which formerly contained the idea of cleanliness embraced in "hagnos" clean, pure, "washed" standing as the first of the three cardinal words through which every candidate had to be passed in the scrutiny of the dokimasia. Although almost entirely economical, most of them being guilds, keenly business-like, and thus the providing of plentitude always uppermost in their minds, still they had religious habits and religious reverence, like all other humanity of the ancient world. One of the religio-economical rites, from time immemorial was baptism. It was originally a habit of cleanliness. This was so important as a source of health that they used it primarily as a cleansing ordeal of the body and consequently baths were the popular fixture of the unions, each of whose temples had one. For this reason more than any other the habit of copious ablutions became a part of the initiations.

It is known that early Christians could not get into the occult penetralia until they became initiates; and that baptism was the first principal rite of this initiation.⁷ The ancient religion commanded cleanliness among its first requirements. The prehistoric man was a sloven; he lived in caves, grass, sod, or bamboo huts,

⁴Thucydides, *De Bello Peloponnesiaco*, I. cap. 5: Οὐκ ἔχοντος ποῦ αἰσχρῆν τούτων τοῦ ἔργου, φερόμενος ἐστὶ καὶ ἐξ ἑξῆς μάλλον ἐβλοῦσαι ἐξ ἑνὸς τε ἠπιορωτῶν τινος ἐστὶ καὶ ἐνὶ αὐτῷ ὁ ἴσκιος καλῶς τοῦτο εἶναι, καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν, τὰς πιστεῖς τῶν καταπλοισίων πειταχῶν ὁμοίως ἔρωτοῦντες εἰ ἄρσται εἴσιν, ὡς οὔτε οὐ, & c.

⁵Polybius, *Histories* II. chap. 8. Κοιτῆ, μετ' ἑφθ. περιπέσει φερόμεται, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀδικησῶν γινώσκῃ Ῥωμαῖοις, & c. Ἰλλυριοὶ ἴδια γὰρ μετ' ἑσπ. οὐ γινώσκουσι εἶναι τοὺς βασιλεῖσι κωλύουσι. Ἰλλυριοὺς τὰς ἐπιταχάσασθαι ἀφαιλέτας.

⁶Ulpian *Dionys.* *Kent* p. 5. whose nearly a page is devoted to the explanation; Büchel, *Staat's Geschichte* I. 702. 1. 14. *Aglaoph.* p. 2.

⁷For a good illustration of this, see the *Recognitions of Clement of Rome*. We shall quote from this remarkable document hereafter.

among vermin and amid indecencies and filth. Baptism and its ablutions were but an innovation of human civilization, and trade unionism as it built up the instrumentalities of advancement, naturally built baths⁸ and many other fixtures of cleanliness. Search as we may, baptism did not originate with the Hebrew. It is first found as an initiatory rite of these organizations as a part of their formula of purification. Except as found among the unions or brotherhoods, as confraternities under the *jus coeundi*, whether Greek, Roman, essenic Hebrew, or therapeutic Egyptian, there appear to have existed no baptismal rites.⁹ The rite of baptism as practiced by Christians is derived from them; and they assuredly used it early as one of the main features of initiations into their brotherhoods, at first secret, obscure and impenetrable. Originally, among the practical ancient fathers organized under the Solonic arrangement, the people used baptism as an ablution for cleanliness, and it was a principal feature of initiation into their brotherhoods. There is important evidence given in hints thrown out here and there, showing that they would not take diseased persons, affected with leprosy or other scrofulous ailments which water could not cure. Members must be pure; and purity was meant physically, spiritually. There is an important hint of this kind in the writings of Theophrast who succeeded Aristotle in the celebrated Academy at Athens and who wrote and taught at that seminary,¹⁰ to the effect that no baptism, no lustration, and no permit to enter the temple was allowed, unless the candidate be clean. Persons afflicted with leprosy, or of another scrofulous disease supposed to be syphilis, could not be baptized.

Again, morally, no person who had committed murder could be baptized, or enter the sanctuary.¹¹ These restrictions are given in the inscription of Xanthos, slave

⁸ Demosthenes, *Pro Corona*, § 259, speaks of the religious methods of the *θιασώται*, and of course, rails at their baptism and prayer, because desiring only to defeat Æchines, his antagonist, and make a martyr of his mother, the organizer, who was an initiate. See *infra*, chap. xv.

⁹ See *Encyc. Amer.*: Meyers, *Konv. Lexikon*; *Encyc. Brit.*: Chambers *Cyclopædia*; La Russe, *Dict. Universel*, on Baptism, regarding which there is, historically speaking, a general agreement.

¹⁰ Theophrast., *Characters*: *Κἂν ποτε ἐπίδη σκοροδῶ ἐστεμμενον τῶν ἐπι ταῖς τριόδουσι ἐπελθόντων, κατὰ κεφαλῆς λουσασθῆαι.*

¹¹ Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscr. d'Asie Mineure*, nos. 667-9. 680. 684. Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, p. 126, note 1, mentions that this is not the only evidence, but that at Méonie restrictions against impurity are given in the inscription found there.

of one Orbius, who built the temple of Men Tyrannos. There is something wonderful about this Tyrannos, a sort of mystic god-pedagogue supposed of late to be connected with the Tyrannos of the Ephesian schools, and mentioned by Paul.

This baptism which was an early rite of initiation and test of purity, in later times differentiated into what is known as the ordeal of conversion of the present day.¹² The archaic pre-Christian baptists are found by consulting the inscriptions and other early literature to have originated in the Solonic communities. The rite is found among the Thracian Kotyttō Bap̄tæ, a guild at Philippi; among the Sabazian hetairæ in Asia Minor mostly Phrygian; among the essenes of Palestine, and the therapeutæ of Egypt. The allusions of Demosthenes regarding baptism cannot mean the lustrations of the official initiations of which he boasts over Æschines, who with his mother, is of poor stock. The orator means the Sabazian thiasos; and the offense is, that the mother had introduced strange, illicit practices into Athens, which were demoralizing the public ethics of the city.¹³ The difference between the aristocratic gradations of mankind shown in this renowned speech, the Pro Corona, of Demosthenes, whereby we are informed of the impassable gulf separating rich from poor, exalted from lowly, and non-citizen from official life, is valuable. Æschines was a member of a thiasos and a worshiper of Eros the god of love. So was Socrates, now thought the greatest of good men. Æschines was brave and eloquent, a full match for his adversary, and might have overthrown him had he had a sympathetic audience. Herein lies Demosthenes' victory. His sallies against the poor man excited all the glee which wells up from prejudiced, ready-made minds. His most effective and brilliant execrations rise little above low blackguard. His vaunted mockery, imitating the cry of initiations into the lowly occultism of the secret Sabazian thiasos,

¹² *Apostolic Constitutions*, VII., 40, on the initiation of the Catechumens or Amateurs.

¹³ Dübner, in the *Didot Edition* of Theophrast, calls these Asiatic ablutionists and Phrygian baptists, poor devils, in rendering into Latin Theophrast's talk about them, quoted in note 87, *supra*, as follows: "Et si quando eorum qui ad uivā accedere solent quempiam alio coronatum conspiciat, aqua in caput aspersa se lustrat;" which Dr. Foucart, p. 125, translates very freely "Si par nazard il voit manger de l'ail à un de ces pauvres diables (retourner à l'incident of Stilpon), qui rôdent sur les carrefours, il se donne en se versant de l'eau sur la tête."

and his indecent allusions to the benevolent lady, and worse still, a purloinage from the secret ritual, were all sponged by his hired Pinkertons whom the state at his instance had fed at the prytaneum and paid with tax conjured from the poor. But Demosthenes could not deny that he himself was an initiate; and here is the point we wish to prove; that the gap separating the poor man's thiasos from the official assembly of the Greeks was as wide as the tantalizing distinction between Demosthenes and Æschines themselves. The official initiation was a great thing but the initiation into the thiasos was a crime; and it may yet come to light that this was the crime of Socrates.¹⁴ It appears that the attack on Æschines is of more importance than generally supposed. He was a man of much education, political strength and ability and he had a philosophy embodying agitation of the socialistic principles as advocated by his thiasitic order. He had a book containing the mysteries of the "immutable law." The baptism of purification was read from this book; and the reading from it was the crime of Æschines.¹⁵

Connected with the Macedonian Kotytto, mother of baptism there are some curious things. It appears from Strabo that she came from Phrygia and was but another personification of Cybele, the mother of the gods.¹⁶ It is now proved beyond contradiction that the good Christians planted in the mellow, co-sympathetic soil of these innumerable economic unions. But as their moral culture was of a purer and higher nature they found fault with certain abominations.¹⁷ These baptists were dippers, like John who was the typical forerunner of Jesus, just as Dionysus Kathegemon was the recognized forerunner of some unknown messiah that was to come, but,

¹⁴ Hermann, *Political Assemblies of the Greeks*, Oxford, 1836, p. 254. shows that they had similar initiations, opened the aristocratic meetings by prayer and baptized by means of lustrations: Oehler, *Pauly's Wissen. Biblioth.*

¹⁵ This book is thought to have contained the instruction on sacrifices. Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, p. 14. There is evidence that reforms were cultivated. The thiasos always held complete control. The ἐπιμελητής convoked the assembly on the 2d day of each month to deliberate on the common interest, see *inser.* 2, of Foucart, p. 189. Propositions for discussion had to be written out and come in proper order, and they had decrees and laws regulating them.

¹⁶ Strabo, *Geog.*, X., 111, 16: "Ταῦτα γὰρ εἶοικε τοῖς φρυγίοις· καὶ οὐκ ἀπεικός γε, ὡς περ αὐτοὶ οἱ φρυγες Θρακῶν ἀποικοὶ εἰσιν. οὕτω καὶ τὰ ἑρὰ ἐκέλευεν μετετηνεχθῆναι."

¹⁷ These pagan immodesties clung to the habits and customs of the devotees of Cotytto. Juvenal in a *Satire* says: "Talia secreta coluerunt orgia tæda. Cecropiam soliti Baptæ lassare Cotytto." *Sat.*, 11., v., 92.

as it appears, never did come unless it was in the person of our own Saviour.

Baptists of Cotytto, having their sanctuary in Macedonia, had a very powerful colony at Corinth. The trouble which the pure and virtuous Paul had with them there, will be the subject of a future disquisition in this work. Suffice it to say here that it is well-known Bible history.

We cannot break away from this theme of the lascivious baptist Cotytto, without quoting from a fragment which has escaped destruction. It was written by the early poet Æschylus, who 470 years before Christ, wrote a tetralogy now lost, but of which a few fragments remain.¹⁸

Another author, one of our own modern days, has looked up this subject of the baptists, and tried to penetrate all its obscurities. This is Ernest Renan, of the French Academy. Speculating on the origin of the word and the deed, Renan says: What was Sabianism? What its etymology indicates: baptism itself; that is, the religion of frequent washings and foundation of the sect still in existence, called the Christians of St. John; in other words, Mendaites, and which the Arabs call "el Mogtasila, the baptists." Renan sees such an analogy between these religions of baptism that he is confounded when he places their abode "beyond the Jordan," where the essenes lived. Did Renan know anything of the baptæ of Macedonia, of Corinth, of all the eranists, Letæra and therapeutæ? Or that he was dealing with a great, ancient, secret cult, embracing millions of people, covering millions of square miles? He sees a most singular problem, and there he stops! Renan knows nothing of the far-reaching Solonic scheme that was to supersede the law of Moses.

The persecution of Æschines and attempted martyrdom of Glaucothea, his mother, on account of introduc-

¹⁸ Æschylus, *Fragmenta*, 2, 3:—

Ὁ μὲν ἐν χερσίν βόμβυκας ἔχων
 τῶρον κάματοι
 δακτυλόδικτον πιμπλησι μέλος,
 μαρίας ἐπαγωγὸν ὁμολῶν,
 ὃ δὲ χαλκοδέτοις κοτύλαις ὀτοβεῖ.
 Φάλλμος δ' ἀλαλάζει,
 ταυρόφθογγοι δ' ὑπομυκῶνται
 ποθὲν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς φοβεροὶ μίμοι,
 τυμπάνου δ' εἰκὼν ὡσθ' ὑπογαίου
 βροντῆς φέρεται βαρυταρβῆς.

Juvenal, *Satyr.*, II., v., 92; quoted *supra*, note 16.

ing the baptist labor unions into Athens, form an epoch in ancient history. This was a movement involving much discussion and agitation on lines almost directly harmonious with the Christianity foretold by the great cult of the martyred Dionysus, forerunner of some saviour never mentioned and never known.¹⁹ Of the Henoero baptists or hand-to-mouth baptists that occasionally crop out, we shall speak later. Apuleius a half Christianized pagan, is known to have been baptized and initiated into the mysteries of Isis, the Egyptian goddess of Mithraic Christianity;²⁰ which the emperor Hadrian in a letter to the consul Servianus, after investigating his subject with care both by himself and his agents, at Alexandria, declares to be one and identical.²¹ Neander renders this growingly famous letter to read as follows: "Those who worship Serapis are Christians; and those who call themselves bishops of Christ, are worshipers of Serapis. There is no ruler of a synagogue, no Samaritan, no presbyter of the Christians who is not an astrologer or soothsayer." This letter from a great emperor shows for itself; and Neander declares it is genuine. The most prominent feature of the Sabazian and Sarapian cult, from at least 400 years before Christ was that of baptism.²² The celebrated anecdote of what took

¹⁹ There are two Latin inscriptions Heuzey et Daumet, *Mission Archéologique de Macedoine*, p. 152, which mention the thiasoi of the free father Tasibastinos; and Alexander Polyhister, whose work is conserved by Macrobius, *Saturnal.*, 1., 18, talks of them: "In Thracia eundem haberi solem atque liberum accipimus, quem illi Sabadium nuncupantes magna religione celebrant, ut Alexander scribit."

²⁰ There are found occasional crispy notes by reliable authors, on the origin of the baptists: Dr. Oehler, *MSS.* says; "Die Originen der Kolytto waren der Vereinszweck der Βάρτα, gegen die Eupolis sein gleichnamiges Stück geschrieben. Koch, 1., pp. 68-69. Vgl. Lobeck, *Aglyph.*, p. 1039." Andrews, *Lex.*, in *verb. Baptae, arum*, Priestess of the Thracian, afterwards Athenian goddess Cotytto, whose festival was celebrated in a most lewd manner. Again, Clement of Alex., who was baptized, divulges as follows: "I have eaten out of the drum, I have drunk out of the cymbal, I have carried the κέρνος; I have slipped into the bedroom," etc. *Protrept.*, 2. Alcibiades was also an initiate.

²¹ Neander, *Hist. Church, Eng. trans.*, 1., pp. 102, notes the Saturninus, of Flavius Vopiscus, cap. 8, who gives the letter: "Illi qui Serapem colunt Christiani sunt, et devoti sunt Serapi qui se Christi episcopus dicunt. nemo illic ἀρχισυναγωγός Judæorum, nemo Samarites, nemo Christianorum presbyter non mathematicus, non haruspex, non aleptes."

²² Some rather indecent stories have got mixed up with this. Jove, Zeus, Jupiter, the father of Dionysos, who was Σαβάζιος, or Βαχχος, all of whom are found to be one, according to country and dialect. Jove's incest with his daughter Persephone, which was celebrated, is neatly described by Diodorus, IV., 4, as taking place at the epoptæ of the Sabazian initiation, and more fully dwelt upon by Eusebius, *Præpar. Evangel.*, II., 2, and the *Protrept* of Clement, produced Sabazios, or Dionysos, who was the patron deity of the thiasoi, eranoi and orgeons. He was the protector of the technical artists who were immensely and jealously organized. See note 23.

place once at the initiation is given by a reliable ancient writer.²³

The gulf separating the official from the Sabazian mysteries and their baptismal rites was deep, wide and impassable. The Sabazian cult was that of the poor and lowly and established expressly for them. Why do the ante-nicene fathers talk so much about the initiations of the Sabazios? As early as Aristophanes, Diagoros of Melos, who hated the aristocratic Eleusinia, talked and wrote of the Sabazian mysteries whose principal rite was baptism and purification. His books are lost, but they were used and quoted by Clement and form to this day instructive reading.²⁴ We have the authority of Am Rhyh that among the fabulous personages of antiquity known to have been initiated and baptized were Orpheus, Musæus and Homer; and among the historical characters, were the lawgivers Lycurgus and Solon,²⁵ if not Amasis and Numa. Our valuable scientific friend Dr. Johann Oehler, who is short, crisp and practical, assures us regarding many epitaphs which have come to light showing fresh evidence regarding these historical phenomena, has sent us a MS. from his own generous pen, showing the inscriptions to abound with proofs of our foregoing statements.²⁶ There was something awfully mysterious and attractive about the mysteries we have described. There was the anointment by their hierophant which was applied while singing the dirge embodying the words: "Take courage O ye initiates of God whom we have saved! For to us there is deliverance from our struggling labors." In the agony, according to the cult, a god was tortured, and saved by resurrection; and this idea of the resurrection, always accompanied by that of baptism was in the world and very popular at least 400 years before Christ the anointed

²³ Diod., IV., 4: Μυθολογοῦσι δε τινες καὶ ἕτερον Διόνυσον γεγενῆσθαι πολὺ τοῖς χρόνοις προτιροῦντα τούτου. Φασὶ γὰρ ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Περσεφόνης Διόνυσον γεγενῆσθαι τὸν ὑπὸ τινῶν Σαβάζιον ὀνομαζόμενον οὐ τὴν τε γένεσιν καὶ τὰς θνησίας καὶ τιμὰς κρυπτερίως καὶ κρυφῶς παριστάγουσι διὰ τὴν αἰσχύνην τὴν ἐκ τῆς λυγροῦσας ἐπακολουθοῦσαν.

²⁴ Firmicius, Cap. 2; Henzey et Daumet, *Un Palais Grec en Macédoine*, p. 30; *Mission Archéologique de Macédoine*; Consult Lundy, *Monumental Christianity*, p. 285; *Anacalypsis*, II., p. 69.

²⁵ Am Rhyh, *Mysteria*, Eng. trans., p. 21.

²⁶ Oehler, *MSS*: "In Nicomedia wird ein ὀρχημιστής διὰ βίου erwählt, GIG. 3773; aus Ormele sind uns Vergleichnisse des Zeus Σαβάζιος erhalten, Sterett, im *Epigr. Journ.*, no. 44, Bis 46. Der Mysteren Verein in Poimaneion begrub seine Verstorbenen Mitglieder auf gemeinsame Kosten, *Athen. Mith.*, IX., 1884, p. 35."

came to a similar torture for the salvation of mankind. In the more ancient rite of baptism and initiation, the theory which attracted the theatre goers was that of the agonies. Many efforts under the cognomen of passion plays, have been made of late years by the Roman catholics to restore the ancient agonies, but in vain. The popularity of the beautiful deaths of Dionysus, Sabazius, Attys, and Sarapis, who died to redeem mankind, have been so completely outgrown that living humanity instinctively classes it all among superstitions, for they led the mazy wanderers through the darkness of Tartarus over the lurid rivers of death and finally into the divine splendors of Elysium.²⁶

Another of the humane and lasting rites which hopefully are never to pass away, was the observance of the ancient Sabbath.²⁷ Like baptism it was a rite of an economical sort, and was not derived from the Hebrews, who observed another day of rest. It belongs strictly to the unions of the *jus cœundi* of Solon. Under the the old pagan régime there was no Sunday. Labor was exacted, according to Böckh, 360 days in the year. The trade unions did better and more humanely; for they were required, by their constitution under penalty, to observe Sundays as days of rest. Neander, in his penetrating and very honest manner has tried to clear up the points of the ancient Sabbath. Admitting that they observed the day, he says of the early Christians: "They did not choose the Sabbath which the Jewish Christians celebrated."²⁸ In another place this accurate investigator says: "I find no evidence of a religious distinction of Sunday." It is perfectly evident that the extraordinary religious sanctity of the Sabbath is an exerescence swelling the hypocritical piety of prelates of later centuries; for at the time of Ignatius "every friend of Christ was to keep the Lord's day as a

²⁶ The dirge chanted by the initiates during the ordeal which was conducted with solemn and bewitching pomp by the Dionysan artists. ran:

"Θάρρειτε μυσταὶ τοῦ σισωσμενου
Ἔσται γὰρ ἡμῖν ἕκ πορων σωτηρια."

²⁷ Foucart, *Ass'ns Religieuses*, p. 169, ranks the evidence of Theophrast, the martyrdom of Glaucothea, the contest of Demosthenes and Æschines, and the words of Plutarch on superstition all together, as if their mention of the Sabbath was integral with the thiasotes: "C'était de l'Asie que venient toutes les cérémonies expiatoires dont parle Plutarque; se frotter de l'argile, se couvrir de boue, observer le sabbat," etc., and quotes Plutarch, de Superst., 3: Ἰηλώσεις, καταβορβορώσεις, σαββατισμούς, ῥύψεις ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, αἰσχράς προκατίσεις, ἀλλοκότους προσκυρήσεις."

²⁸ Neand., *Planting*, Book III., chap. v. on origin of Sunday in the early church.

festival."²⁹ It was customary among the organizations we have described to hold a festival weekly. This was before the division of the year into months and weeks.³⁰ Their lovefeasts and banquets, no doubt were powerful toward influencing the emperors, in after times, in favor of the Hebrew week of seven days, but the Hebrew Sunday was not the one selected. It was decided by a number of causes to hold the festivals on the seventh day, giving the whole of one day to rest from labor. This wise provision has been handed down to us from the customs and habits of the poor workers under the Solonic dispensation, agreeing in the main with the arrangement established for the Hebrews in the law of Moses.

It is now ascertained that in addition to giving to labor the health-inspiring boon of fifty-two days of rest and recreation yearly, or one in every seventh, the noble corollary of eight hours a day was also established. While the habit of observing Sunday was preserved and handed down to us through the Christians, having endorsed it as part of the plant borrowed from the economic communes, and reducing the labor year from its ancient tedium of 360 days, was an indescribable blessing to humanity, we find that the great boon of eight hours per day was actually established, especially by the Solonic unions, although it was unfortunately discontinued and lost in the vortex of revolutions. But the unions formed through the *jus coeundi* of Solon were everywhere.³¹ It has been our good fortune, in ransacking the manuscripts and inscriptions to find several references on this point. We have lost the exact wording of the original law of Solon, as inscribed upon the *pronaos* of the old Athenian *Prytaneum* toward a thousand years before Christ; yet the wayside discoveries reveal that Solon, or perhaps Amasis, Solon copying, divided the day into three parts, a third to be devoted to labor, a third to study, refreshment and recreation and a third to sleep. Now, as we have just quoted from the archaeologist Cagnat of the French Academy: "The

²⁹ Ignatius, *Epist. to the Magnesians*, IX., ad.

³⁰ Vol. 1., pp. 135, 530 explaining the long hours and the 360 days labor, with no Sundays.

³¹ Cagnat, *Vie Contemporaine*, Jan. 1896, p. 173, confirms our statement that their influence where exerted, was widespread, and that they were the same and alike in every part of the world: "Les corporations professionnelles n' en différaient pas beaucoup."

unions of trades and professions did not vary much from each other," so we have always held. Whether Roman *collegia*, Greek *eranoi* and *thiasoi*, Egyptian *therapeutae* or Palestinian *essenes*, they are found, on close inspection of their inscriptions to vary little as regards their object, habits and tenets.³² Nothing is more certain, if these socialistic and practical economists did this, than that all the other practical organizations under the Solonic dispensation did the same thing. The *essenes*, therefore, furnished the typical key to the discussion,³³ and the learned disquisition of Fränkel who extracts from the Talmud, yields a fresh gem of assurance that eight hours constituted the normal day's work.

But independently of this, we yet possess the evidence of Philo. This correct and much quoted author, in his celebrated book on all goodness comes out with a plain statement for the guilds of the Egyptians which are now proved by many of their inscriptions to have been trade unions, that they divided their day into three parts, of which eight hours were devoted to labor.³⁴

Many other intimations on the fact that the Greek and Roman *collegia* worked the eight hours normal day are coming to light through the inscriptions.

After their consistency in carrying out the scheme of economics, comes the information that among them there existed an extraordinary love for one another which is hardly accountable, and almost exceeds belief.

On initiation into a society they were to love one another. It was a requirement almost the opposite of existing conditions around them. Surrounded on all sides by hard, imperious masters, watched by the spies of the law, detested by the official religion, refused the right of

³² Fränkel, in *Zeitschrift*, 1846, p. 458, shows that the *essenes* divided their days into 3 equal parts, 8 hours of which were devoted to labor that was made both honorable and compulsory; and Smith, *Bible Dictionary*, p. 772, Bost. ed., refers to this as important. If they were all alike, their customs were alike.

³³ Josephus, *De Bell. Jud.*, V., iv., § 2, speaks of the *Essene* Gate of Jerusalem *Ἐσσηνῶν πύλη*, in a way warranting us to infer that they were numerous, busy and systematic while a so-called tradition based upon facts of Josephus now lost, mentions the existence of a congregation at this *πύλη* who devoted "one third of the day to study, one third to prayer and one third to labor." Fränkel, *Zeitschrift*, 1846, p. 458. It was a learned Hebrew scholar who extracted this valuable information from the Talmud, which reiterates that among *Therapeutae* and *Essenes* all things were held in common; no property being recognized, and that they refused to labor more than one third of the twenty-four hours.

³⁴ For a quotation, see *supra* in this vol., and refer to *index*, in verb. *Philo*. The translation of his words in *Quod Omn. Prob.*, is taken from Smith, *Bib. Dict.*, p. 772.

marrriage and the family, denied the existence of a soul,²⁵ damned before death and afterward, the ancient workers were taught to bow before the majesty of property of their own creation, and cringe to robber barons who with military or traditional prowess deprived them of manhood and recognition exactly as they are doing to-day. It is thus that their oikos became not only a house to live in but a meeting house where they congregated and discussed in secret for a thousand years. It was the home of their eranothiasoi and collegia, which were one and the same among them.²⁶

Beginning with our earliest records we find these organizations based upon, and carrying out, a precept of love. Even their initiations, in a crude way, point to this. In fact, the growth of love among mankind has a history, originating in some mythical personage, god or goddess; and the primeval love-cult was first breathed in'o those poor people by means of the ordeal of initiation into their brotherhoods.²⁷

To facilitate this natural development the house or oikos was necessary; and wherever a communal property is found to have existed the inscriptions show that the first thing was a house, in which they could meet and cultivate their friendship and love. It was sometimes called a pholeterion, meaning a place of discussion and deliberation, but following the restrictions of the jus coenndi, it was also provided²⁸ with a common table and a plot of ground with trees and seats for ban-

²⁵ See Index of both volumes, in *certis*, and pointing to pages in which this matter is discussed. It is an axiomatic fact that until the Christian era the law of the laboring classes was thought to possess a soul.

²⁶ Les Sénarapiastes, qui assomblaient forty (ou cinquante) inscriptions Attiennes (no. 24) ont a Cos constitués en thiasos, le seul une preuve que les deux mots, de thiasos et érane étaient devenues tout-a-fait synonymes. Foucart, *Ann. Rel.*, p. 2, note 24.

²⁷ Consult Vol. I, Chapter iv., p. 83 ff., in which the solemn initiatory cult is shown for the rich and aristocratic classes. The so-called lesser mysteries, those of the organizations we are describing, maintained a similar secrecy or occultism but were far more sympathetic. They had a Papa, of whom Attis was the type. This cult to prevent him from overdoing the love which was to prevail the soul, had him emasculated as an over-lush sexual exuberance.

²⁸ That the oikos of the eranos was a meeting house, which is now fully established and acknowledged (cf. Webster, *Standard and other dictionaries* in origin of the word church), Ramsay, in *Coins and Reliquies of Phrygia* (Part II, *Rel.*, pp. 44, 87) where the inscription is shown, no. 728, 1-16, attesting that it then superintended the construction of an oikos and owned the land. We have counted more than a hundred inscriptions of the Solenne order, found especially in Phrygia containing the word oikos, which is the English word church (cf. Webster). Yet it is a very interesting house of the ancient carpenters, joiners, etc., dress, laborers, bakers, etc., sailors, masons and a score of other trades.

quets and entertainments. Christianity was its noble and strikingly correct development. Nothing is now so extremely necessary as an investigation on our lines of philosophy. No substantiation can be more explicit than that thiasos and eranos were labor organizations than Lüders, Oehler and others give, proving that the organizations of the *jus coeundi* were working for the support of their members and families.³⁹ They supplied themselves with all the means of comfort and plentitude, and carried on the business of individual trades with consistency and determination for centuries, until many of them accumulated a little means and sometimes considerable communal property. The council hall was often their own.⁴⁰ An important article has been published in the Pauly-Wissowa by Dr. Oehler, entitled "*Boule*," which goes back to the distant origin of councils of this kind among the ancient Greeks, and explains the system of meals in common in the early cities, prepared in the Prytaneum, to which we have already given a definition. The unions were directed by law to pattern after this method of the public councils in cities.

It is now proven that these common meals were the celebrated lovefeasts of the ancients early grasped and followed by the Christians.⁴¹ We find Socrates at the common table making pretty speeches on the sublime philosophy of love as embodied in the friend-making Eros, really Dionysus; and four hundred years later⁴²

³⁹ Hesychius who wrote a valuable *Dictionary* explaining the meaning of words, defines the Solonic unions in these words: "Θιασος: εὐωχίαν καὶ πλήθος οὐ μόνον τὸ βακχικὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐργατικόν." Originally these organizations were purely civil, not religious institutions. Lüders *D. K.*, p. 8. and this dictionary defines them as labor associations.

⁴⁰ Hesychius, *Lexicon*, in *verbo* Φωλητήρια καὶ συνόδων οἶκος; So also Polux, 'Ονομαστικόν, VI., 7: "Ἰδιῶς δὲ τοὺς τῶν διασωτῶν οἴκους φωλητήρια ὠνόμαζον." These illustrations are quite sufficient to define the original church as a common council, or οἶκος, κύριακος etc. This word church is a derivation from οἶκος οἷς συνιόντες δειπνοῦσιν οἱ θίασοι, i.e.: houses or little churches in which the thiasotæ and eranists gathered together and took meals in common.

⁴¹ Xenophon, *Conv.*, VIII., 1, describing a lovefeast of one of these organizations in Athens about 400 B.C., gives us valuable information showing that Eros was the love-god whom they worshiped; for Socrates in the little speech which Xenophon quotes says: Πάντες ἐσμεν τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου διασώται. He further makes the admission that this Eros was about identical with Dionysus. There is no question that Socrates was a member of one of these societies, at Athens, where they are known to have existed in considerable numbers.

⁴² *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VII., p. 505, Buffalo ed.: *Acts of Philip*. Athenian Hellas. Ananias accuses Philip before the Athenian philosophers, bringing charges against Jesus: "For many charges were brought in by him that he gave evil testimony; for he ate all things common and mixed with blood after the manner of the Gentiles." This strange old document must sooner or later be regarded as valuable evidence.

we find Jesus at the common table, and in the society of a similar brotherhood, enjoying a lovefeast in honor of the God of creation.

The fervency of the laboring synods, congregations and council meetings, as exhibited in their ingenious chiselings has caused a good deal of wonder among the scholars engaged in their discovery. The point of most interest is their scheme of discussion and inculcation. They all differ from the official pagan cult, although pagans themselves until the Christians came. After their rule of life they must love and take care of one another which, except in the well-regulated family, is not seen in the competitive, outside world. Wescher in one of his valuable contributions, intimates that the cult of the Greek-speaking eranothiasos was more fervent and lasting than the official institutions of state; and Dr. Foucart appears to approve this view.⁴³ According to the opinions of Renan, Welcher and Foucart, the reason why the state went down and the principle of the organizations went up was that the state with its religion was brutal to the laboring element, and deserved to die.

Everywhere the economical thiasotes were musical and they sang their pre-Christian hallelujahs and hymns of love.⁴⁴ The general characteristics of these unions are likewise proved to conform to their exalted culture.⁴⁵ It is in these economical labors that the females found their redeeming function. There were female officers who presided over the preparations of the banquets, and took charge of the work of preparing the common meals. We find them mentioned as deaconesses. It was largely at these repasts that the spirit of human sympathy was inculcated.

⁴³ *Ass. Rel.*, p. 177, approving Wescher's views; M. Renan, *Les Apôtres*, p. 250, declares the thiasoi cultivated elevated ideas. Plutarch, *De Pith.*; *De Erroribus Oraculorum*, 20.

⁴⁴ Later the ἀναγέννησις or New Birth formed one of their themes. The ἅγιος, εὐσεβής, ἀγαθός, of which we have spoken, also formed a part of their musical praise. There was the hymn of Attis, who in a paroxysm died for mankind and rose again. See Foucart, p. 89, for the Φιλοσοφούμενα, also Keil, *Philologos*, 1852, p. 189, all showing that the διασώται were cultivators of love. This, Plutarch and Xenophon both prove. Plut., *Amal.*, XIII., 5, shows that love is certainly a god; Οὐδὲ ἔπηλυς ἐκ τινος βαρβαρικής δεύσιδαιμονίας, ὡς περ Ἄτται τινὲς καὶ Ἀδώνιοι λεγόμενοι, δι' ἀνδρογυνῶν καὶ γυναικῶν παραδύεται καὶ κρύφα τιμᾶς οὐ προσηκούσας καρπούμενος, ὥστε παρεισγραφῆς δίκην δεύγειν καὶ νοθείας τῆς ἐν θεοῖς.

⁴⁵ Oehler, *Eranos Vindabon.*, p. 280, speaking of their attributes and characteristics of the Zumpfte or Guilds, as he terms them, says: Das Ansehen der Genossenschaften zielt sich in den Attributen: σεμνότητος, ἱερῶς, ἱερωτάτος, εὐγενέστατος εὐρέλης, die ihnen beigelegt werden. The attribute εὐτέλης here mentioned, has an especial reference to the economical care in providing for themselves the means of life.

The ancient symposiums and lovefeasts constitute one of the grandest attractions which the historian finds in a thankless desert of lowly life. They were the garden spot that nurtured the sympathy seldom found in the outside, gruesome world of which our histories speak; and although they are unmentioned and now only to be found in the skeleton-like inscriptions, which, like fossils yield ghastly records from nature's petrifications, yet they unfold to us the deeply occult reasons why mankind, amid raging competitions did not long ago destroy itself and cease to exist. It was this phenomenal, invisible humanity, hated and maltreated by the ruling race, but closely confraternal within the veil of union, working, praying, singing, loving, providing, in inter-mutual secrecy, that perpetuated our species and held it in its physical and intellectual grandeur through the qualms of official priestcraft, kingcraft and avarice that sometimes well-nigh depopulated the earth.

This beautiful love was widespread and universal. We have already recorded in these chapters our belief that it must have been a specification of some clause now lost, of the Solonic law, of which there remains to us only a brief fragment. Love was a command. Later it was a Christian command.⁴⁶ It was love that perpetuated the fraternities until broken up and destroyed by the hideous canons of the Council of Laodicea where these unions are, above all other places, best known to have economically thrived;—a council which, backed by empire, eliminated them throughout proconsular Rome which means the world. Henceforth, love was turned to hate and wrangle and the dark and dismal feudal ages of a thousand years supervened.

To us, this love of membership which existed among the unions is phenomenal. We cannot understand it. They not only loved each other during life, but following pagan ideas of immortality, they extended this love beyond the mortal life. It was the custom among the poor to burn the bodies of the dead. Only the great, the distinguished, the men and women of recognition, could be honored by interment after the Twelve Tables which for more than four hundred years had been law,

⁴⁶ John, XV., 12. This is my commandment that ye love one another. *Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἐντολὴ ἣ ἐμὴ, ἵνα ἀγαπάτε ἀλλήλους, καθὼς ἠγάπησα ὑμᾶς.* Also John, XVIII., 34; I. John, xiii., 11; I. *Thess.*, IV., 9; I. Peter., IV., 8.

had been desecrated⁴⁷ through the multitudinous calamities of the Roman conquests.

One of the first manifestations of this curious extension of love beyond this life was made in a discovery at Rome of the vast mausoleum, containing great numbers of niches for cinerary urns, all of the laboring class.⁴⁸ As is seen in his words given in the note below, the custom was already old among the Greeks, for it is mentioned in the Iliad. But our information on the application of this singular custom among the Greek trade unions has been greatly enhanced by Dr. Oehler,⁴⁹ who has lately investigated the subject with a ransacking penetration which left no stone unturned, during his recent travels. The revelations of the columbarium discovered beside the Appian Way⁵⁰ near Rome are especially interesting because it is proved that the niches contain many cinerary urns of Christians.

The well-known parentalia and rosalia of the official religion were imitated by these organizations of the more lowly ones. The living members were in common, and on a par with the dead ones. They took a sacred pleasure in bestrewing their graves with flowers. In their pagan and ante-Christian state they fervently believed that the "passing on" was a continuation of present things, to be lived and enjoyed forever and death had no dreads or pangs. Each year at the parentalia, or

⁴⁷ Cicero, *De Legibus*, ii., 23; "Hominem mortuum, inquit lex XII in Urbe ne sepulito neve urito . . . Quid? qui post XII in Urbe sepulito sunt clari viri." See Vol. I., p. 75.

⁴⁸ On the society of the dead, see Gorius. *Mon. Sive Columbar.*, p. 142, no. CIII. The inscr. of the urn reads; ALCYONE L. ACILI. EROTIS DIV. AUG. L. CALAIS CIS VITÆ MEIV. OSSA. IN UNO. Gorius' comments: "Commixtos simul in una olla plurimi defunctorum cineres, et in hoc columbario superius observabimus in descriptione § XI., p. 56. Nil enim amicis, et propinquis carius et optatius esse potest jucunda societate etiam post mortem. Hunc morem in unam urnam commiscendi cineres plurium defunctorum a Græcis quoque usitatum." Hom., *Iliad*, 336.

⁴⁹ Oehler, *MSS.*, to the author; "Was angeführt wurde, genügt um zu beweisen dass die Sorge für die Bestattung der Mitglieder, für die Erhaltung des Grabmales, für den Todencultus vielfach von den Vereinen getragen wurde; dies erklärt sich aus der sacralen Grundlage aller Vereine. Die Vererher derselben Gottheit sollen und wollen auch nach ihrem Tode vereint sein; ihnen sollen vom Vereine τὰ νομιζόμενα erwiesen werden. Daher erklären sich die gemeinsamen Begräbnissplätze einzelner Vereine umschlossen von einer Mauer, die Errichtung und Erhaltung der μνήμενα, u.s.w."

⁵⁰ Gorius, *Columbar.*, p. 56, showing how the ashes were found to be mixed together, again says; "Interdum etiam in una eademque urna plurium defunctorum cineres simul commixti, quod ab amicis, a pluribus affectu conjunctis factum legitur, in pristini amoris, fidelitatis, perpetuæque inter se benevolentie, etiam post obitum, argumentum. Ex sequentibus titulis constabit, ut videlicet, in hoc quoque monumento mixtos simul aliquando in una eademque olla plurium defunctorum cineres."

first of February, they met to appease their *manes*, these being the annual feast-days of the *parentalia* at Rome. Also, at the *rosalia* in May, they went through the same strange forms of kindred worship, bestrewing the graves with roses. In March they observed another sacred spell, bestrewing their beloved burial spots with violets. To do this task, which, like their meals, was accomplished in common, or at common expense, they accumulated the proper means by a small contribution of each member in good standing, into the union's common fund.⁵¹ The *parentalia* and *rosalia* were strictly pagan forms but they were partly discontinued as heathenish, after the Christians took control. Abundant evidence is at hand showing that many of the so-called heathen forms and customs were endorsed and continue as sacred by the Christians to the present time.

Among such customs and habits were the hallelujahs, or ecstatic cries originating in the initiations,⁵² as will be shown. The hallelujah was originally a typical shout during the ceremonies of initiation.⁵³ This hallelujah is again mentioned by Chrysostom six hundred years afterwards showing that the Christians engrafted it into the new religion and under them it became full of chanting melodies and so remains to this day in its non-practical, skeleton form. But the most open and telling disclosure which perhaps we have, of this rite of the initiatory feasts of the dead, from the thirteenth to the twenty-

⁵¹ Cagnat, in *Vie Contemporaine*, Jan. 1896, who shows the natural reasons, why the societies always had a burial attachment.

⁵² At the initiations of the Thiasos, the universal cry or shout was *ὀλολυγή*, the same thing as hallelujah. This was the common cry of rejoicing among the *διασώται* of *Σαβάκιος*. It was as early as B. C. 400-500, and is probably a term borrowed from the Central-Asians by the Hebrews, and after, by the Christians who have differentiated it from the original place, as an initiatory cry, but continue it in their camp-meetings and love-feasts, in chants and anthems. The *διασώται* always used this ecstatic shout in their initiations. See Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, pp. 74, 75. An inscription now at the Louvre, CIG. 2771, Fouc. No. 43, and handsomely printed by the latter, on p. 223, 224, shows that the word *ἐκκλησία* used to-day, as an ecclesiastical term in the church, was originally a word for the councils of the initiates into the thiasos, known by the early date of this thiasos, about B.C. 196-180, to have been in constant use by the *διασώται* as a common term of their unions, and councils. Ecclesia is found in Aristophanes, *Lysistr.*, 386-390 speaking of the women of the brotherhoods; Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 18, and others likewise mention the ecclesia of the brotherhoods.

⁵³ Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, p. 75: "Pendant la cérémonie, le purificateur et les initiés poussaient l' *ὀλολυγή*, cri perçant, plusieurs fois répété, et qui était usité dans les cultes d' Attis et de Sabazius." We have an ancient Greek definition also, showing what the original hallelujah was. *Ὀλολυγή φωνή γυναικῶν ἣν ποιῶνται ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὐχόμεναι*. Harpocration, *Etimol. Magna*. Demosthenes twits Æschines where he brings out these curious things, of being a *διαώτης*, and his initiations, of being those of the mean and lowly, lesser mysteries, boasting that he himself was noble enough to have been initiated into the great mysteries, along with society and kings.

first of February, is the worship of dead men; and its hallelujah is divulged by another and very reliable ancient author,⁵⁴ comporting remarkably with the mysticisms which suffused all ancient life. The god thus created amid hallelujahs and the ebullition of excessive joy was the Dionysus whom they named and worshiped as Sabazius; the forerunner, Kathegemona, veritable divinity of the vast Solonic organization, represented as "the ennobler of mankind and the giver of joys." After a full comparison, strictly scientific, of our monumental information, with other written records regarding the trouble between the working man and woman, Æschines and Glaucothea, and Demosthenes, we are unable to suppress a feeling of indignation against this eloquent defender of high-born pretention, who lampooned, and through a mere tonguey raillery caused the overthrow and martyrdom of two well-meaning and useful reformers striving to better the wretched condition of slaves and freedmen at Athens. Already it has been shown that before the time of Glaucothea and of her enemy Demosthenes, the very thiasos which the orator denounces and derides, had practiced the habit by borrowing money from the eranos, acting as a kind of bank for the common membership, to buy their people out of slavery by selling them to a god. In this way large numbers of slaves became free. Furthering this work of emancipation was the crime of the martyrs.

That the chanters of the hallelujahs were members of the societies of thiasotic, eranoi and orgeones under the jus coeundi of Solon can no longer be denied; for they appear everywhere connected with them.

The hallelujah also has a history and function in the early church, showing that Christianity was planted into the communes already existing in great numbers and power when the Advent spread its influence in the

⁵⁴ Fouc., *Ass. Rel.*, p. 72, sqq., is in doubt whether they were as religious as they were economical, because they were "accessible même aux profanes." In that early, semi-barbarous time these old Sabazic initiations were, of course, somewhat brutal and savage, and their formalities partook often of the abominations of a savage life. The candidates, whether men or women, were stripped naked. The purificator, or baptizer poured on him or her, water from the crater (κρατήρ) "eau de cratère" (p. 73.) then rubbed him down with clay and bran: "Απομάττων τῷ πηλῷ καὶ τοῖς πιτύροις." This clay and bran were supposed to have a mystical effect. Harpocration, in v. *Αποματτων*. The rite was not Greek but borrowed from Thrace and Asia Minor. Plutarch, *De Superstitionibus*, 3. *πρωσσις* means wallowing in mire. The initiate then had to stand and yell: "Hallelujah! I have escaped evil, I have found better things. "Ἐγὼ γονάκον, εὐρον ἀμεινον." Demosth., *Pro Corona*, 259-260.

world.⁵⁶ The reader, then, of the remarkable and celebrated assertion of Diodorus, that they were employed by cities and states, as we have quoted in two places, should reflect that these ululations clinging to our musical religion and making it so attractive and beautiful in variety of anthems, chants and vocal quavers, which thrill alike the throngs of camp meetings, or the cavernous vaults of cathedrals, derive their exquisite harmony and far-sounding vowel explosions enchanting to all worshippers of art in aerial vibrations, to the poor workingman's protecting god who was begotten in the eoptic ecstasy of an ancient and divine initiation to become the glorious immortal that stood in watchfulness over the mechanic arts.

All these organizations were constantly working their efforts to obtain government employment. They succeeded. It may be stated positively that state ownership and control of labor was the economical outcome of the Solonic organization. We proceed to furnish proof lest our opponents file in a desire to deny it, in the interest of the competitive system. Many of the great authors, such as Aristotle, Plutarch, Lucian and Tertullian are literary evidence, while the Monumental evidence with its curious jottings corroborates their statements.

We cannot be too explicit in noting all that is proven by evidence on the subject of municipal eating-houses. There was, some 250 years before Christ, a municipal kitchen at the Piræus the seaport of Athens. It was called the *Maguireion*, and employed constantly, for at least a hundred years, a large number of butchers,

⁵⁵ *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. VIII., p. 539, on the Early Liturgies. Much similarity is seen in the services, suggesting that it is derived from the originals we are discussing, most of whose information comes to us through monumental proof. The scriptural reads: "Then there are read in order, the holy oracles of the Old Testaments and of the prophets; and the incarnation of the Son of God is set forth, and the sufferings and resurrection from the dead, the ascension into heaven, and His second appearing with glory; and this takes place daily in the holy and divine service." So in the monumental they had this resurrection. The liturgy is very late. The original and true functions of the deacon are now gone. Of the Christian hallelujah, John, in Revelations, xix., 1. "And after these things I heard a great voice of much people in heaven, saying: "ALLELUIA; Salvation and glory, and honor, and power unto the Lord our God." Also Psalms, (composed, at least, 1000 yrs. B.C., 1055-1015,) 106. 111; 113; 146. *Ibidem*, 3, 4, 6: "And I heard, as it were, the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunders, saying: "Alleluia, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth." And this is exactly what Demosthenes derides in his far-famed blackguard of the initiations by Æschines and his mother, Glaucothea, in the Oration, *Pro Corona*.

cooks and waiters.⁵⁶ The inscription given in the note showing a common table, which undoubtedly was of so large a membership as to engross a sensible share of the population, gives a public kitchen like that at Grenoble in France, at the present day. Like the beneficent city-owned eating house at Grenoble, it employed the people direct, and they worked and furnished food at non-speculative rates for the public as a function of the public works.⁵⁷

The hymn singers of the great Dionysan unions were employed in great numbers by the state and municipal governments. Of this, we possess evidence of the stones. A thiasos, of the Thymele chorus dancers had a large membership thus employed, and exempted from military duty by the state in recognition of their musical genius and skill.⁵⁸ Diodorus tells us that thousands of the musical and play-acting fraternities of the Dionysan order were not only employed by the state official religion, which means the political state, but like those of India, they were exempted from the burden of the state tax and military services. They were workmen, not citizens, but nevertheless appreciated. This employment by the state was very common, also at Rome for many centuries,⁵⁹ as will be seen by a glance at the index of the

⁵⁶ Oehler, *MSS. to the Author*: on the *Μαγειρείον*, or public cookshop, says: "Aus dem Peireius berichtet uns eine Inschrift aus dem Ende des III. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. von einem Beschlusse der Orgeonen, betreffend die Herrichtung einer Küche *μαγειρείον* zu öffentlichen Zwickeln: CIA. II., 618 vgl. *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1856, p. 137, (Velsen)." This public kitchen recommended by the resolution registered on the slab of stone, by a union, and probably established and in operation for at least a hundred years, was patterned after the *πρωτανείον* in conformity with a clause of the law of Solon, and employed quite a number of the members of its own brotherhood. There is at present at least one such public kitchen, that of the city of Grenoble, France. See *Bulletin of the U. S. Dept. of Labor*, No. 12, 1897.

⁵⁷ Liddell, in *verb*, "*Μαγειρείον*, a place for cooking; a cook shop; Latin, *poppina*, or the place where the public cooks lived." This clause explains that it was an institution owned by the public; and it follows, as shown by the few inscriptions we have of them, that cooks engaged there, were under some sort of employment in the public work.

⁵⁸ Diodorus, *Hist. Biblioth.*, IV., 5, proves this as follows: "Καθόλου δὲ τῶν θυμελικῶν ἀγῶνων φασὶν εὐρετὴν γενέσθαι (sc. Διόνυσον) καὶ θέατρα καταδείξαι καὶ μουσικῶν ἀκροαμάτων σύστημα ποιῆσαι· πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις καὶ ἀλειτουρηγῆτους ποιῆσαι καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις μεταχειριζομένους τι τῆς μουσικῆς ἐπιστήμης, ἀφ' ὧν τοὺς μεταγενεστέρους μουσικὰς συνόδους συστήσασθαι τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν καὶ ἀτελείς ποιῆσαι τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιτηδευοντας."

⁵⁹ Oehler, *MSS*: "In Rome erscheint als officielle Titulatur: σύνδοδος ἐξοστική τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα αὐλητῶν ἱεροτικῶν στεφανειῶν. *Inscr. Gr. Παρίσι*, nr. 1054; 1055; 1107: ἱερά ξ. σ. υ. σ. w. 1105, mit dem Zusatz: ἀπὸ καταλύσως ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι Ρωμῆ κατοικούντων, 1109. Auf einem Siegel, dessen Fundort unbekannt ist, lesen wir ἱερά ἐξοστική Ἀρτωναῆ Γορδιαῆ εὐσεβῆς Σεβαστῆ σύνδοδος. CIG., 8561, Merkwürdig ist die bezeichnung Νεικήτης 'Ἡράκλειος' *Inscr. Gr. Ital.*, 1108 aus Rom. Neikiles soll damit wohl als Mitglied einer Athletengenossenschaft bezeichnet werden.

first volume of this work. For a long time nearly every branch of manufacture, building, public bridges and vast itineraries,⁶⁰ indeed even the food supplies with shipping commerce, and the collection of public revenues, were allotted to the various unions by the state; and evidences begin to appear showing that for five centuries at least, the unions with their innumerable members, secured this work and they divided the day's labor into three equal parts, eight hours for work, eight hours for refreshment and pleasure and eight hours for sleep. Under the Solonic dispensation those unions were non-property owners except as their goods were held in common by the membership. They were voting socialists, and they realized almost all of the immense advantages of socialism except the public recognition of their manhood, equality and citizenship, which were never achieved except by the vast and launching swoop of Christianity that has partly succeeded in putting down slavery and divine inheritance.

But it is especially refreshing to find evidence in the inscriptions of Asia Minor, Italy and Gaul that thousands of people organized in artists' unions had regular employment under the city boards of public amusement. We have already shown how careful these Solonic unions were to attend to the political end of these matters, thus voting into office their own choice of the directors of public works in order to secure their own appointment to do the task. Among many others are the musicians.⁶¹ Allusion has already been made to the employment by Alexander the Great of these organized musicians. At the great scenic festivity, to celebrate this monarch's victory over Darius, no less than 3,000 play-actors of the organization of the Great Gemeinde were convoked. It was a musical and histrionic festi-

⁶⁰ Domaszewski, in *Eranos Vinodobon.*, p. 60 ff., under title, *Cura viarum*, for a correct idea of the great public and military highways of Rome and her colonies, made by the colleges.

⁶¹ Dr. Oehler, *MSS.*, reminds us of the inscription noted by Hicks, *Anc. Gr. Inscr.*, III., in the introduction and says: "Die ὑμνοδοί seien eine Bruderschaft von Hymnensängern im Temple der Artemis gewesen; Levy: *Rev. des Etudes Grecs*, VIII., 1895, p. 217, meint die ὑμνοδοί erscheinen als ein autonomes Corps; Ziebarth, *Vereinswesen*, p. 90, hält sie für ein Mittelglied zwischen privaten und öffentlichen Corporationen, städtische Musikkapellen: vgl. auch, Fränkel, *Pergamon*, II., *Commentar* zu nr. 374, p. 262-270." Reference is also made to many inscrs. pointing to the same conclusions, found at Smyrna, Klaudiopolis, Ephesus, Tyre, and elsewhere. CIG., 3803, and showing them all to be in honor of Diana, protectress of labor and the chase.

ity given by Chares, who was one of Alexander's generals, and who wrote stories about Alexander, most of which are lost.⁶² The Dionysan artists are represented as being mostly wandering musicians and playwrights, who under the powerful direction of the Great Gemeinde wandered into many provinces and towns accepting any offer they could arrange either with cities or governments. On this we have the testimony of many authors, including Diodorus, Pliny, Plutarch, Arrian, Cleomenes, Polybius, Athenæus, Lucian and others. The nine days' festival of Alexander was enormous, where he employed these mirth makers in force.⁶³ Again when Hephastion, the much loved friend of Alexander died, this monarch ordered a great funeral festivity as was the custom, lasting three days.⁶⁴ Cases of this sort were of the species of pure government, and were sporadic, disconnected and accidental; but the cases of municipal employment were carefully watched for by the unions, who had their picked political defenders at the elections, and never allowed a candidate to be nominated as *agoranomos*, or commissioner of public works, unless he was committed to the interests of the powerful unions and would, if elected, award the jobs to them.

Not only Alexander, but also the Cypriote kings were in the habit of engaging play-actors for their own amusement, and for their skill and genius in the public festivities and games. Stories of much interest and amusement have come down to us corroborating this.⁶⁵ A startling mention is made to the effect that after the time of Alexander who on many occasions, as we have shown, hired vast numbers, the successful generals of conquest went further than to hire and honorably pay

⁶² Athenæus, xii., 538. The various artists employed on this occasion were "Θαυματοποιοί, Ραψῳδοί, Κιθάρῳδοί, Λύλῳδοί, Λυλῳταί, αὐλῳταί μετὰ τῶν χορῶν, τραγῳδοί, κομῳδοί, ψάλτης, καὶ Ψιλοκιθαρισταί."

⁶³ Diod., xvii., 16, speaking of Alexander's great nine-days' feast, says; "Θυσίας μεγαλοπρεπῆς τοῖς θεοῖς συνετέλεσεν ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ σκηνηκοῦς ἀγῶνας, Διὶ καὶ Μουσῆσι οὓς Ἀρχέλαος πρῶτος κατέδειξε, τὴν δὲ πανηγύρεν ἐφ' ἡμέρῃ ἐννεά συνετέλεσεν." As Alexander was himself the autocrat in absolute control both of the employment by him of the minstrels, and of the monarchies it must be classed as government employ.

⁶⁴ Arrian, *Anabasis*, VII., 11: "Ἀγῶνα τε ἐπενδοί ποιῆσαι γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικόν πλῆθει τε τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καὶ τῆ' εἰς αὐτὸν λορηγία πολὺ τε τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρόσθεν ἀλιθιότερον" τρισχιλίους γὰρ ἀγωνιστὰς τοὺς ξυμπαντὰς παρεσκεύασε. Thus 3,000 playwrights were engaged from the various unions of the Dionysan artists of different cities to perform for the great occasion. They were sumptuously treated and well paid.

⁶⁵ Plutarch, *Alexander*, 29, relates the anecdote of King Pasicrates referred to, and confirms it in *De Fort. Al.*, II., 2.

them. They took a double advantage of the popularity of the custom and cheated both the musicians and the people who rushed together in throngs to hear the agonies and witness the games.⁶⁶ On the other hand, after the commencement of the Roman conquests, they often lured or choked the play-actors themselves into making sports for them which they enormously profited upon, and in this manner debauchery went rampant at the expense of both honor and purse.

It has heretofore been alluded to that during the conquests⁶⁷ the orders of trade unions of the law of Numa were employed to do the mechanical work of the armies and navies of Rome.⁶⁸ Members did not act as soldiers, but they were formed into companies and regiments, and then set to work, making arms, machines and all the material of war, thus constituting one of the important parts of the military service. This, while it honored and remunerated them by giving direct employment at their own terms, did much more for them and for humanity; for the aristocratic soldiers in actual conflict were decimated in numbers by fighting their bold adversaries on every hand. It is well known that they sometimes died out. But these proletarian millions, organized into unions and out of danger, working for the belligerent armies, happily exempt from dangers, multiplied, thrived, and grew prosperous, and in this manner, always attending to their political foothold at home, became a ruling power. The highest evidence of the archæologists has come into our possession showing that almost all the associations were habitually employed either by the army or navy, or else by the official religion and therefore by the state; and this was not confined to mechanics but included vast numbers of amusement makers who lived by these trades and professions⁶⁹ in close organization of the *jus coeundi*—the play artists as

⁶⁶ Lüders, *Dionys. Künst.*, p. 107: "Sie beutzten die Einrichtung von Spielen um das Volk für sich zu gewinnen, zuweilen auch um es auszuspündern." Much information on this is derived from *Pseudo. Aristot., Oecon.*, II., 30.

⁶⁷ Vol. II., *chap.*, i.

⁶⁸ Livy, I., 43: "Additæ huic classi (primæ) duæ fabrum centuriæ quæ sine armis stipendia fecerent, datum munus ut machinas in bello ferrent." Their function to make and operate the machines, was explained by Varro, *De Lingua Lat.*, from which we make extracts.

⁶⁹ Lüders, *Dionys. Künst.*, p. 11: "So bilden sich unter dem Schutze des Staates und wohl unter seiner Mitwirkung ständige Collegien mit sacralem Charakter. *συνοδοὶ τῶν περὶ τοῦ Διόνυσου τεχνιτῶν.*" Plut. *Qu. Rom.*, cvii.; Tertull., *Spectacular. Artificum.*

cell as the image makers, tent and scene fixers and common laborers, hunters, fisherman and sellers of their products, all lived on their professions, securing each other employment just as did the bridge-builders⁷⁰ of Rome.

It is known that the government of Athens, which, during the Peloponnesian War, managed the whole public business of Attica, owned and operated silver and gold mines; and that a large share of the expenses of that tedious struggle was met by their direct yield. The state of Attica worked the mines; and after the loss of 20,000 men by the strike of B.C. 413, workmen, to fill their places, had to be engaged from the membership of the unions. The men who struck work and escaped to Decelia, hiring themselves out to the enemy against their own country, were Athenian slaves.⁷¹ The new men employed to take their places were in great part freedmen and well organized. The state employed them direct. In other words, they were not let to contractors, who were few in numbers at that early time.⁷² Nicias and others who got a few contracts owned the slaves they employed. It was however mostly after the Roman conquests, under the hateful system. Government hired the workmen direct in almost all the earlier mining enterprises not only at Laurium, but also at its gold mines at Scopta Hyle, and its mine in the Isle of Thasos. The men, assisted by their unions, were well treated, well paid and worked only eight hours a day, thus effecting their economical enfranchisement.

Not only did the 20,000 strikers who, as state slaves, bolted the silver mines of Attica, as we have shown, effectually escape over to the Laedæmonians and secure good government employment from that state with which their own country was at war, but we have the information that the Spartans, after their bad experience with the Helots, grew into the habit of employing large numbers, on terms arranged with the cities and the government, through the Kurios or president of the *eranos*. The same was done in Crete.

⁷⁰ For a full account, consult the *Index* of both volumes.

⁷¹ See I., p. 131, where the story of Thucydides is quoted, and all that is known of this important event recounted; Böckh *Laurische Silberbergwerke* shows the advantages which fell to the strikers. Drumann, *Arbeiter und Kommunisten in Griechenland und Rom*.

⁷² See *Revue Socialiste*, Vol. XIII., No. 78, June, 1891, p. 659. (B. Malon).

We here come to a very important matter which has never until recently been understood. It is the rule of proxy which is especially provided in the law of Solon and inserted into one of the Twelve Tables, to surmount the obstacles interposed by the law against the success of independent labor organization.⁷³

In order to empower a union at any and all times to hire its talent with freedom, the law provides a president of the union's own choice, who is authorized to make bargains in his own individual name. What seems to have made this man's power so fixed and absolute is the fact that the organization itself took the form, or was patterned after the organization of a democratic city or state,⁷⁴ which under Solon, who had already enacted his laws creating and governing the perfect city, and had turned his attention to the best manner of governing the workers whom he seems to have considered the important factor of its inhabitants, naturally desired that their mutual unions should be patterned after the city itself. The city must have its first man in power. So also the union.

The business, therefore, of the kurios was not only to preside but to take contracts wherever possible for work, which his people should perform with the largest possible profit to themselves. Placed in this highly responsible position, with a constituency always eager to obtain state or city work, this director or president possessed a powerful influence over the board of public works; and inscriptions are found showing that they were themselves sometimes elected to fill that office.⁷⁵ The mass of evidence at command, makes it clear that the unions were recognized by the state and by the city, employed in at least a semi-official capacity, although it is evident from the inscriptions that they were at perfect liberty to hire their talent to anybody on their own account.⁷⁶

⁷³ *Dig.*, xlvii., 4: ὁ τι ἂν τούτων διαθῶνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους, κύριον ἔναι, εἰάν μὴ ἀπαγορευσθῆ δημοσία γράμματα.

⁷⁴ *Dig.* lll., 4..... "proprium est ad exemplum reipublice," etc.

⁷⁵ Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, I., p. 417: "On trouve un édile dans trois collèges de jeunes et dans quelques collèges funéraires, CIL., III., 5678. XIV., 2636, 3864; VI., 9288. This last reads: 'Ob honorem aedilitatis titulum polivit de suo et nomina sodalium inscripsit eorum qui numera posuerunt.' It looks to us as though this aedile was a member of some powerful union, elected by it to be the aedile or agoranomos, of the city, and that he acted for them as a commissioner of public works, but likewise attended to the burial attachment, and directed the polishing and lettering of epitaphs.

⁷⁶ Athenaeus, X., iv., 20, p. 482; Aristotle, *Pol.*, I., 72.

The discovery that these trade unions practiced the dual habit of working enormously for the state while at the same moment they performed this labor, ostensibly in the name of an individual, as though the works were let by a city to an individual contractor, has untwisted a difficult thread.⁷⁷ It accounts for the mysteriously powerful *kurios*. It clears up the true and original meaning of the clause we have quoted in the law of Solon, requoted in the Digest. Indeed the mysticism which attaches all along, and which so frequently crops out in the inscriptions can only be made comprehensible in this way. This is why the *Kurios dominus* or lord is so all-powerful and held in such reverence in the New Testament.

Another important fact has been unearthed in regard to them. They were by no means so pious as has been represented.⁷⁸ Religion was only a pretext and not the initial incentive of organization. While on the one hand the unions were mostly successful in getting a living, and in some cases their guild-like rules were so happily conformed to, that they many times bought enough property to have among themselves a common house, yet they were subject to great persecution. There was once in Phrygia an uprising of some sort, which caused the artists to flee to Ephesus for safety. Attalus drove them out of their Pergamenian home to Lebados where they were re-established and in a flourishing state in the time of Diodorus.⁷⁹

There has been much mutilation of facts regarding these important matters. While they were forming a correct nucleus for the deep-laid socialism of future generations, and while they were in the microcosmic

⁷⁷ Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, I., p. 126; "Quand les membres de certaines corporations se mirent au service de l'État, ce fut longtemps en leur nom privé, et non comme corporation."

⁷⁸ Julian, *Inscr. de Bordeaux*, I., p. 200, acknowledges that religion was only a pretext; "Toutes les associations religieuses de l'empire étaient fondées en vue d'assurer à leurs membres un *loculus sepulturae* et lorsque ce n'était pas le but réel de ces fondateurs e' en était un moines le but avoué et le prétexte." Thus in Julian we have an important modern author and savant without a bandage binding his eyes.

⁷⁹ Strabo, 643; "Ἐταῦθα ἐν Δαβεδῶ των περί τῶν Διωνσοῦ τεχνιτῶν ἡ σύνοδος καὶ κατοικία των ἐν Ἴωνιᾳ μέχρι Ἑλλησπόντων, ἐν ἣ πανηγυρις τε καὶ ἀγῶνες κατ' ἔτος συνετελούνται τῷ Διονυσῶ, ἐν ἧσ δὲ ἄκρον προτερον τῆ ἐπιβίης πολ- λει των Ἴωνων, ἐμπειροσις δὲ στασιως εἰς Ἐφισον κατεφυγοι. Ἀτταλου δὲ εἰς Μυόννησον αὐτοὺς καταστήσας μεταξὺ Τρω καὶ Λαβεδου, προσβενονται Τηιοι δεο- μοινοὶ Ῥωμαϊκῶ, μὴ περιθεῖν ἐπιτελιζομένη σφισι τῆ Μυόννησον, οἱ δὲ μετατήσαν εἰς Λαβεδου δεξομενων των Λαβεδιων ἀσμενωσ διὰ τῆν κατεχουσαν αὐτοὺς ὕλιαν- θριαν."

state, they were yet the originals into which the Christians, soon afterward planted their higher forms. The originals of the Christian movement were simple. The tendency all through was toward an economic emancipation of the poor, no matter how great the mutilation of original accounts. The original men had a distinct plan. It was about the same as now before the world, only that at present, amidst inventions, and their concomitant complications and trusts of the wealthy, the plan is being mechanically enlarged.

According to several of the last authors preserved by Strabo, the same was going on in India.⁸⁰

An important inscription has been found containing a certain oath of a thiasos that was written at least 396 years before Christ and preserved at Decelea, the town to which the 20,000 striking slaves from the Laurian silver mines escaped deserting over to the Lacedæmonians.⁸¹ Another set of inscriptions pointed out by Dr. Oehler, refers to a later date, covering the age of the apostles, thence reaching down to the times of Trajan and Hadrian.⁸²

There are indications that the Solonic organization at one time reached as far as Ceylon, for the earliest historic date we have, that of B.C. 316, gives evidence that the philosophy or religion of Guatama so much resembling that of Christianity was planted in that fruitful island developing a wonderful system of public works, the ruins only of which remain. It was here that ancient government works for irrigation were constructed. There still remain relics of large artificial lakes, which stand as an irrefutable proof of the excel-

⁸⁰ Strabo, *Geog.*, 707, 46, Meineke. They embraced: τὰς τέχνας καὶ τοὺς καπηλικούς, all of whom took a share in the government, λειτουργία; and they were all paid directly out of the state treasury, held by the king. See *Supra*, chap. vi., *passim*.

⁸¹ See I., p. 134, note I. Dr. Oehler, *MSS.*, remarks as follows: "Erwähnen möchte ich noch den Δημοδομία Eid und Beschluss, CIA. IV.2, 841 (396 vor Chr.), der διασοι als staatliche Unterabtheilungen nennt, (gefuuden in Dekeleia), und den Beschluss der Peiraienser, gegen διασοι: CIA., II. add., 573 (IV. Jahrh. v. Chr)." This was very near to the times of the great strike of the 20,000. The Inscr. is valuable, as it shows that their government employ displeased the Athenians, and it furthur proves that the slaves were strongly organized; because the protest was against the διασος, of Decelea.

⁸² Le Bas, III., 1620: Ἴερὰ περιπολιστικὴ εὐσεβὲς σύνοδος καὶ σύμπαξ ξυστὸς τῶν περὶ Τραϊανὸν καὶ Ἀδριανόν. It is Phrygian, a wandering, law-abiding association or synd of fully equipped choral dancers doing service for Trajan and Hadrian. Oehler shows quite a number of similar διασοι of this sort existing during the first two centuries of our era. Athen., *Mith.*, VII. 1882, p. 142; CIG., 2811-2816; Athen., *Mith.*, XI11., 1888, p. 173, No. 14; CIG. 3078, and others.

lent agricultural system of an enormous population, at that time supposed to be Buddhistic, or almost Christian. Industry was socialized and the government constructed these vast reservoirs and maintained the finest conceivable method of irrigation.⁸³

We frequently have occasion to speak of the Kurios, an officer in these unions who after serving faithfully a term of at least five years, became the prime manager of a brotherhood and was endowed, under the law, with the power of managing the sub-letting of the member's labor to the state. Such power was never granted until the officer was crowned; and we now propose to emit some light on this subject of crowning. The inscriptions show that the crowns were usually laurel, ivy, gold, olive, mostly wild olive, cereals, willow, tulip, poplar and finally and sadly, thorns.

A wonderful thing about crown-honors is, that the blessing thus conferred and promulgated was not only for life but existed after death; and their belief was, just as their protecting saint assured them, that the crowning carried with it immortality and bliss—an unspeakable boon. A crowning day was a great event; and the person thus receiving it was immortalized and immensely honored. Quite surely we can trace in the humble crowning of these labor unions stretching back 400 years before Christ, the ordeal of sainthood to its origin and final melting into a tenet of the Christian religion.⁸⁴ Away back in the days of Pericles the Greek eranos was in the habit of crowning certain of its members with wreaths of wild olive. According to Dr. Foucart, the crown was always an accompaniment of the eulogium. It was most frequently formed by a simple foliage known in Greek as "thallou stephanos," and

⁸³ Abulfeda, (See *Encyc Brit.*, Article, *Lake Dwellings*) gives some important facts. A. was a geographer; 13th century. Apamean lake, useful to agriculture in those times, was much outdone by the wonderful artificial reservoirs of the island of Ceylon whose immensity, strength and antiquity surpass our understanding.

⁸⁴ CIG. 2525^b, lines 30 to 38: και ὁ ἐπιστάτης τοῦ κοινοῦ ἢ ὁ ἱεροκῆρυξ ἀνεγορευέτω τὸ κήρυγμα τοῦτο: "Τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Ἀλιαδᾶν καὶ Ἀλιαστᾶν ἐτίμασι εἰς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον Διονυσιοδώρον Ἀλεξανδρῆν, εὐεργετὰν τοῦ κοινοῦ, ἐπαίνωι, χρυσεῖω στεφάνωι, δίδωσι δὲ αὐτῷ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ ζῶντι καὶ μεταλλάξαντι τὸν βίον ἀρετὰς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας, ἃν ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τε τὰ κοινὰ καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐρανιστάς" which means: The brother and sisterhood of the Haliades and Haliastes have honored Dionysiodorus of Alexandria for all time for the reason that he was the benefactor of the union. They have conferred upon him a eulogy, and also a crown of gold. It accords to him these honors during his entire life and after his death, as a memorial of his virtue and goodness which he never ceased to exert in the common interest of the eranists of his association.

it was very often composed of material corresponding with crowns of the peculiar divinity endorsed by the union which acted as a protector of the brotherhood. Thus the Panatheniasts made their crowns of olive for Teos, the seat of the great Gemeinde. Some made them of the lyre tulip, and others of white poplar, a tree consecrated to the sun. Some crowns were made of flowers and there are inscriptions showing that members honored by these crowns had the privilege of wearing them at occasions as long as they lived. Occasionally a crown of gold adorned one of these honored members. There was always a great feast, mostly managed by the women when a crowning was to take place raising an officer to this perpetual rank of honor.

The crowning of the dead was also of frequent occurrence,⁸⁵ and it dates from far above the second century preceding the Christian era; because Tertullian wrote a work on crowning, after he had lapsed back into the Solonic brotherhoods whence he came.⁸⁶ Tertullian, who wrote the Corona after his celebrated "lapse" into some secret society, devoted three chapters to a strong argument in favor of Christian common sense admitting that no harm could possibly come of it; and we see that crowning members in the ancient unions with honors of various sorts, is one of the remarkable features of the inscriptions. Tertullian, disgusted with the pious sanctimony of a priest-power growing up around him, lapsed back into the unions where he wrote the Corona. In connection herewith, describing crowns, we have Gorius, who mentions Tertullian with others.⁸⁷ In

⁸⁵ Oehler, *MSS.*, "Bekrönzung des Grabmals durch einen Verein, Aigina, Le Bas, II., 1707, in einem Kranze: ὁ θίασος ὁ Φαινεμάχου; ausser dem χαιρε." See also, Le Bas, III., 1743^u, where there appears a crowning: οἱ σκηπτικῶν καὶ ἐργαστῶν tent and scenic workers.

⁸⁶ Smith, *Dictionary of the Bible*, I., p. 511: "According to Pherecydes (Ἀνρόχθες, time of Herodotus), Saturn was the first to wear a crown. Diodorus says Jupiter was the first by the gods, after the conquest of the Titans; Pliny, Harpocration and others ascribe its earliest use to Bacchus who gave to Ariadus a crown of gold and Indian gems, and assumed the laurel after his conquest of India. Leo Ægyptus attributes the invention to Isis whose wreath was cereal. Tertullian, *De Corona*, argues against crowns, as unnatural and idolatrous (*De Cor. Milites*, cap. 7^u). Still the ordinary and high priests wore the crown (στέφανος)." See Josephus, *Ant.* III. 7.

⁸⁷ Gorius, *Mon. sive Columbar*, p. xxix.: "Qui coronas conficiebant, floresque laneis floccis, et velleribus alte suspensis nectebant, et eleganter aptabant, ut clare ostendit vetustum anaglyphum quod exat in Florentino nostro Baptisterio, "Coronarii" appellabantur; quorum fit mentio in antiquis tabulis penes Gruterum, ac Fabretum: 'Coronarii' item dicti a Tertulliano quidem supplicis ex numero sacrificulorum; item servi qui Reipublicæ temporibus coronas in triumphis ferebant; quæ postea in manibus a quibusdam victoriolis deferrebant et triumphalibus Augustorum curribus appendebantur. quas victoriolas describit Prudentius."

course of time, after the power of the prelates had grown avaricious and haughty and succeeded in merging the socialism of the unions into the grasping claw of kings, there fell over these loving, self-help combinations a conspiracy for their extermination and they all, with their crowns and mutual care and love, went down at one fell swoop at the Council of Laodicea.

Partly allied with the crowning system of the ancient unions was the price and remuneration of labor. It is necessary to begin with this Kurios or managing director whom we have seen crowned and honored.

The manner of rewarding service among the organizations has been quite thoroughly discussed by the archaeologists. In the orgeones, eranoi, thaisoi and therapeutæ there were often two distinct methods of recompense—that of money and of the emulatory, which carried with it many privileges. Sometimes even the magistrates were paid in this way.⁸⁸ It often happened that the magistrates received no other recompense than that of honors, which belong to the emulatory. In other words, they were paid in "recognitions." This may be easily accounted for if we consider that the eranos was a life within the veil. Every one had enough in common with the rest; and they had no use for money, or the flattering emoluments which characterize our vitiated competitive system.⁸⁹ The same may be said of the common membership. They worked for each other in working under their kurios or lord. He was not in any respect like our bosses in the management of an industry. His business was to oversee the happiness of the entire flock. They were to have each an equal share of the common product of the labor of the organization, and thus the industry of each contributed to the recompense of all.

How different was this from the wretched system going on at the same time in the outside world! We are indebted for a clear statement on this subject to an

⁸⁸ Fouc., *Ass. Rel.*, p. 31. "Afin donc que les Orgéons montrent d'une manière évidente leur reconnaissance pour les prêtresses désignées par le sort, qui ont fait preuve de zèle à l'égard de la déesse et de la communauté." The Greek of the inscriptions which is no. 7 of Foucart, lines 6-8; Dumont, *Essai sur la Chron.* Athen., p. 46. Εὐφίλητον ἀρχαίτου, καλῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς, τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἐξηγάγετο καὶ τὰ λαίπα.

⁸⁹ The same author, p. 30, in explanation of his notes, 30, 22, 24, 18 and 43, brings conclusive evidence that there was much zeal and rivalry in the hearts of the business managers of those days, to secure success.

Italian scholar.⁹⁰ After recounting the statistics of living for many people without the advantage of an organization, he returns to those employed by the state. We first proceed to show the wages of the unorganized; and our readers must be thankful to this tireless savant for plunging into and plodding among recondite anaglyphs and unearthing vague and cursory hints of the ancient pen.⁹¹ The Body of Attic inscriptions presided over by Böckh and variously edited, was also ransacked by Mauri. It was soon discovered that wages of employes at the Prytaneum, or in other terms, wages paid by the government were far in excess of the pay offered by the individual concerns.⁹² The difference of more than the price of board between organized and unorganized workmen as shown in the figures of our note, is remarkable. In the examples at Eleusis and the Prytaneum at the city of Athens we see the members of unions employed. With their powerful influence in securing the appointment or election of the agoranomoi and their managers of public works, their membership often got double the wages of the outside, unorganized freedmen.

We are likewise fortunate enough to have some statistics of wages for the scenic artists. M. Foucart has brought out to our notice the inscription of Le Bas and

⁹⁰ Mauri, *I Cittadini Lavatori*, pp. 74-75, gives us statistics for Ancient Greece, at various dates. Aristophanes in Ἐκκλησιαζῶνται, 310 (4th century B.C.), records that porters handling the waste and filth of eating houses got 3 oboles a day, 9 cents. They had no eranos or unions.

Lucian, *Timon*, 6, 12, gives Timon one-half a δράχμα, or 10 cents a day for plowing. They had no eranos.

Athenæus, *Deipnosophistæ*, iv., 168, reports that the philosophers Menedemos and Asclepiades worked nights at grinding grain at 2 δράχματα, per night, to get money for their studies.

⁹¹ We translate M. Mauri's data: In the *Corp. Inscr. Atticarum* is a fragment showing that two sawyers received 1 δράχμα each, per day, for 16 days. The same builder employed 2 roofers at 1 δρ. a day, each, for seven days. A carpenter had 5 oboles a day and board. An obolus was nearly 3 cents, so that his 5 ob. amounted to 15 cents, Federal money, see Rangabé, *Inscr.* I., p. 46. Mowers got 1 δράχμα, or 20 cents and food. Roofers are again found to receive 20 cents and table board. Mauri, p. 78, further found that wheelbarrow men without board, had their 20 cents per day. The above were all within the years B.C. 408-404.

⁹² CIA, *frag.* i., 225 whole days at the Prytaneum, in 3 cases were 1 δρ. with board at the common table and full living per short day, they are found in an inscr. at Eleusis of B.C. 329-328, CIA., II., 2.834^c lines 26-28, to amount up to 2 δρ. & 3 ὀβολοί, for 3 men each, with the οἰκόσιτος or food at public table each day, the work being that of cleaning the park, scraping the columns, and working wood. In lines 28-30, of the same slab, brick, tile and hod carriers got 1 δρ. and 3 ὀβολοί each with meals at the common table. Same *Inscr.*, lines 31-32, polishers and porters in the vestibule of the temple of Eleusis, with board, got 7½ oboles each. Lines 32-34, give artificers in the temple, 1 δρ., 3 oboles. Scavengers got the same. Lines, 60-62 give laborers the same price and fare for leveling and grading. But the sawyers who likewise ate at headquarters, according to lines 53-54, got each 1 and one-half δρ. which was still better.

Waddington wherein quite a list of various persons⁹³ is given, each receiving 100 drachmas or francs, the equivalent of one mina, for the year,⁹⁴ for those hired from Apameia and Jerusalem, and double that amount for their own brothers. It was more than a century before our era. During the time of Julius Cæsar, the playwrights of the Peloponnesus got about three-fourths of a drachma per day. But a given amount had then a higher purchasing power than now.⁹⁵ An inscription found at Athens gives one drachma per day to the artists for music and stage performance. Undoubtedly this included their food at the common table either of the prytaneum, or the mageireion of the unions themselves. At any rate they had their living in addition to the pay in money.

But the relative power of their low wages, especially of those unaided by an organization, is vividly portrayed by Dr. Mauri, who has brought the splendid disquisitions of August Böckh under contribution, in a comprehensive manner, upon the living of ancient times.⁹⁶ The interest or proceeds of money in those days was twelve percent; and it has been estimated that a well-to-do family of four persons could live and appear decently for 540 drachmas, or the interest, or other earnings of 45 minæ, at 12 percent. An estimate has been

⁹³ Calculating his figures from an *inscription*, CIG. 1845, lines, 15-25, Foucart, *De Coll. Scen. Art.*, p. 55, reports the stones as follows: "Mittito civitas, secundum agonothetæ legem, ad conducendos artifices et Dinoysia ex quo incipient, altero quoque anno peragat, nisi bellum obstet, differentiibus senatu et concione. Conducito, e fœnore trium talentorum, quinquaginta minarum Corinthiarum pretio, tres tibicines, tres tragoedos, tres comœdos (id est, tres greges tragicos et comicos).....Danto quoque artificibus e fœnore victum justum, præter quinquagina minas."

⁹⁴ Le Bas, *Inscr. d' Aste Mineure*, 291, "Stephanophoro Apollinis post Antigonom Antigoni filium, agonotheta Theodoro Melanionis filio, ex eis qui prius promiserant in Dionysiis, solverunt: Agonotheta Mnesitheus Athenodori, natura vero, Menedemi filius; choragi, Menedemus Meneocratis, Theophilus Anaxippi, Dionysius Menipp, Menippi, Menotimus Podonis, quisque ducentas drachmas; ex inquilinis, Agathinus Leontis Apamensis, Nicetas Iasonis Hierosolymita, uterque centum drachmas. Foucart, *De Coll. Scenæ Artif.*, pp. 60-61.

⁹⁵ Fouc., *ibid.*, p. 55-56: "Igitur quinquaginta minæ idem valeant quod ætate nostra fere ducentæ. Illud quoque animadvertendum, eandem semper mercedem, quicunque futuri sint artifices, solvendam; ex quo apparet non tam artificii quam religionis observandæ studiosos fuisse Corcyreenses."

⁹⁶ Mauri, *I Cittadini Lavatori*, p. 46. We render his Italian into English to facilitate the reader: "One chenix of grain per day per person; this for 4 persons cost 1 obole each day, or some 12 cents, and was a customary consumption for a poor family (famiglia più povere). For a whole year 60 δράχμα. Böckh, *Staatshh.*, I, 141. One ὀβολος a day for boiled meat, ὄψον, cost them 240 δρ. Clothes and shoes, 15 δρ. per person or 60 δρ. for the 4, per year. A residence used to cost 36 δρ. Total for the year, 396 δράχμα: Time of Socrates.

made of the cost of living for a poor family of four persons during the time of Demosthenes.⁹⁷

But there existed one horror in those days which had to be done away with before any great progress could be realized. The tools, or implements of labor were in the hands of the propertied class the same as to-day; and they were placed in competition with the labor of the unions in the same manner as is being done at the present time.

These tools of labor, so enormously used to run down the wages of human labor, were human slaves. The principal difference between then and now was that in ancient times the implements of labor were animate beings, whereas now they are coming more and more to be inanimate things. In principle, however, they were one and the same so far as their pernicious work of superseding the means of living by cheap labor product was concerned. We have shown in the first volume of this work the great numbers of slaves owned and habitually subject to employers, by rich individuals.⁹⁸

We shall now submit a schedule of statistics of the wages of slaves, paid to the masters who sub-let their work to contractors, in a manner which may be compared to the present system of displacement of labor by machinery. If we compare the free with the ill-bargained slave labor we shall see that the poor freedman, if not sustained by the powerful organizations that constantly worked their influence politically to obtain public employment from governments and cities, were trampled to dust by outside competition. This is deemed necessary to show clearly from the very first, in order to illustrate the need of keeping themselves incessantly hedged about with strong labor unions everywhere. The weighty fact is also apparent that these unions of

⁹⁷ The above statement showing the requirements of a well-to-do family at Athens is taken from the *Oration of Demosthenes Contra Phanippus*, 32, and 40, cf. Mauri, *I. Cilt. Lav.*, p. 78. We also have a statement of the cost of living, for the earlier date of Socrates, per year, for a poor family of 4 persons. It is: "Una Chenice (a pound and a quarter) al giorno a testa, or per person," during the year, 60 δράχμα; for ὄψον or boiled beef once a day for the year 240 δράχμα; for shoes and clothes, 60 δρ.; residence at 30 δραχμα. Total, 36 δράχμα or 90 δρ. less than was the cost of a living in the time of Demosthenes. A mina was 100 δρ. and amounted to \$18.25, Amer. Federal money.

⁹⁸ Vol. II., p. 49, for members of the *vernae*, how slaves supplanted free, 143; how captured as prisoners of war thousands at a time, 191-195, degraded from their freedom for purposes of cheap labor, 286; 4,116 owned by Claudius, at a time and 500 owned by Crassus, and the work he hired them out to do; both p. 340; for further information see *Index* in verb. *Helots*.

trades and professions, whose members were more educated than the slaves, could throw their influence upon the boards of public works, thereby to an enormous extent receiving hope and material comfort. The displacement of their labor by slaves as human machines which in reality was very analogous to this at the present day, as the inanimate machines, was impossible where the unions controlled the public works. What wonder then, in those dire and dangerous times environing the advent of the messiah and the apostolic age, that such countless unions are found to have dappled earth in all parts where the right of combination so graciously existed under the Solonic dispensation!

But lest our own opinion on the displacement of labor by machinery be not accepted to the effect that anciently the slave or animate machine was superseded by present inanimate machines; and lest we be regarded as dreamy and untenable, we give the words and figures of living scholars.⁹⁹

Referring to the remarkable prediction of Aristotle who in his treatise in the Nichomachian Ethics, calling such slavishness that of animate tools, he shows that this instrument was valued at only ten cents per day. In the service of contractors, a certain man paid only two oboles which were only worth three cents each, inasmuch as it took sixteen oboles to be worth a drachma, or franc of 20 cents. This shows that a poor slave's labor was constantly pitted against the free labor of the unions which existed in great numbers at that time, the third and fourth century before Christ. Miserable competition! A day's work sold at six cents! Again, where the slave was fed, the poor wretch and machine of labor only earned his three oboles per day, or nine cents! Our previous figures have shown that a freedman if organized, got his 20 to 30 oboles; and if he worked for the bureaus of public works he was also fed at the sumptuous table of the Prytanes.

Dr. Mauri, who furnishes us with the following statistics which he gathered from the works of Böckh and

⁹⁹ Mauri, *I Cill. Lav.*, pp. 83-84: "La concorrenza invece più dannosa e deleteria al lavoro dei cittadini era esercitata: dagli schiavi che per la loro condizione di semplici strumenti animati (*ἄψυχα ὄργανα*, Aristot., *Eth. Nic.* viii., 11, 6), a completa disposizione del capitalista, tenevano nell'economia antica un posto approssimabile a quello della macchina nell'industria moderna."

the Body of Attic Inscriptions, after admitting that the slave whose labor, subbed out to contractors, was in all respects similar to the machines of to-day which undermine and supersede the working people and drive them to poverty and despair, proceeds to give the low rates these human machines earned for their owners.¹⁰⁰

As clearly shown by its own monuments, the *cranos* of the ancient Solonic organization had a specific function, long before Christ, in aiding the emancipation of humanity from slavery. The archæologists who have given this important and surprising subject an analysis do not hesitate to declare that it was undoubtedly this system which filled the world with freedmen. It was too sacred to be molested or meddled with by the enemies of the unions, even during the Roman conquests. Secret and gentle, it was allowed to go on selling men to God under the awful solemnities of the great imaginary Dionysan or Pythian Apollo, the almighty Jehovah protector of toil and its fruits and the giver of joys to man.¹⁰¹

If God bought man out of the bondage of slavery it is interesting to know what he was in the habit of paying their owners for them. Fortunately we are in possession, through the tell-tale records of inscriptions, of several accurate prices of the slaves bought and sold during those ages.¹⁰² While the average was about one to two hundred dollars, the list, in drachmas is also given. It is interesting to know that the Jews in bondage under the ancient law, are also given in the list of prices, and thus we obtain the information that not only the Syrians, Greeks, Armenians and Phrygians

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 84; "Il nutrimento, τροφή, è valutato una mezza δράχμα per giorno a testa, CIA. II., 2, 834^b, lin. 4, 42-43; sono poi anche indicate le spese:

a) Del sorvegliante, un uomo per 17 schiavi, pagato quasi 2 oboli al giorno, oltre ai 3 della pensione alimentaria, CIA. II., 2, 834^b, linee, 5-6, 43.

b) Dei provveditori di vivere che li recano sul luogo del lavoro due uomini a 8 δράχμαι e 2 oboli al mese ciascuno, Böckh, *Staatshaushalt.*, II., pag. 90; CIA. II., 2, 834^b, linee 57-58; Böckh, *Anmerkungen*, p. 33.

¹⁰¹ This is the general definition given to the Διόνυσος Καθηγεμών. to which we have referred very frequently. He is shown by the virtue of this name, to have always been considered a forerunner, although, so long before the real Advent it is difficult to determine just what is meant.

¹⁰² Foucart, *Affranchissement des Esclaves*, etc., p. 49; "La rançon moyenne est donc de 3 à 5 mines;" about 500 francs or \$100 in Federal money, but Foucart explains that on account of certain equivocations of the laws or customs, there often occurred tormenting restrictions such as really brought prices up to 800 francs or δράχμαι; and as we have seen, p. 310, n. 90-93, of vol. II., a δρ. of that early time was worth about 2 of the present day, we find a slave selling at about \$200 of our money.

got redemption from slavery by being sold to God¹⁰³ through the beneficent ministrations of the eranos of the Solonic dispensation, but also the Hebrew.¹⁰⁴ We shall show in the following chapter of this work, a long list of inscriptions proving that the eranos, into which the christianity was planted, and for the first hundred years nourished, was largely made up of Hebrews. The Hebrews, especially that problematic fraction of them outside of Palestine who followed the Solonic rather than the Mosaic ordeal, were strongly tinctured with the Greek mysteries and took naturally to the protective unions of the Solonic law.¹⁰⁵

About 355 years before Christ a serious proposition was made by Xenophon to the Athenian government.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ A leather worker brought 1,000 drachmas; a female flutist, 1,000 δρ.; an artisan, the trade not given, was sold for 600 δρ. It was found that no difference existed as to nationality. Phrygian, Athenian, Macedonian, Peloponnesian slaves, all went to the mighty Jehovah at the prices set by their owners, without inquiry regarding their place of birth or language. An Armenian brought 1,800 δράχματα, while another brought only 300. A female Syrian, speaking Syriac who "possessed" in all probability, some extraordinary talent, like that of the woman converted by Paul, (*Acts*, xvi., 16-19.) was sold for 5,000 δρ. If women "possessed" were of such enormous profits to their owners, who can wonder at the oft-times ridiculed story of Paul in the Acts of the Apostles? Other females from Syria brought only 200 and 300 δρ. The ordinary price of Thracian slaves was the same. A certain inscription is extant which records the price of Lacedæmonian slaves at 300 to 10,000 δράχματα. Dr. Foucart, from whose valuable dissertation, *Mém. sur l'Affranch. des Esclaves par forme de vente a une Divinité*, p. 50, says: "La valeur ne dépendait ni du sexe ni de l'origine, mais de l'âge, de la force ou de l'adresse de l'esclave." The marvel of these statistics is, that they are the registry of each slave's sale to this god, chiseled upon slabs in this divinity's own temple then and there.

¹⁰⁴ Fouc., *Affranch. des Esclaves*, p. 48; "le Juif et la Juive que nous trouvons dans nos inscriptions, ont ils été arrachés de leur patrie dans la lutte des Séleucides contre les Maccabees." On this page not all of which show Hebrew nationalities but including: "à Delphes ou dans les villes voisines Arabiques, servant à côté de Bastarnes, de Sarmates et d'Illyriens," we have the following list of prices: taken from the inscriptions: Out of 486 slaves only 25 were sold for less than 200 drachmas or francs. Sixty-two brought from 200 to 300; one hundred and seventy commanded as high a price as 100 to 400; one hundred and thirty-nine, 400; sixty brought 500; thirty sold as high as 600 francs. "Ce sont là les prix qui reviennent le plus fréquemment, mais on en trouve aussi de plus élevés;" and cites one slave selling for 700 francs; eight for 800; three for 900; eight for 1,000; one for 1,500, and one for 1,800 francs or drachmas.

¹⁰⁵ Am Rhyn, *Mysteria*, Eng. trans., p. 92: "Ever since their liberation from the Babylonian captivity by the decree of Cyrus, the Jews, even those who remained in the region of the Euphrates and native land under the Persian scepter, and therefore, after the conquest of Persia by Alexander, were exposed to the powerful influence of Grecian culture."

¹⁰⁶ Xen., *Revenues of Attica*, *De Vectigalibus*, IV., 17 ff. See also Aristot., *Pol.*, II., 4, 23, who in the words: "τοῖς τὰ κοινὰ ἐργαζομένοις" is believed to mean that the nation should use its slaves as machines for manufacture and distribution in common for the plentitude of all who were free, Xenophon is more elaborate and explicit. He thought the state of Attica should let all its slaves and as many more as could be purchased, to individual contractors who were to pay a certain small sum daily for each slave's labor. This rent or hire was to go into the revenue, to defray the costs of maintaining the government.

It recommended that the Athenians hire their enormous slave population already state property, by contract to men of enterprise; the rent or hire to go for revenue. It was a most inhuman conception and would if carried out, have ruined all the trade unions of Northern Greece, and driven the entire freedman population into trampage and starvation. The proposition was met by a stormy protest from the organizations. There is an inscription found at Laurium of the date of the close of the Peloponnesian war, not far from B.C., 400, showing a protest of the organized silver miners who seem to have been extremely guarded against dangers of this kind.

They had reason to be watchful. Slaves used as mere tools of labor were property of the state and worked in large numbers as accountants, interpreters, clerks, secretaries, janitors, messengers and porters. Böckh has shown us that they were paid wages in a manner somewhat similar to the present civil service employés. But the slaves thus officiating being simple instruments of the stingy state, only received the miserable sum of three oboles for a long day's work which with rigid economy was barely enough to decently clothe them and purchase a poor pittance of food. When the state or city hired a free union man from the organizations, about double that sum was paid to him, besides, as we have just shown, he generally had good meals at the prytaneum's common tables, and he moreover, as is now for the first time made public, was allowed by a provision of the Solonic law to divide the day into three equal parts of which the hours of labor was one.¹⁰⁷

As we have shown in the first volume of this work, there was found at Rome, during the apostolic age, an enormous sepulchre called a columbarium, buried in the débris of neglect and forgetfulness the roof of which was as deep as 7 feet under the surface of the ground,

¹⁰⁷ Hesiod's *Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι* is perhaps the oldest written work against the hardships of slavish drudgery. The inscription protesting against the degradation of free labor by the machine labor of slaves comes later, and Macrobius, whom we have quoted in vol. I., p. 164, note 2, clearly proves that the same agitation was going on at his day. Commodianus, *Instructiones* chap. 34, rebukes and exhorts the hard working slaves as follows: "The unsubdued neck refuses to bear the yoke of labor. . . O people, O man, thou brother, do not be a brutal flock. Fluck thyself forth and disengage thyself by thine own efforts. Assuredly thou art not cattle; thou art not a beast; thou art born a man." *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, IV., p. 299 Eng. tr. ns. Date, 240 A. D.

which was restored in the year 1729 and its contents analyzed. It was the burial place of the slaves and freedmen of the early Cæsars. The practice of the unions of these people who seem to have been thoroughly organized, and into which the Christians to a remarkable extent planted their faith soon afterwards, was to burn their dead and conserve the ashes in a niche,¹⁰⁸ with an inscription which to this day tells us the name of the being once buried in the sacred sepulchre. Among others here laid to rest, are members of the unions of cooks, clothing cutters and tailors, bakers, sandal makers, guilders, roofers, pavers, painters, doctors and surgeons.¹⁰⁹

The prevalence of countless unions in those times accounts for the strange fact that no charities were known in the ancient world. There were asylums of refuge, but no hospitals. Even in early christianity there was no such thing as charity.¹¹⁰ The fearful conditions of¹¹¹ slavery prevailing everywhere was greatly relieved and assuaged by the powerful influence of the Solonic unions which held their power and popularity far down into the Christian era. "To purchase a slave and save a soul" was an injunction found in the writings of some later authors.¹¹² That which the eranos was enormously in the habit of doing was evidently followed by the Apostolic fathers, and it looks as if the early purchase was ordered to continue the emancipation as it found the eranos doing.

In pursuing our investigation of the prices of slaves and means of living we are indebted to Dr. Daniel Quinn, professor of Greek in the Catholic University at Washington, who for a long time resided at Athens, and

¹⁰⁸ See Vol. I., *plate* opposite p. 345, showing the burial niches for cinerary urns. The great columbarium has thousands of these niches for the urns, and directly under this little "pigeon hole," was cut an inscription for each person honored with burial there. Strange to say, we find among the rest several names mentioned by the Apostle Paul, of which more soon.

¹⁰⁹ Levasseur, *Hist. Classes Ouv.*, I., p. 11-12. De Rossi, *Rome Sotteranea*, Vol. I., *passim*.

¹¹⁰ Granier, *Hist. Classes Ouv.*, p. 101, could not find any evidence of mendicancy; "Durant la periode primitive de l' esclavage pur il n'y avait pas encore de mendicants."

¹¹¹ Polyb., *liv. xviii.*, 2, *al.*, 2-5; xxxvii., 4, and elsewhere.

¹¹² *Apostolic Constitutions*, Book II., chap., 61. Provision is here made for Christians to purchase slaves for the purpose of saving them. The injunction is given as though a common thing; and it strongly suggests that it was a continuation of the old method of emancipation by sale of the slave to a god, recounted in the present volume of this work, mostly the product of monumental evidence. Cf. *Index*. By recognizing them as equals they have gradually become equals.

who has kindly aided us with some valuable communications on the edicts of prices uttered by the emperors Hadrian and Diocletian.¹¹³

There is very little on record either of the inscriptions or of the ancient literary world to prove that unions and brotherhoods of the Solonic system ever did much in the way of philosophical agitation. They were intensely practical and business-like institutions, attending to little beyond the duty of earning a good living for the common membership and arranging and enjoying their own methods of amusements. Nevertheless they had some ideas about a vast workshop in the beyond. There was the theory of the Masterworkman or the *Demiourgos*. It was interwoven with heaven and the bliss of perfect economical conditions; a vast workshop presided over by their lord who was forever to be their demiurge and to conduct, as he had done on earth, celestial works in the realms of glory. It is believed that this was the origin of the great idea of one God who reigned in the world beyond this; and it conflicted with the pagan belief in many deities, one presiding over each of the prime necessities of mankind. The Asiatic Jews were especially defenders of this belief in a hereafter which took the form of a vast celestial workshop where all things were created by the mutual labor of the very millions who had been members in this world and who had gone to the glorious eternity, each with his hammer, or with his square and compass, to while away, in the old brotherly union the blessed days of his love-inspired, celestial forever. In the exuberent joys of this grand heavenly workshop the apprentice rose to the high honor of an efficient tradesman and amidst the delightful smiles of God in his majestic supremacy, as author and finisher over the beautiful mechanism of heaven,

¹¹³ Dr. Quinn, *Personal Contribution*, writes: "The inscription on the gate of the agora at Athens refers especially to the price of olive oil. It is published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, III., 38. It is an edict of the emperor Hadrian. But a more important inscription for the price of things in antiquity is the edict of Diocletian. About the year 303, A.D., the emperor Diocletian published an edict regulating the price at which commodities were to be sold. This edict was published in various parts of the empire by being inscribed on stone monuments. A Latin copy of it is to be found on the outer wall of a temple at Stratonikeia in Karia. It has been published by Mommsen in the third volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* where you may find other details concerning it. The articles specified in the edict are the ordinary kinds of provisions, grain, neats, hams, sausages, fish, etc. A fragment of the same Edict was found at Platania by the Americans when excavating there. It was published by Mommsen in *Papers of the American School at Athens*, Vol. V., pp. 302-312."

with Dionysos, whom they had worshiped below, ennobler of mankind and giver of joys, forerunner of some messiah, perhaps the pre-Christian Jew's, they strongly believed they were to labor in the self-same brotherhood amid the self-same males and females who in eternity as on earth, sang pæans to the infinite and partook of the abundance at the self-same table that had nourished them in the vale of tears.

We have already, in our remarks on the extraordinary love of these unions for one another, seen that they never consented to part, but ordained that even in the grave they should be buried close to each other, and if cremated, that their ashes be mixed so that they might in the other world be in close contact and enjoy each other's society. The idea of a demiurge is but an extension of this contact. Originally the same socialism was conceived to continue in heaven as had succeeded in protecting them here; and to the primitive mind it was easy to imagine the same workshops, the same familiar Kurios, and the same great masterworkman, next in majesty to Jehovah himself, presiding and providing for the benefit of the millions who used to labor in the earthly workshops.¹¹⁴ This primitive notion regarding the demiurgos or masterworkman, grew beyond the scope of the unions; for soon after the Christians were adopted into them a great and perhaps deleterious Gnostic agitation set in and caused many schisms and wranglings. It later assumed the form of what was for centuries known as angelology.¹¹⁵ A curious fact¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ *Δημιουργός* frequently comes into the true inscriptions; also the mixture of ashes of the cinerary urns certainly does. The belief in a vast heavenly workshop presided over by a *δημιουργός* is but an expansion of the earthly love which makes these unions celebrated. But it bears every appearance of being later. Tertullian, arguing against Marcion, believes that the *δημιουργός* is the true God. Here Tertullian shows that he was an initiate; for he seems to believe in a great Master Workman of the universe. Origen, *De Principiis*, IV., c. 1., § 8. makes reflections against the Demiurge whom the Jews worshipped. Irenæus, refuting Basilides, goes in a long strain against the Gnostic's "immense and innumerable multitudes of heavens always in process of being made."

¹¹⁵ Irenæus, *Cont. Hær.*, II., vii., 7, argues the labor question through vague metaphor, where he shows that heaven was one vast workshop superintended by a wondrous Masterworkman who is Jesus Christ. Creation is the pleroma. So again, in the same *Adv. Hær.*, II., vii., 2, he charges that they, the unions, would make Jesus the *Δημιουργός* or master-workman.

¹¹⁶ See Vol. I., p. 58, note 2. Even Jupiter was originally a man. After death he was worshiped, probably first by his family and slaves, and afterwards by the tribes and nations. Almost all the great deities and immortals were once mere human beings. Mosheim, *Eccles. Hist.*, I., p. 25, 26, making reference to Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie der Alten Völker*, Vossius, *Idolatrie*, I., says: "The greater part of the gods of all nations were ancient heroes, famous for their achievements and their worthy deeds; such as kings, generals and founders of cities."

must here be registered: Throughout all the investigations we have been able to make, based on the science of inscriptions, as well as literary work of ancient writers, we fail to discover any officer elected or appointed for life. There was no pope during the early Apostolic age. The member went directly to God, that is, to his patron saint; and this deity, it is now known, was often a human being when in life. The member went straight to his own divinity, who was the apotheocized one once actually living on earth. But nothing appeared like a man placed in power for life until after the foothold of the greedy and ambitious gain-getters, and after their success in destroying the associations, in their own unscrupulous service of power. That they were utilized in being planted into by the early christians is proved by hundreds of inscriptions and many hints and statements of early writers, including a dozen pagan authors, many of great merit, and several of the prominent Ante-Nicene fathers of the church. These important and revolutionary disclosures are rapidly multiplying as the archæologists dig up the ruins in which they have for centuries been buried.

In closing this chapter it becomes necessary to give the statistics of their numbers and also a word more on the geography of this international Ionian Synod or great Gemeinde. Fortunately this information is at command. The epigraphists of the various schools and seminaries have secured enough of the glyptic relics to establish their positions, and list the towns, cities and country places in which their activities were felt, from about 500 B.C. to 363 A.D., or fully 800 years.¹¹⁷ No less than 53 such centers of activity have been alphabetically listed. In all essential matters the scenic organizations resembled those of the other trades and professions whose sole object was to procure a living. They are reported to have employed all the various methods of the self-help organization. There was a great population at that time, and the country remained

¹¹⁷ The more ancient plays performed were tragedies. These cover the times of activity down to the emperors. Dion Chrysostom, the orator, who lived in the first century and had dealings with several Roman emperors, in his oration, xix., 487, says: "καὶ τὰ γε πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἀρχαῖά ἐστιν καὶ πολὺ σοφρωτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἢ τῶν νῦν τὰ μὲν κωμωδίας ἀπαντα, τῆς δὲ τραγωδίας τα μὲν ἰσχυρὰ ὡς ἴδσκε, μερὲς δὲ τὰ ἰαμβεῖα καὶ τούτων μερὴ διεξίασιν ἐν τοῖς νεατοῖσι, τα δὲ μαλακώτερα ἐξερρήκε τὰ περὶ τὰ μέλη."

crowded with humanity until decimated and destroyed by the rage of the Roman conquests.

It was a common thing for the central direction of this great Ionian league to entertain bids from other parts desiring music. When a king, a prince or a rich man was about to give a banquet or other ceremony it was necessary to employ music and embellish the festivity with histrionic art. The Ionian artists stood ready at all times to supply this demand. Kings, emperors and nobles had only to send in their orders to the general head quarters at Teos, and the bargain was speedily arranged. The fact that this society had been engaged greatly enhanced the interest of the occasion and no doubt thousands attended on that account who would otherwise have remained absent. This worked as an inspiration, encouraging the crowds together and making a success of the entertainment. These events, on account of the skill and ardor of the artists more than any other cause, became so popular that for centuries the artists enjoyed what was almost equivalent to government recognition and pay.¹¹⁸ The list of 52 places,

¹¹⁸ We proceed to give the accredited list of towns and cities known to have had headquarters and to have been amalgamated with the great Gemeinde of Dionysan artists, as trade unions of the ancient Ionian league: They have been arranged alphabetically by Dr. Lüders, *Dionys. Künst.*, pp. 133-135:

- 1 Abdera, in Thrace; the city of the Gothamites.
- 2 Abydos, in Asia Minor, on the Hellespont.
- 3 Ægina, city and island in the Saronic Gulf.
- 4 Ætolia, town and country of Arcania, Greece.
- 5 Acarnia, neighborhood of Epirus, Greece.
- 6 Ambracia, colony of Corinthians, Greece.
- 7 Argos, city of the Peloponnesus.
- 8 Arkadia, a province of the Peloponnesus.
- 9 Athens, capital of Attic Greece.
- 10 Achaia, on the Corinthian Gulf.
- 11 Bœotia, Northern Greece.
- 12 Bosphorus, city on the straits.
- 13 Byzantium, ancient Constantinople.
- 14 Gargorus, city of Troas, Asia Minor.
- 15 Hermionnes, territory of Hermion.
- 16 Ephesus, great city of Asia Minor.
- 17 Zakynthos, an island of the Ionian Sea.
- 18 Elen, city of Lucania.
- 19 Heracleia, in Thessaly.
- 20 Epiros, on the Adriatic.
- 21 Thronion, capital city of the Locri.
- 22 Histia, city of Attica.
- 23 Cassandria, City of Macedonia.
- 24 Cœdræpolis, a city of Thrace.
- 25 Cephallus, a Grecian city.
- 26 Clitoria, a city of the Æqui.
- 27 Cnidus, a city of Caria.
- 28 Corinth, great city on the Corinthian Gulf.
- 29 Cynæthea, a city of Aœdia.
- 30 Cythera, in the island of South Laconia.

given below is sufficient to quell the wonder of readers of the life of Alexander the Great as to how he could gather so vast a musical and political force as 3,000 artists as is reported that he did on several occasions. He had only to write his order out and send it to Teos, the general headquarters of the great international league of unions, having their place of sojourn or residence in the towns and cities of the then known world, and the general Kurios or epemelites immediately dispatched to him terms and traveling agents who attended to the whole business with consummate ability.

But the 52 places cited by Dr. Lüders in 1878, have been added to since then. In fact, they are only a few of the Greek-speaking branches of the international union. Since then others have been found and enumerated; some in the old Pannonia, some in Spain and great numbers in Gaul and Britain. Many of the almost innumerable collegia of Italy frequently prove to have been members of the Dionysian artists.¹¹⁹ During the time covered by these organizations, the Roman con-

- 31 Cyrenaïrea, on north coast of Africa.
- 32 Lacedæmon, in South Greece.
- 33 Milesia, city of Caria in Asia Minor.
- 34 Megara, great city of Attica.
- 35 Messenia, city of Peloponnesus.
- 36 Myrina, seaport of Ecelis, Asia Minor.
- 37 Naukratios, a seaport at the Canobic mouth of the Nile.
- 38 Opous, Opuntius, a town of Locris, Greece.
- 39 Pellene, a town on the Gulf of Corinth.
- 40 Rhodes, capital of Island of Rhodes.
- 41 Salamis, Island and town opposite Athens.
- 42 Samia, city of South Elis.
- 43 Sikyon, a city near the Isthmus of Corinth.
- 44 Sinopé town of Paphlagonia, or Black Sea.
- 45 Sosoi, a city in the Island of Cyprus.
- 46 Tarentum, a city on the Adriatic, Magna Græcia.
- 47 Tega, a city of Arcadia.
- 48 Tenesis, town and island in the Nile.
- 49 Troezen, city of Argolis, Saronic Gulf.
- 50 Philippi, city in Macedonia.
- 51 Chalcedon, city opposite Byzantium.
- 52 Chios, capital of Island of Chios.

Teos being this center, these 52 places were only some of the localities connected with the Great Gemeinde of the Ionian League.

¹¹⁹ The author, while visiting the Museum of the old Ecclesia in the city of Vienna, in France, led by the courtesy of M. Joseph Piot, Director of the Bank of Beauregard, read a fine specimen of the Dionysian artists, and took a memoir of it, under the impression that it was a new discovery. Later, on comparison, it was found that this inscription had already been noted and analyzed. Savigny, *Guide Annuaire de Vienne*, 1876, p. 164. "Des coïncidences d'Asaticus, de la corporation des Utriculaires, du dieu prudence." Delorme's, *trans*. This museum is in the old St. Peter's Church, but it was for a while in the Anc. temple Augustus Livia, built by Claudius in 41-43. An Inscription reads: "Con Sen Augusto...Optimo et Divæ Augusta: "Du consentement du Sénat: au dieu Augusti très-bon très grand et à la Déesse Augusta." This shows that the term Livia Augusta reached through the Apostolic Age.

quests raged with murderous fury. Their object was evidently to destroy the eranos, thiasos and collegium of the democratic dispensation of Solon, against which the competitive world raged with relentless force by war and intrigue. They sank into deeper and deeper secrecy and welded their fraternity with the great trade unions¹²⁰ into one vast economic brotherhood for sheer self-preservation. At the time of the celebrated Advent when the brutal conquests had imprisoned and sold into slavery innumerable multitudes of their membership, they were the most numerous; but had settled down into a qualm of awful secrecy which made them unknown and an indecipherable element. When taken in large numbers in Asia Minor, Rhodes and Greece and sold at Delos in slavery, they availed themselves of such opportunities as afforded, and at Rome, succeeded in earning and enjoying some protection under the Domus Augustus, or house of the Cæsars. This house of the Cæsars is one of the hitherto unriddled phenomena intimately allied with the planting of Christianity and will be exhaustively dealt with in this work, and in a manner which for the first time sheds light upon the early plant at Rome.

The socialism inherent in the Solonic dispensation and manifested in these unions which gradually grew into existence and shed light and economic influence over a large share of the human race, was in reality an evolutionary step in the direction of true political economy. It seems to have been the outcome of that primeval slavery of which we have treated in foregoing chapters of this work.¹²¹ Slavery is there shown to have been the result of savagery, in which æon of man, the bully, who, surviving under the club-wielding force of the "fittest," pounded his way into the possession of property, and his innumerable children because his slaves and laboring machines.¹²² He succeeded temporarily

¹²⁰ See chap. xvi., Sect. *Nero.*, treating of them. There should be observed a great difference between these two sets of labor organizations. Nevertheless, in the one idea of economic means of self-preservation they are one and the same.

¹²¹ I., p. 84, *The Power of the Bully*; he was not a nomad or patriarch, but a typical Aryan property owner; See also *Index* to same vol., in *verb*, *slave* and *slavery*.

¹²² Explained in this chapter. Vol. II., pp. 712-726. When after the great rebellions of the slaves against the masters and by means of organization, great numbers of them got their liberty, these machines became true men. Slavery began to give way to socialism. In that auspicious moment Christianity settled upon the world.

in bullying his way into possession of the property which his slaves and hirelings created. He is now being attacked afresh; and the contest that rages along the lines of civilization, is that of wages slavery against capitalism. It is the mighty principle of socialism, then, that has swept a new political economy into being and is furnishing the hope of a brilliant forth-coming enlightenment.¹²³ It has been proved a historical landmark that slavery, either of the vernæ or home-born quality which was the first and original, or of conquest as victims of war, did not abate the growth of population. Before the Roman conquests the indigenious, vernacular slaves so multiplied that there was a vast population, so much so that in Crete,¹²⁴ women from the time of Minos to Plato, were roaming irresponsibly along the shores of seas and paddling canoes to gain a subsistence from the gifts of the waves. Even as early as this, the poor were highly organized. During the rage of the conquests and the wars of the Greeks, Persians and Sicilians, humanity was greatly decimated by the murderous military havoc of fire, famine and sword, and millions were driven to the slavery of conquest. Great as was the desolation which resulted, we find that so soon as the peace policy of Augustus had its effect upon the generations, they again multiplied so as to be almost innumerable at Rome. The progress of emancipation however, continued and we shall soon find ourselves involved in the strange and almost subterranean story of the domus Augustus into which the Christians planted in trembling secrecy and under murderous, decimating persecutions during the reigns of Claudius,¹²⁵ Nero and Domitian.

¹²³ *Revue Archéologique*, 1865, II., pp. 220-326. In this article which has been severely attacked, Dr. Wescher is borne out by the discoveries of the decades which have intervened; although he might perhaps have extended the credit to cover the Roman, Egyptian and Semitic world. He says, in substance, that the Greek proletarians planted a noble and lasting civilization. See Vol. I., pp. 503-507, where a view of his opinions is given.

¹²⁴ Plato, *Laws*, vii., 11, is puzzled about what to do with them. Many of them had become emancipated at this early time, the first half of the 4th century, B.C., undoubtedly through the eranos, as shown, *Supra*, see *Index*, in verb, *Emancipation*. Women called Sauromatidæ. See I., p. 310, note 17, swarmed the sea-shore, looking for fish and shellfish, which they ate raw.

¹²⁵ Under Tiberius, who personally is an exception from this remark, the senate and lords had already begun their enmity to these people who were called Jews by the historians of that day. This monarch was deeply touched with the good report sent him by Pilate and his predecessor Lentulus, as well as by king Abgar.

It fills one with some satisfaction in these days of wear-worn literature, when as confessed by the Edinburgh Review, all subjects of value and interest are entirely exhausted, to be able to peep over the lurid river of the dead and view another side; a millennial past, of the lost Eden, Elysian park or Paradise, where the poor outcasts of a once pure microcosm, brought to the door work and plenty amidst ineffable love, faith, joy and goodly comforts. Away over the stifling miasm of competitions in which our warring ages seethed, we feel a solace as we contemplate the upwardly-towering social microcosm, already 2,000 years old, struggling against the laws of kings, ambitious despots and their rabble of ignorant majorities. We imagine them yet living in the dear old love and fellowship which beckoned to the promised one to come and lift them still more sublimely upward until their miniature socialism should burst its occult bonds and leap out into the open world, planting in the broad gaze of men the everlasting economy of life.

CHAPTER XV.

PRE-CHRISTIAN MARTYRS

PRINCIPLE A CRIME PUNISHABLE WITH DEATH

A FORERUNNER the Favorite God of the Unions—Dangers of the Propaganda—Cruelty of Demosthenes—Martyrdom of the Girl Ninos who Initiated New Members—Accused of Helping Slaves—Martyrdom of Theoris—Demosthenes Attacked Her—His Coarse Sensualities—Dark Rumors of another Martyrdom—Pitched down the Barathron—Vengeance of the Kathegemon or Forerunner Goddess—Glaucothea accused and sneered by Demosthenes—Mother of Æschines—Fatal Vote by Pebbles—Gulf Separating the two Sets of Mysteries—Quenched Bloodthirst on another Woman's Veins—Fate of Neera—Thrown off the Rocks—Neither Thiasos nor Lawyer could Save Her—Epitaph of Tryphera another Martyr—Member of a Union—Dæmon of Vengeance Drives Demosthenes to Suicide—Martyrs Sneeringly Classed as Courtesans—Escape of Exquisite Phryne—Ranked with Isodaites—Baseless Slanders—Isodaites Her Angel of Equality—Athenian Snobs—She Organized an Eranos—Eloquence of Hyperides—Her Acquittal—Proofs—Socrates a Member of an Eranothiasos—Similarity to Great Later Martyr—Gathered Disciples and Apostles—Very Poor Man—Marble Cutter—His Euthanasia—Like Phryne, had his Good Angel—Billingsgate of the Piræan Fisheries—Accused of Same Crime—Prison of Socrates—Author's Visit to Grotto on the Acropolis—The Hemlock—Hour of a Great Martyr's Death.

THE propaganda, and the planting of new branches of this Dionysus Kathegemon, or forerunner, was a crime at Athens punishable with death. As a result of this there were a great many victims. Fortunately for our history we have quite a number of these martyrs, the details of whose deeds and punishments we propose to give in this chapter. It is no glorious feature of this record that most of these martyrs were women. For a dear little innocent woman to be stripped nude and dragged by the officers of the law to the top of a steep mountain

crag called the Barathron, and plunged headlong into the abyss, there with broken bones to die and be devoured by beasts and vultures, may seem to modern ladies in the noble work of emancipation of their sex, a climax of brutality; yet we have some account of several such monstrous martyrdoms; and what is most terrible of all is the news that the great Demosthenes was the hideous persecutor who compassed three if not many more such sickening retributions. Every such victim was a member of a thiasos.

The first legal execution we have of this kind, that of a poor little devoted girl, for the crime of organizing a union under the new Dionysus, forerunner of something unexplained and at that time mysterious and unknown, was Ninon, a person who, because she had been born to see the miseries of the struggling poor and because poor herself, undertook to establish a self-helping eranos at Athens where the adoration of her faith could be mixed with the love of man, the workers could combine with their peers and all enjoy in common one table among the stingy fruits of toil. To be true to the Law of Solon her organization must be based upon the fundamental principles, *hagios, eusebes, agathos*,¹ and the members must love one another. The killing of this woman is known in history.² She is reported by the scholiast of Demosthenes to have vitiated the morals of the youth by selling and administering love philtres.³ This is as silly as the similar accusation that the great poet Lucretius died of a philtre! Antiquity is as full of lies as modern ages. One other ancient apologist for Demosthenes, has likewise given us his reasons, but conflicting,⁴ contradictory and untenable. The truth is, she was guilty only of the crime of being a working member of her union, and of going to Athens and there working to carry out its tenets. Few innocent women have been more egregiously slandered.⁵ We are con-

¹ See *Supra*, chap. xiii., for a complete explanation of these tenets.

² Josephus, *Adv. Apion.*, II., 37, ascribes her guilt to the introduction of foreign and forbidden deities into Athens: Νινον μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἱερείαν ἀπέκτειναν, ἐπεὶ τις αὐτῆς κατηγορήσεν ὅτι ξενεὶς ἐμίει θεοὺς. Νομοῦ δ' ἦν τοῦτο παρ' αὐτοῖς κεκωλυμένον, καὶ τιμωρία κατὰ τῶν ξένων εἰσανοίτωρ θύον ὄριστο θάνατος.

³ Schol. *Demosth.*, 431, 25: "Λέγει δὲ τὴν Νειον καλονομένην. Κατηγόρησε δὲ ταύτης Μενεκλῆς ὡς φίλτρα ποιοῦσης τοῖς νέοις." See McCauley's *Eulogy of Lucretius*. Also, Lippincott's *Bioq. Diet.*, art. *Lucretius*.

⁴ Schol., *Demosth.*, p. 431, 25: "Ἐξ ἀρχῆς γέλωτα εἶναι καὶ ὕβριν κατὰ τῶν ὄντων μυστηρίων τὰ τελοῦμενα ταῦτα κοιμίζοιτες, τὴν ἱερείαν ἀπέκτειναν' μετὰ τοῦτο τοῦ θεοῦ χρῆσαιτος εἶσαι γενεσθαι, τὴν Ἀσχινοῦ μητέρα μνεῖν ἐπετρεψαν'."

⁵ Am Rhyn, *Mysteria*, p. 86, says she was one of the *μητραγυρταί*.

strained to admit that Ninus was probably too poor and uninfluential to obtain permission to plant the thiasos with Dionysus the forerunner as its patron and we know from a passage of Strabo that the punishment for this was death.⁶

But we have one of the most searching and learned authorities in the German critical schools of modern days,⁷ to prove that Ninus was accused for setting slaves free. This enfranchisement of slaves was going on in full force at Delphi, only about seventy miles from Athens, through the *eranos*,⁸ and it encroached upon the terrible slave system which at Athens alone kept 400,000 human beings at that very time in bondage. If the tone of morals was such that Xenophon, without being mobbed, could propose that all the revenues of Attica should be extorted from the unpaid labor of men as machines, who can wonder that Demosthenes could with impunity have her pitched down the calcareous crags of the Barathron for her imagined offense?

But following close upon the tragedy of the girl Ninus we have a second act of valiancy by Demosthenes, the lawyer for the rich. The martyrdom of Theoris carries with it the recital of a horror. It is an execution of another beautiful and worthy maiden for the crime of being a member, active and efficient, of an *eranos* which garnered its overplus with desperate energy, to buy slaves and sell them into freedom to the beloved god. This practice was going on energetically at that time. She saw the terrible condition of human slavery. She lent her powers and influence to compass their relief. For this she was voted to doom by a crowd of grandee citizens of Athens, who in a vast open-air convocation, stood around the orator Demosthenes, listening in raptures to his brutal sallies against her. The trembling woman was accused of proffering an exhibit of feeling for suffering mankind ground down to the dismal misery of perpetual bondage.

⁶ Strabo, *Geog.*, x. III., 18. "Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ὡσπερ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα φιλοξενούντες διατελοῦσιν, οὕτω καὶ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς. Πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν ξενικῶν ἱερῶν παρεδέξαντο ὥστε καὶ ἐκωμωδήθησαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ Θράκια καὶ τὰ Φρύγια." Nevertheless, as Josephus tells us: "The law of Athens forbade it on pain of death." *Adv. Ap.*, II., 37. The only thing to do was to leave each particular case to a general vote of the accredited citizens.

⁷ Schömann, *Opuscula Academica*, III., *De Religionibus apud Athenienses*.

⁸ Cf. *index* to this vol., referring to pages where the method is elaborately explained.

Plutarch in his life of Demosthenes, speaks briefly of the fact that the orator accused, and caused the condemnation of a priestess of the name of Theoris.⁹ Dr. Foucart admits that she met her fate at the hands of Demosthenes, and that she was not of the official recognition, but must have opposed the legalized cult. But he does not know whence she hailed.¹⁰

We cannot but recall the similar treatment to-day, of many a Theoris and Ninos, by the pulpit and press, and the hate-hugging spirit of uncharitable persons who stand ready to cast the pebbles of martyrdom against noble women of our day. We have many such women ably conducting a vast and world-wide conquest for the emancipation from slavery of their race and sex. The fact is, the trend of progress is still blocked; for these slang-whangers still infest the earth and peddle out insidious innuendoes as aliment to glut the coarse sensualities of a lingering paganism. It shows the struggling despair of an idea forging a foothold upon the cliffs of greed and hate. Scarcely a day passes but we read some sneer, some animadversion, some ungenerous fling against our ladies who for many years have worked with ability to elevate their sex above the chronic inequality into which a majority are born; and many a one, so to speak, is cast off the cliffs of the Barathron through the same contemptuous word-havoc of prejudices which sent Ninos and Theoris amid the howls that made hideous the psephisma condemning people to the rocks of the Acropolis.

Before the time of Theoris, about B.C. 430, and in the lifetime of Phidias the sculptor, there appeared an organizer of these Dionysan artists at Athens. He, or she, was a so-called metragyrt or wandering priest of Cybele. The sex is doubtful, but we shall suppose this organizer a female. She was arrested, tried, condemned and thrown down the Barathron and killed. The nar-

⁹ Plut., *Demosth.*, 14; "Κατηγόρησε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἱερείας Θεωρίδος."

¹⁰ *Ass. Rel.*, p. 81: "Nons ignorons quels etaient le nom et le culte de la confrérie à laquelle elle appartenait." But he virtually admits that the "confrérie" was a *θιασός* in the next paragraph: "Nons pouvons avoir un peu plus de lumières sur le thiasé que la célèbre Phryné essaya d'introduire à Athènes." The *Oration* of Demosthenes *agl. Aristogiton* throws some light on the question. But Plutarch, in addition to the line above quoted, continues: ".....ὡς ἄλλα τε ραδιουργουστῆς πολλὰ καὶ τοῖς δούλοις ἔξαπατὰν διδασκούσης, καὶ θανάτου τιμησάμενος ἀπέκτεινε." We understand this to mean very plainly that Theoris was trying to secure the emancipation of slaves. Schömann does not admit that she was engaged in any religious affair, but rather thinks she was working at some economic problem.

rative relates that the anger of the insulted goddess was so aroused against the Athenians for this barbarous act that she caused a pest to strike them; and the calamity was so malignant that the city was obliged to erect a costly metroon to the martyred servant of the Mother of God; and her statue, a work of exquisite art, was chiseled by the great sculptor Phidias, the genius of the Parthenon and the cryselephantine Athena. Cybele having thus subdued the superstitious Athenians, caused the growth of her order to extend over all Attica. All indications at our command, however, tend to establish the point that the Athenian citizens of influence considered it an outrage, and an innovation upon their state, or official customs over which they always kept a jealous guard.

Though little is known of Theoris in the regular historic mention, yet we have some reliable hints from the story-tellers and wayside narrators among whom are Valerius Maximus, Athenæus, Harpocration and Macrobius. Harpocration gives a short notice that Theoris was tried for introducing new divinities into Athens, persecuted, denounced by Demosthenes who had her condemned.¹¹ M. Foucart is willing to exonerate Demosthenes from the stigma of killing a woman.¹² But he cannot penetrate the causes so deeply as the learned Schömann who has differently understood these tragedies, and logically ascribed their persecution and death to the jealous petulancy of the narrow Athenian mind. The pitching of Theoris over the cliff of the Athenian Barathron which yawned among the ledges of the Acropolis like a Tarpeian rock, and the tearing of her flesh and bones with the teeth of pitiless crags was a sight which mobs of those days would rush miles of distance, or pay a fee to behold; and when the enrapturing oratory of that genius of the bema had crammed the listeners who were to cast the pebbles for or against a wretch like poor Theoris standing under their foregone anathema, and maddened them to an enthusiasm of feelingless scorn, the decision meant instantaneous death.

¹¹ Harpocration, *Lex.*; "Θεωρίς· μάντις ἦν ἡ Θεωρίς, καὶ ἀσεβείας κριθεῖσα ἀπέθανε, ὡς καὶ Φιλόχορος ἐν ἑκτῇ γράφει."

¹² Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, p. 158: "Une autre prêtresse, qui Démosthène fit condamner à mort, Théoris, débitait aussi des philtres, et en même temps des poisons. Après sa condamnation, la servante qui l'avait dénoncée, continua le commerce de sa maîtresse et en communiqua les secrets au frère d'Aristogiton."

Another female martyr to the orator Demosthenes, was Glaucothea, an organizer of the eranos at Athens and the mother of the great statesman Æschines, against whom this magnetizer delivered his celebrated oration, the *Pro Corona*, studied to this day in our colleges, whose students are taught to overlook the contemptible theme and pay homage only to its scathing rhetoric.

Glaucothea seems to us, after having given her career a careful study, to have aided Æschines, a celebrated orator and statesman of Athens engaged in the question of the encroachment of the arms of king Philip of Macedon, upon Athenian domain. On an embassy of conciliation to the king both happened to be delegates, and they had a falling out. This in course of time grew to be bitter in personal rancor, and ended in a trial which involved the celebrated speech of Demosthenes, *Pro Corona*. Nearly every student of our day, who pursues a classical course, must thread parts of this much renowned among ancient orations.

In it, however, Demosthenes descends to depths of scurrility where he drags forth the family honors of Æschines. As a matter of fact the genius and career of this powerful man, Æschines, were above his birth and blood. His mother, whose name was Glaucothea, was another Ninos or Theoris. She had the temerity, with the assistance of her son, to undertake the initiation of Athenian youth into the Dionysan mysteries, and succeeded. Demosthenes who boasted that he belonged to the greater and aristocratic Eleusinian, and not to the low-born Dionysan mysteries borrowed from Phrygia, and mean and lowly,¹³ was a slave owner and inherited several industries: a knife and sword factory, and a manufactory of bedsteads. The two netted him a sum of \$758.10, which was at that date worth three to one of the present, making his profits equal to a regular annual income of \$2,743. Several years before his trouble with Æschines, an insurrection had occurred among the slaves of Demosthenes. They rebelled against the hard treatment and murdered the director

¹³ Schelling, *Philosophie u. Religion*, S. 75; The doctrine taught by the mysteries was directly in opposition to the public religion. Demosthenes in his *Pro Corona*, a speech against Æschines said: "You initiate, I was initiated." Demosthenes owned slaves and two factories. This brag shows the aristocracy of Demosthenes, a high-born, over Æschines, a low-born. He owned a knife factory and a bedstead factory, which required the labor of 52 slaves, and he owned these slaves, Cf. Vol. I., p. 548.

and perhaps partner of the orator, who managed the business. Demosthenes was so angry that he took every opportunity to inveigh against slaves, which accounts for his persecution of any and all slaves, who dared to love liberty or aid each other to a better fortune.

Among those who had dared to labor toward the alleviation of the fearfully hunted and work-driven slaves, was Glaucothea, operating with Æschines, political enemy of Demosthenes. They had initiated members and formed societies of the *eranos* in Athens. She was working for human emancipation and no doubt was a soothing and benevolent friend of the very slaves struggling in bondage under the tyrant Demosthenes, who hated and feared them.¹⁴ The power of the oratory of Demosthenes against Æschines consisted in sneers.¹⁵

The expression of Demosthenes quoted in our note, shows that she belonged to a *thiasos*. She was mentioned by others as a member of a *hetæra*; but a *hetæra* is Pliny's term for a trade union of mechanics.¹⁶ This woman was not merely the mother of the orator Æschines, so well known in history, but she was an officer of rank in the Phrygian *eranthiasos*, which at that date was working for the emancipation of slaves in a perfectly legal manner, by loaning money to a god, who, taking the money at his stately palace or temple, of course through a priest officiating in his mythic absence, pronounced him free.¹⁷ Æschines was a *tritagonistes* or third combatant, and was consequently only a

¹⁴For an account of the fear of slaves in ancient times, see I., p. 141, note 33; 164; 214; 335; 75; 15. Demosth., *Pro Corona*, 259-260: "Ἄνθρωπος δὲ γενόμενος τῇ μητρὶ τελουσῆν τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγίνωσκας καὶ τὰλλα συνσκευωρῶν, τῆν μὲν νύκτα νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς τελουμένους καὶ ἀποιμάττων τῷ πληθῶ καὶ τοῖς πιτύροις καὶ ἀνιστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρῶν κελυῶν λέγειν. Ἐφύγον κακόν, ὕψρον ἄμεινον ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένᾳ πώποτε τηλικούτ᾽ ὀλολύξαι σεμνυνόμενος..... ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις τοὺς καλοὺς θιάσους ἄγων διὰ τῶν ὀδῶν τοὺς ἐστεφανωμένους τῷ μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ, τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς παρείας θλίβων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰωρῶν, καὶ βῶν εὖοι, σαβοὶ καὶ ἐπαρχοῦμενος ὕψ ἄττης, ἄττης ὕψ, ἐξάρχος καὶ προηγμεῶν καὶ κιστοφόρος καὶ λικροφόρος καὶ τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν γραβῶν προσαγορευόμενος, μισθὸν λαμβάνων τούτων ἐνδρύπτα κοῖ στρεπτοὺς καὶ νεηλατά."

¹⁵*Oratores Attici*, II., p. 189: "Μητρὺς δ' ἦν ὁ Αἰσχίνης Γλαυκοθέας ἡ, ὡς εἶποι, Γλανίδος, ἢν φασὶ τὴν πρώτην ἡλικίαν ἠταιρηκεῖναι καθερομένην ἐν οἰκηματι πρὸς τῷ τοῦ καλαμίτου ἠρώφῳ." So likewise Demosthenes, *Pro Corona*, § 130, speaking of the *thiasotes*, of which society, Æschines like Socrates, was a member, says: "Ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πασχεῖν." This reminds us of the sneer of Cicero, when speaking of the shoemakers of Rome see Vol. I., pp. 301, 380, note 20. Again Harpocration, in *verb.* Ἰσοδαίτης, says the slaves were persons of the basest sort; and the scholiast of Aristophanes smites them as follows: "Ὡς γυναίκιας καὶ κίναδος κωμωθεῖται" ἐν δὲ τοῖς μυστηρίοις τῆς Ῥέας μαλακοὶ πάροισιν." *Aves*, V., i. & 837; also 89.

¹⁶Pliny, *Letters* u. s. 23; 34 and 93, to the emperor Hadrian, including answers, quoted *infra*. See *index Pliny*.

¹⁷Consult the whole Dissertation of Lüdgers.

third-rate actor in the plays.¹⁸ All this was taken advantage of by the orator. The fact that the people desired such shallow arguments, being unable to comprehend the power of exact evidence as at present in a trial, was what gave him the advantage over his adversary. Demosthenes boasted that he himself had been initiated, and most royally, into the great Eleusinian Holy of Holies;¹⁹ intimating that he himself was to be guarded by holy demons during his natural life and afterwards his felicity was secured for an eternity in the elysian realm. He stormed against Æschines, and in his studied terms of mockery brought the audience,²⁰ to whom it was unjustly given to decide, to such a pitch of pitiless enthusiasm that they cast the majority of ballots against him and he was obliged to quit Athens forever. It is known that Æschines went to Rhodes and there built up the organization enormously, besides founding a school of oratory.²¹ This man is destined, when his true history and manhood shall have become disabused from the scurrility thrown over him by Demosthenes²² and his subservient worshipers, to be made prominent among the finest geniuses of antiquity. He was the true friend and uplifter of the struggling toilers.

But it is with the mother of Æschines that we have to deal here, leaving her illustrious son and socialist orator to go to Rhodes and there build up the countless unions whose inscriptions are found more numerous perhaps than in any other place within the geography of the ancients, unless we except the Piræus. There seem to appear some dark things connecting this with the

¹⁸ Schäfer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, I., pp. 213-236. Among the wandering actors, there were *πρωταγωνιστᾶι*, *δευτερογωνιστᾶι*, *τριταγωνιστᾶι*, etc., in which the enemy of the orator certainly got some clues of the secrets. Thus Demosthenes, taking advantage of what he got of his secret, often, detectives, poured his entire powers against him and hounded him down. Cicero once referred to these 3 parts of the plays of these actors and artists, in the following language: "Ut in auctoribus Græcis fieri videntur: super illum qui est secundarum aut tertiarum partium, cum possit aliquando clarius dicere quam ipse primarum, multum submittere, ut ille princeps quam maxime excellat."

¹⁹ Demosth., *Pro Corona*, 259-260*11.

²⁰ See Schömann, *Opusc. Acad.*, III., *De Religionibus Exteris apud Athenienses*; also his *Griechische Alterthümer*, II., p. 156; and Josephus, *Adv. Apionem*, II., 37. A vote of the recognized, that is, the property-owning and accredited people, had to be taken before any new thing could be introduced and Glaucotea failed in influence to secure this permission.

²¹ Isocrates, *Panegyricus*.

²² Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, II., p. 415: "The name, *Hyagnis* is probably connected with *Hyes*, a name or title of Atys in rites of the great mother. Demosth., *Pro Corona*, 259-260.

great Diocletian massacre which are later to appear. Glaucothea could not have organized the *eranthiasos* at Athens without the initiation. To this day the secret initiation is the great attraction of Free masonry and all other similar Orders. But Demosthenes persecuted everybody who attempted such initiations except those of the great aristocratic mysteries of the official religion. Any woman who dared attempt it he called a *hieria*.²³ In another place he rails at her for being the drummer to the goddess.²⁴

We are destitute of full information as to the fate of Glaucothea. There is strong reason to suspect that she met the fate of Ninos and Theoris, in being like them, plunged down the precipice. Let us take advantage of this absence of positive information and hope that she lived to accompany her illustrious son to the more genial Rhodian isle of the Grecian Sea and that together they passed a happy and useful life in their chosen work. Alas! the hope is dark.

But we are not yet through with this Demosthenes. Before his haters combined and drove him to suicide his irascible spirit was able to quench once more that prurient bloodthirst upon a woman's veins. This victim was *Næra*; but the circumstance is veiled in gloom. No detailed history of the case is extant, though there is reason to suspect that the tragedy was written out by one of the ancient historians. At any rate, a certain damsel, like Ninos and Theoris, had the temerity to attempt the introduction of the *eranos* and its system of emancipation into Athens; and like them, she was betrayed, accused, set upon by Demosthenes, and condemned to the fatal rocks. Certain it is that she paid the penalty of death to the narrow minded laws which at length brought that city down in poverty and humiliation.²⁵

In close connection with this, we find this same orator, who, to judge from the methods of modern prop-

²³ Demosth., *De Male Gesta Legatione*, § 281: "Τὸν δὲ Ἀτρομήτου τοῦ γραμματιστοῦ καὶ Γλαυκοθέας τῆς τοὺς διάσους συναγούσης, ἐφ' οἷς ἑτέρα τέδιγκεν ἱερεία."

²⁴ *Id Pro Corona*, § 284: "Ἐκ ποίας γὰρ ἰσῆς ἢ δικαίας προφάσεως Ἀισχίνῃ τῷ Γλαυκοθέας τῆς τυμπανιστρίας ξένος ἢ φίλος ἢ γνωρίζος ἦν Φίλιππος."

²⁵ She was accused, and twitted by Demosthenes, *Contra Næar.*, of having her initiation paid by a certain man named Lysias. Such actions were, in those times regarded with contempt; but it is difficult to discern the basis of this dislike, unless it be that the aristocracy of Athens were narrow enough to descend to petty frivolities, so low and mean that they could not stand before the blaze of a just institution.

erty holders and their ever watchful lobbies, seems to have been no better than a corporation lawyer, we have information of another attack which he made against a certain Lysias, likewise a public speaker, whom he twits of being in love with a woman named Metaneiras. But she was so unfortunate as to be of lowly extraction. It seems to have been established that he paid the perquisites necessary to her initiation into the thiasos. But the evidence shows that the organization she joined was not that of the accredited aristocracy, but a poor people's eranos, such as Athens was hiring the oratorical talent of Demosthenes at that moment to suppress.²⁶

Although the stories of these tragedies are exceedingly obscure and references rare, yet seemingly more by accident than studied mention we now and then come into possession of a fragment or an inscription which dimly discloses a wayside event. Philodemus, an epicurean, who lived during the time of Cicero, wrote a book of anthologies which contains some precious gems. Among others, is an epitaph of a beautiful girl named Tryphera, the date of whose death is not given. Judging from the reading it looks like another martyrdom. She certainly was a member of a thiasos, and like Ninus, Theoris and Glaucothea was engaged in the dangerous work of the initiation into the secret eranothiasos at Athens.

A martyr, she certainly was, and her death violent; yet the details remain mostly unrecorded. We are inclined to think the poetical epitaph which exists, an effusion from her eranos, because such glyptic literature is found only among the unions; but if so, then Philodemus plagiarized it in after days; not to praise her work for which she suffered but to gratify the more earthly impulse of sense which pictures an exquisite young form, reft of covering, trembling with terror,²⁷ while being dragged from the bema and the pebbles by

²⁶ Den osth. *Or. cont. Neoram*, says: "Λυσίας γὰρ ὁ σοφιστὴς Μετανείρας ὡν ἐραστὴς ἠβουλήθη πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλοις ἀναλώμασιν δις ἀνήλκεν εἰς αὐτὴν καὶ μῆσαι . . . ἔδειξεν οὖν τῆς δικαιοῦτος ἔλθειν εἰς τὰ μυστήρια ἀγούσαν τὴν Μετανείραν, ἴσα μνησθῆ, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπεσχετο μῆσαι."

²⁷ Foucault, *Ass. Rél.*, p. 158: "Icigît le corps délicat de Tryphéra, petite colombe, la fleur des voluptueuses létaires, qui brillait dans le sanctuaire de Cybèle, dans ses fêtes tumultueuses, dont les ébats et les causeries étaient pleins d'enjouement, que la Mère des Dieux chérissait, qui, plus qu'aucune autre femme, aimait les orgies de Cypris, et qui eut la grâce et les charmes de Laïs. Terre sacrée. fais pousser au pied de la stèle de la bacheante, non des épines et des ronces, mais de tendres violettes."

a ferocious gang of Athenian officers, skyward, headed perhaps, by the triumphant Demosthenes, to the Acropolis cliff, and to see her palsyng form slugged down the abyss. The mangled head and trunk, and limbs, dumb in life's last quivering gasp are the horrid subject of the epitaph.

But in the cases of Ninus, Theoris, Glaucothea and Socrates, a stubborn will of the politicians refused to admit that a noble principle was the underlying incentive of their lifework, the sneers of disreputable things in their character are the most that are left us. If, then, we make bold to apply the analytical judgment of Schömann to her case we may be able to see through the scummy innuendoes and detect a high motive characterizing her tiny life.²⁸ Dr. Foucart to whom we are indebted for this mention, makes a serious hint sustaining our suspicion that she was another martyr, in some lines just previously given in his text, relating to this subject.²⁹

False martyrs was one of the names given the poor wandering outcasts of the ancient world, and a vein of ill appreciation often amounting to ridicule is easily detected in most of the writings of commentators.³⁰ But they were socialists. The eranos was owner of their accumulated earnings; yet it owned property only in trust for its membership and saved individual members the worry of private holdings; so that as individuals they were rich in a common possession of much. They were in a position to "take no thought for the morrow." Though this was in consonance with the Solonic law, it was at loggerheads with the Athenian law and a menace to the official and competitive rules. The consequence was

²⁸ Philod., *Anthol.*, vii., 222: We give our rendering from the French, M. Dehèque's *trans*: Here lies the delicate form of Tryphera, a little dove, a flower of the voluptuous *hetærae*, that brilliantly bloomed in the sanctuary of the mother of God. In her tumultuous feasts where recreations and the conversations used to be full of enjoyment and cherished by the mother goddess, who more than any other used to love the ordeals of Veus, and who possessed the graces and the charms of Lais. O consecrated earth! Nourish the growth at the foot of this shaft, erected to the Bacchant, and crown her, not with thorns and briars, but tender violets.

²⁹ *Ass. Rel.*, p. 158: Speaking of the banquet to Adonis, killed by the wild boar, but changed to a flower, he says: "Cette fête était chère aux courtisanes, qui se réunissaient pour la célébrer avec éclat." This is taken from Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, p., 392-396, who gave rich talent to low ribaldry in order to be popular. It wants a Schömann to decide whether, instead of common courtesans, these females were not honest organizers.

³⁰ Athenæus, *Deipnosoph.*, vi., 254: "Ὁ φήσας ἐν ἀλλοιῇ πληρεῖς εἶναι τὰς Ἀθήνας διονυσιοκακῶν καὶ ναυτῶν καὶ λωποδυντῶν" ἐτι δὲ ψευδομαρτυρῶν καὶ συκοφαντῶν καὶ ψίνδοκλητῶν."

that every rich individual, every old line politician and every public priest hated the eranos; and they conspired with men of genius like Aristophanes, Demosthenes and Lucian to write and pronounce scurrilous poetry, orations and dissertations of fiction, lampooning, maltreating and slandering the devotees of socialism.

Another martyr whose supplicium must be classed with that of Domitilla of Rome is the beautiful Phryne. Domitilla did not perhaps perish, yet she is placed in the book of martyrs; neither did Phryne perish, though her escape from a yawning Barathron forges an episode as thrilling as that of the phantom ship that rode the whirling surges of the Maelstrom. Fortunately we have this history in fragmentary form, in considerable detail.

We are able to prove that this celebrated beauty and accomplished Greek woman, was not the debauch in a himation, as she has come down to us in our silly and credulous belief. That men ran crazy after her, with gifts to purchase smiles we do not deny. That she sat for Apelles to paint the fairest and most perfect form is quite probable; for she was a member of the thiasos which, as we see proved by multitudes of inscriptions, always sought to sell its talent and accomplishments to boards of public work. The exquisite sculpture of the Cnidian Venus for which Phryne sat for the great Praxiteles was public property and it was chiseled under the auspices of the public works. Her sittings then, were in virtuous keeping with the tenets of her thiasos.

This woman, like Socrates, had a betrayer. His name was Euthius and he insulted her; but receiving the repulse he deserved, was enraged and accused her of the old and much hackneyed offense against the state, of introducing new divinities and vitiating the morals of the youth. This was the threadbare accusation against Socrates.

It is not a little singular that according to his account of her, Athenæus³¹ admits her escape but mentions Euthius as her pursuer. We commit no anachronism in saying there is evidence that her hater's persecutor was Demosthenes. Harpocration and Hesychius approach

³¹ *Deipnosoph.*, xiii., § 590^b: "Ἦν δὲ ἡ Φρυγὴ ἐκ θεσπιῶν. Κρινομένη δὲ ὑπὸ Εὐθίου τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀπέφυγε.

nearly to the facts where, in their dictionaries, they mention Isodaites as the governing spirit actuating Phryne.³² It turns out that Isodaites was another name for Dionysus Kathegemon. Now it needs but a perceptive knowledge of Greek to understand that Isodaites is a word in common use meaning, as Liddell puts it; "Dividing equally, giving to all alike;" exactly the tenets of Nemesis. The angel called "Isodæmon, godlike, equal in fortune and happiness," which Phryne served, was a horror to the jealous Athenians who detested a socialism that would advocate the equal apportionment of the products of human labor. Yet this is precisely what this little martyr attempted to do, by organizing the eranos in Athens. In a fragment of the Greek Oration occurs this passage against Phryne: "I have shown you Phryne's blasphemy. She has devoted herself to shameless debauchery. She has introduced a new divinity. She has collected together the unlawful members of the thiasos consisting both of men and women."³³

Notwithstanding the fact that Phryne was a member and was working all the time organizing the order, we know by popular history that many wealthy men were seized with anything but noble desires to form her acquaintance, so much so that among the more successful ones this became an open boast. It is certain that she kept right on with her secret duties amid these temptations; for this is all shown by the treachery of Euthius. He might have succeeded in wheedling her far enough to discover what she was doing among the slaves and low-borns in secret and from his superabundance he may have given her money; for she was only a poor country garden girl. Certainly he could not succeed in his lascivious approaches. When defeat came, Euthius turned in jealousy, and had her arrested and the dangerous accusation brought against her that, like Socrates, Ninos, Theoris and Glaucothea, she was blaspheming the pagan divinities causing the mother of God, and Dionysus

³² *Fragm. Orat. Gr.*, II., 426, *frag.*, 217: "Ἰσοδαίτης Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Φρύνης ἔστικος τις δαίμων, ὃ τὰ δημόδη γύναικα καὶ μὴ πᾶν σπουδαία ἐτελεῖ. Every evidence accumulates to prove that these divinities, like their worshippers were of the working element. "Sacra Nyctelia quæ populus Romanus excludit turpitudinis causa." Servius, *Ad Æneid.*, iv., v., 302.

³³ "Ἐπέδειξα τοίνυν ὑμῖν ἄσεβῆ Φρύνην, κωμάσασαν ἀναδῶς, καινοῦ θεοῦ εἰσηγήσαν, θιάσους ἀνδρῶν ἐκδεσμούς καὶ γυναικῶν σιναγανοῦσαν. *Frag. Orat. Gr.*, II., 426.

Isodaites to establish their cult and their anti-slavery brotherhoods to take up their abode in the city of the majestic Jove. It was maddening. There now arises a question whether the Athenian council employed Demosthenes to act as prosecuting attorney. It was during this great orator's lifetime, and at a moment of political quiet when he might be supposed to act. Again, he hated the innovations of these women. Still we are wanting of his written oration, and hence the uncertainty.

But if Demosthenes did conduct the prosecution against Phryne, he was met by his peer in the criminal court. This man was not the only power in eloquence and rhetorical tactics at Athens. Hyperides was there and he espoused the trembling woman's cause. He had as a part of his rôle on that terrible day the pronouncing of the closing speech. It was magnetic with the ring and roar of select, grammatical Greek and won for him laurels of fame. As new fragments come to light it seems more and more evident that Demosthenes was his opponent at Phryne's trial. But the stubborn audience who were to decide by ballot, although convinced and overcome by this glowing presentation of her innocence, refused with a malignant prejudice to be persuaded and would have decided to have her killed had not Hyperides, who knew the chivalry of the Greeks, resorted to an act of desperation. He rushed to the frightened girl by his side, drew her violently up before the gaze of the enraged but amorous throng, and tore from her form the crimson Pallium, exhibiting beauties, such as nature had endowed her with, presenting to their gaze the exquisite original of their adorable Venus Anadyomene, and the unexcelled sculpture of the Cnidian Venus by Praxiteles, paintings and statues of immortal masters, sacred in art and true to nature; and while she stood there exposed to their enraptured gaze he roared and thundered, exploding words of eloquence in their ears with touching taunts on cruelty, reminding them that she had served their loved gods and goddesses by lending them her own exquisite contour to pattern the shapes of their sublime immortals. The story told by Athenæus and the scholiasts is that the judges, considering her beauty, cast the pebbles for her acquittal

and the beautiful Phryne lived on, transmitting her exquisite qualities to the living age which in empiric wisdom keeps on screeching against this still hated girl.³⁴

Before leaving this list of the agonized innocents, let us ask: what became of Demosthenes? There was some conspiracy formed in secret against him, by parties whose full history and career have never come to view; but enough is known to fix his visible enemy as Archias an officer belonging to political influences rising to power through the reverses that followed the battle of Cranon. As in the almost parallel case of Cicero, there was a secret alliance against him. Who could it be? The friends of the people he had persecuted with such malignity engaged this officer to follow him to the death. Nothing but vengeance could appease them, or mollify their chronic hate. Demosthenes was driven out of Athens in B.C. 322. Having no better retreat, he took refuge, like a runaway, in the Temple of Poseidon on the little island of Calaura. The cranos was wont to use this god's temples all of which had an asylum of refuge for slaves and others who worshiped him. Alas for the orator, Neptune had no refuge for him here. He was barred out and shut off from the holy protection the majestic god had always given the lowlier ones who organized and worshiped at his shrine.

The relentless enemies approached; and the man of renown drew from his folds the quill which had long held a dose of deadly poison; and we may imagine that, when swallowed, he bestowed the gloomy interval of his dying hour on a fitting apotheosis of a Ninos, a Tryphera, a Neera or a Glaucothea, tumbling from the flinty crags in sequence of his eloquence of days and in doings which were gone forever.

³⁴ Harpocraticrion, *Dict.*, much later has lost this idea of her sublime attributes: Διόνυσος, Yagrens, Nyctelios, Isodaites: "Ἰσοδαίτης Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Φρύνης. Ξενικός τις δαίμων, ὃ τὰ δημόδη γυναῖκα καὶ μὴ πάνυ σπουδαία ἐτέλει;" which Fonc., *Ass. Rel.* p. 81; "Divinité étrangère à laquelle se soignent initier les femmes peu honnêtes et de la lie du peuple." Thus a sneer is gratuitously extended to her all along. She is called a hetaira; as if to blacken her character. But the *εταίραι* were trade unionists. See Pliny, *Epis.*; *Vita*, x., Hyper., *Orat.* 20; Athen., *Δειπνοσοφιστα.* xiii., 590: "Ὡς εἰκός δέ, καὶ δικῆ Φρύνη τῇ *εταίρα* ἀσβεῖν κρινομένη συνεξητάσθῃ αὐτὸς γὰρ τοῦτο ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ λόγου· δηλοῖ μελλουσης δ' αὐτῆς ἀλικοσεῖσθαι, παραγαῶν εἰς μέσον καὶ περιόρηξας τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐπέδειξα τὰ στέρια τῆς γυναίκος· καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν εἰς τὸ κάλλας ἀπιδόντων, ἀφείδη." See also *Comedy of Posidippus, the Ephes. female. Frag. Comic. Græc.*, Ed., Didot, p. 691, where an imitation of this event takes place. A woman is threatened with capital punishment the same as in the case of Phryne and submitted to great danger of being led to execution, but is saved in the same manner, only with the greatest difficulty.

But the great martyr to the thiasos, he who surpassed all men in wisdom and power in the world, and overturned both the modes of reasoning and the creed of competition, the most useful of all the lowly, the farthest reaching friend and teacher for the suffering poor and who still stands upon the pinnacle of fame in the world, was the pre-Christian Christian, Socrates.³⁵ Between Socrates, who flourished B.C. 486-399, and Jesus who lived A.D. 1-33, one may perceive a wonderful similarity of character. He wandered barefoot teaching the same good, and in the same way. He gathered about him disciples and apostles, who in after years continued the same doctrines and true methods of the master. Finally he died a violent death as a veritable martyr, and left a wondering world in shame and regret, to admire and follow.

The age of Socrates did not permit of many great minds. True greatness was swamped in a mean and vitiated moral atmosphere; and superstition with its millions of amulets and abracadabras hooded mind into a narrow compass. No grand moral thought could originate among people debased by centuries of despotism and accustomed to institutions that prohibited almost every exercise of social liberty, the right of free speech curtailed and the elements of true manhood stifled.

Socrates was a very poor man, and his trade was that of a stone-cutter. But his father being somewhat of a sculptor, the son was taught some of the finer niceties of the chisel and there is a story that he sculptured three small draped statues of the Graces seen at Athens as late as Pausanias. But his big head and square, rugged frame were incompatible with the taciturn motions of a shaper of stone. It was within this barefoot man of squat stature and powers of abstemiousness to lay the corner stone of a vast intellectual enlightenment; and he had it in him to block out an immortal dialectic scheme of reason and profound examination, which Plato and Aristotle and the later prodigies of progress sagaciously espoused upon which to build our

³⁵ Justin Martyr, *Apology*, chap. v.: "When Socrates endeavored by reason and examination to bring these things to light and deliver men from the demons (meaning the selfish creatures of society), then the demons themselves, evil spirits of men who rejoiced in iniquity, compassed his death as an atheist and profane person, on the charge that he was introducing new divinities."

era.³⁶ There were some tenets in his doctrines which will probably never be understood. He always talked to his followers about the euthanasia or the easy, happy death, and Justin Martyr tried to compare him with Plato, who believed in a Minos and Rhadamanthos who acted as judges over the just and the unjust, while Socrates had guardian spirits to warn the well-minded against error and drive evil away. Justin believed these elements of goodness were purely Christian and argued that these two teachers, together with Zenon, were pre-Christian Christians.³⁷ Indeed, it was energetically held by several of the ante-Nicene fathers, including Irenæus and Tertullian, that Socrates was a Christian; prominent among those who held this belief was Justin.³⁸

But Socrates did not follow the Mosaic dispensation. On the contrary, he followed the Solonic. He was a member of a thiasos, as we have several times shown by quoting Xenophon's convivials. He frequented the common table not only of the public Prytaneum, but also of the convivial clubs, where he would chat to the delight of the members, get hilarious, pronounce more witty toasts and guzzle more wine than any man in Athens or the Piræus. The great book, the Republic of Plato was a reminiscence of one of these convivials, at which time the brotherhood of the Athenian thiasos walked down to the Piræus, by invitation of the orgeons of the city, on the occasion of a dedication of the temple of Bendis, to the tutelary deity Pan. Old Glaukon, the beloved and long-faithful kurios, was there, Anytus, the leather man and traitor was there, Miletus, and a host of others; and it was under the inspiration of the common table, common bounties, and the rich Æginetan wine, that for days they discussed, point by point, the great problem of the best future state—the one which should bestow absolute equality and happiness to all mankind. This republic was a "crescent of promise to be rounded with the æons into the full orb of success." And it

³⁶ Justin in his second *Apology*, chap. x., argues that Socrates was a pre-Christian Christian, thus: Socrates, who was more zealous in this than all of them, was accused of the very same crime as ourselves." Again, *ibid.*: "No one trusted in Socrates so as to die for this doctrine; but men died for Christ who was partially known even to Socrates; for he was and is the Word, foretelling the things that were to come to pass."

³⁷ Origen, *Adv. Cels.*, vii., c. 6, speaks of the Oracle calling Socrates "the wisest of men." Suidas, in *Sophocles*, quotes as follows: "Sophocles is wise, Euripides is wiser, but wiser than all mankind is Socrates."

³⁸ Just., *Mart. First Apoloa.*, viii.

was fully concluded that in such a perfect form of government no individualism in membership could exist.

It might be interesting for the reader to ask himself why these philosophers left their great and celebrated Athenian city, based upon the finest model then known to the competitive system, and descended into the banlieues and Billingsgate of the fishy old Piræus, among the workingmen's unions, their temples, kuriakoi, common tables and hives of the provision business which fed the populations of Athens and the surrounding country. Why did Socrates not lead his pupils in philosophy to the grand temple of Magaron or the magnificent edifice of Apollo at Delphi, easily reached by the state highways and waters of the romantic Corinthian Gulf? If they were advocates of existing ideas then such a course would have been in pragmatistical concord with the existing condition of things and would have harmonized with the culture of the Athenian state. But no. He ignored the arrogant, pretentious official religion of his native land. He attached himself to the great Smithian idea that labor and labor only is the source of the wealth of nations. Labor then, was at the bottom of the Republic of Plato, the celebrated admirer, pupil and mouthpiece of Socrates; and it was to the hives of labor that these immortals hied, and not to the grandiloquent priesthood of the Megaron of Athens or of Eleusis. This may seem to have expressed contempt for the official Athenian culture which was proving a disheartening failure in comparison with the beautiful littleness and humanity of industry, typified in the swarm of unions of the Piræus, some for the sea Islands, some for the Asiatic intercourse with boats, and all for Dionysus, mighty forerunner, tutelary protector of their business, the ennobler of mankind and giver of joys.

There was a creature there, son of a rich Athenian, a veritable Cacodæmon who was evidently hired to gather information from this master and like another Judas, betray him into the keeping of a jealous law. This was Anytus. Any one who reads the Republic of Plato may detect this serpent, step by step, in the thread of the discourse which delineated its structure and form. There was also Militus a probable spy from the Athenian priesthood; for angry tones are to be detected as the

conversation proceeds. In course of time these slight dissensions scarcely perceptible at the Piræus developed into the celebrated accusation against Socrates which ended in his death.

It is thus seen that far from being guilty of introducing new divinities into Athens, and demoralizing the habits of the youth, for which he was accused and executed, this great man was, like Ninus, Tryphera and Glaucothea, trying to introduce the same ideas that are being advocated at this day in the open name of the labor question and the rising labor party of the world. Instead of the circumscribed sphere of the Piræus and its communes of labor, where men were shouting at every boat-landing and market-stall to sell their goods, there are now organizations numbering millions, whose voices are heard clear and ringing, at a thousand towns and cities of Germany, France, Italy, Belgium and the United States, demanding the same justice so loved by the proto-martyr Socrates and rapidly growing beyond the strength of repression which in those days of narrow-mindedness and tyranny succeeded in making a martyr of Socrates, to the shame of antiquity.³⁹

It would be an entirely superfluous and unnecessary task for us to describe the martyrdom of Socrates. Any person wishing the strange details of the event may find it recorded in the encyclopedias, and in the many lives of this great man. He was put out of the way by speculators upon human toil, upon the old charge that he had apostatized from the official priesthood, and was introducing new divinities, when in reality he generally refrained from speaking against existing institutions.⁴⁰ We have ourselves visited the celebrated prison of Socrates where he was immured and where he died. It is a veritable cave, a den, unworthy the dignity of a prison and a hideous hole, to the present day unhonored with a door or portal. This gloomy vault is situated on the

³⁹ Am Rhyn, *Mysterta*, p. 86, of the Eng. trans., speaking of the decay of popular belief in those days, says: "Many societies acted as 'links in the chain of phenomena that reached all through Grecian antiquity, indicating a reaction against the popular (official) religion, and an effort to introduce essentially different views, such as in later times were to triumph definitely, in an important form, over the Olympian gods.'"

⁴⁰ We have read Plato's accounts of the death of Socrates, both in the *Crito* and the *Phædo*, and the two disquisitions agree in the main, especially regarding the last symposium of the friends, the protracted conversation and the cup of henilock. The *Crito* has been suspected of being spurious but there seems to be no reason for this suspicion. The *Phædo* was written in Plato's later years, whereas, the *Crito* was that of his comparative youth

right ascent of the Acropolis, about half way up to the summit on which stands the Parthenon, and is reached by a clumsy trail from the old market. It is not a dangerous steep although the ascent is obstructed by piles of rocks, and a dry ravine presents some difficulty to the feet. On beholding this cave once honored by an immortal philosopher and teacher, the author of this work was constrained to conclude that everything ancient—houses, walks, streets, prisons, all but public edifices, were primitive and mean in comparison with what exists to-day.

What is the bent of morals taught by these martyrdoms of old? To-day, all efforts of that barbarous, self-hugging individualism to put down the advocates of any political movement favoring scientific socialism; every effort of the bribe-taking lawyers and representatives in the invidious cages of legislation to increase the standing armies; every treachery of the falsified press to foist its darkling animadversions upon the unwary whereby to poison public opinion, is a trick of the hirelings of power who like the bullies of Athens derive their bread and precious existence from the humble laborer whose brotherhoods their ingratitude would exterminate.

CHAPTER XVI.

APOSTOLIC AGE.

THE LAW UNDER TIBERIUS, CLAUDIUS, NERO, THE FLAVII AND DOMITIAN.

PRELIMINARY OF THE CHAPTER.

PLANTING the Word—Screened at First by the Law—Emperor Tiberius Friendly—Periodicity of Man's Forward Steps—Facts which Could not be Covered—Work of our Great Archæologists—Great Events during Reign of Tiberius—Struggling to Enlarge the Microcosm into a State—An Analysis.

THE true history of the era we live in begins with its planting into the myriad economic unions. The germs thus planted existed in them long anterior to the Advent. These unions we have described in the preceding chapters. As the epigraphists of the schools are year by year enlarging the field, we confess that, enormous as are the proofs, they are but a handful compared with what is to yet come.

Jesus and the early Christians were all members. The general appearance is that they were screened from harm by the law of the burial attachment, called in the Digest, "*lex collegia tenuiorum*," but shrewdly improved by Dr. Mommsen into "*lex collegia funeraticia*."

This planting was very great during the first century. It continued in the second and third, but was met and opposed with terrible resistance. It received its first death-stroke in A. D. 363, at the Council of Laodicia, at the hands of its own officers. Its haggard skeleton still stalks the earth like a darkling ghost, bereft of everything but a superstition and an ignis fatuus luring women and children into the snares of a spider-like clericalty

which robbed the poor of their pittances. The suicide stabbed itself as a result of the in-creeping money power originally repudiated. The claw of ambitious politicians and of kings clutched the property to get strength and individual glory. It was robbed of its great function by being bereft of one-half its usefulness, that of its original self-sustaining economies which Christ understood and included in his plan of salvation.

Knowing that this mighty accusation will be met with an iron hand, we proceed to prove our statement by an array of incontrovertible evidence, assured that with this new light, truth, sooner or later¹ will conquer, and that the era, disabused of wrong, will swing back into its old paths of victory and success.

We have already explained that the entire subject matter of this work has been intended merely as information preliminary to a great chapter on the planting of what is called Christianity. This is important, being an era of the human race.

We are quite willing to admit with the men of modern science, Hæckel, Levasseur, Darwin, Vogt and others, that the world is old, and that there have been many eras. The astute Aristotle premised all this, before concrete wisdom found a pathway into the haunts of man; and he had the profound sense to explain something of the periodicity of progressive steps in the world in struggling upward. We are told that already 20,000,000 years have elapsed since man in slimy protomorphic squalor jostled into the earth and settled; and that since then multitudes of æons have swirled past, each bringing its tittle of betterment. Each era, although contested by the selfishness begotten of individual preferment under a natural law of survival of the strongest, came, careered and finally died, outgrown and superseded by some unrecorded, prehistoric successor, which in its turn in the great rotatory play of fortune, had a career of long duration and likewise fell before the trend of the on-marching phalanx of improvement.

Among these revolutions and successions, there came in course of time, a race of men who agreed to be governed by a code of laws and rules entirely distinct from the more ancient method of brutal competition based

¹ See preface, Vol. II., of this work.

on the animal law of survival wherein the most powerful brute which could goad and exterminate opponents could live and thrive. Ants have slaves; they fence themselves about, feed, fatten, kill and eat them with all the brutish reason of this law. They are a type of the ancient pre-mosaical arrangement. They are prototypes of the competitive system. Such beings to this day, control political and social institutions. What wonder then, if our thoughts of social government are little higher than those of non-reasoning insects? Masses who feed the bully are still the slaves? Thus there have been and are within the age of letters and records, three distinct social dispensations—the competitive, the Mosiac and the Solonic. Solon gave the working people a privilege which they never before enjoyed. They took advantage of it, and organized enormously, laying the foundations of the new era in which we exist. The inscriptions which furnish us the principal information regarding this, abound in evidence, that Jewish workmen of Asia Minor threw away Mosaism and espoused the Solonic dispensation²

There were two classes, perhaps two races of the Hebrews, of which history gives little account. We glean these facts mostly from inscriptions found recently. One race endorsed and followed the Mosaic, the other the Solonic dispensation. These latter were nearly all of the working class. They settled in great numbers in Asia Minor, formed themselves into trade unions, were frugal and industrious, learned the Greek and Syriac languages and appear to have been on good terms with the Hellenic Greeks among whom they lived. They engaged in no warring quarrels, easily took to the Mithric forms and mysteries which of all the various branches of polytheism most nearly resembled the Christianity of later centuries; and when the culture and faith arrived they, with many other determined working people, opened their busy unions to receive it, and it was this vast and secret power which, with the burial attachment, tided Christianity over the persecutions, making it an irresistible success. These facts will be denied; but we are setting forth an array of newly discovered

² Stephen, in *Acts of the Apostles*, vi., 14, accuses that the law of Moses had proved useless, in the following language: "Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place and shall change the customs which Moses delivered us." Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος οὗτος καταλύσει τὸν τόπον τοῦτον καὶ ἀλλάξει τὰ ἔθη, ἃ παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν Μωϋσῆς. This prediction maddened the rich Hebrew audience.

proof which will forever establish them as truths. A later scheme however of the power of property which could not speculate and profit out of their unions, ultimately attacked the economic feature of this Christianity, and in course of time, after a struggle against their high and artistic culture, succeeded with the aid of the Roman empire, in stifling the Petrine policy of socialism and leaving it to jostle along among the rocks of the old pagan competitive system where it lingers and languishes to-day. Yet the germs never died; they are coming to life with even better roots.

At the time of Christ's stay on the earth great numbers of unions existed. As abundantly shown, they embraced nearly all the trades and professions of the population who were obliged to earn a living with labor. An old law legalized their career. Not until recently has the fact come to light that the early Christians nestled and settled among them. A prodigious effort has been made to conceal this fact; but it has at last leaked out, thanks to these recent discoveries which bring to view the otherwise unwritten history of the Solonic dispensation.

The settling of the Christians into these economic unions is mentioned a few times by the ante-Necine writers,³ several of them pagan, inveighing against the Christians, such as Celsus and Lucian. We have already shown how enormously these unions were employed by the government.⁴ They were a veritable service, for it was before the contract system got its foothold to enrich the adventurous individual and consequently was a vast economy to the nation.

³Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.*, V., 18, talks about the "great bakers' establishments" at Rome, of high antiquity, and admits that the members of the branch unions were christianized. The law permitting the bakers to organize and exist is confirmed by Gaius. *Digest*, II., iv., 1: "Item collegia Romæ certa sunt, quorum corpus senatusconsultis atque constitutionibus principalibus confirmatum est: veluti pistorum et quorundam aliorum, et naviculariorum, qui in provinciis sunt." These with the tax-gatherers, gold, silver and salt miners working for the government, enumerated in the lines above, are granted permission to organize.

⁴The words of Graniér de Cassagnac, *Hist. des Classes Ouv.*, p. 308, are found on later investigation of this remarkable fact, to be replete with truth: "C'est à l'aide des jurandes que le gouvernement organisa son service administratif, son déploiement de forces militaires. et le développement de son luxe architectural; il y avait des corporations qui s' étaient chargées de recueillir l'impôt; il y en avait qui approvisionnaient Rome; il y en avait qui la nourrissaient; il y en avait qui pourvoyaient à ses édifices; d'autres qui habillaient ses soldats; d'autres qui les armaient; d'autres qui entretenaient les nécessités intérieures et domestiques d'une ville plaine de richesses et vouée à tous les genres de plaisirs. Les jurandes étaient donc comme la charpente osseuse qui supportait ce grand corps romain."

But these large and numerous unions had another foothold of enormous importance in form of a burial attachment, stringently guaranteed by a law which has come down to us.⁵ Quite recently the fact was verified that the Roman and Greek burial societies were in reality simply a name given to a full-fledged trade-union and that the union sailed under the name of the attachment, while in truth it secretly careered as an economic organization for purposes of life rather than death. This was because the burial attachment was openly legalized while the trade union part came under the law forbidding organization.⁶ Through this peculiar attachment the true trade union, even in its well-known voting form actually evaded the law. Everywhere we find the unions working as modern trade-unions, for purely economic purposes. They in reality cared little for the religion they were supposed to adore. But they were almost always accompanied by two accomplishments. The most important practical one was their voting feature, whereby they secured for themselves and their membership the appointment to do the public work as an economic means of life; and the next important thing was to shield themselves by some law, from persecution. This they obtained by each union having a burial attachment. The amount of advantage this funeral attachment secured is almost incredible. Dr. R. Cagnat, with whom the author enjoyed a valuable personal interview in 1896, is fully convinced that the Christians owe their present existence to this funeral attachment of the economic trade-unions.⁷ He admit-

⁵ *Digest*, XLVII., xxii., 1, vide Momms., *De Coll. et Sodal.*, p. 99⁸⁹⁹, who calls the coll. tenuiorum the same as coll. funeraticium, or burial society.

⁶ *Digest*, III., iv., i., *init.*, Gaius, lib. 3, *Ad Edictum provinciale*: "Neque societas, neque collegium, neque hujusmodi corpus passim omnibus habere conceditur; nam et legibus, et senatusconsultis, et principalibus constitutionibus ea res coercitur," but proceeds to enumerate a few exceptions, quoted in note 3, *supra*.

⁷ Cagnat, in *Revue Contemporaine* for Jan. 1896, says: "C'est pourtant en partie grâce au droit d'association et à l'insu du pouvoir que s'est accompli, à Rome et dans les provinces, la grande révolution morale et religieuse qui transforma le monde; sans lui le christianisme aurait éprouvé les plus grandes difficultés, non tant à s'établir qu'à prospérer. Sans doute il sortait victorieux des plus grandes persécutions; mais combien la calme qui suivait la tempête était peu sûr, combien précaire la situation fait aux fidèles! Il fallait se cacher pour célébrer le culte, pour enterrer les martyrs, pour en honorer la mémoire, pour entendre la parole des pasteurs, C'est alors que, suivant l'illustre archéologue De Rossi, l'Église s'avisait de tourner la difficulté en prenant l'apparence d'un collège funéraire; dès lors, elle retombait sous la loi commune; elle pouvait avoir une caisse, posséder des cimetières, recevoir des dons et des legs, tenir des réunions, célébrer des fêtes des saints sur leur tombeau; ses assemblées religieuses mêmes, grâce à ce subterfuge, devenaient des réunions licites."

ted that the earlier Christians planted directly into the unions.

Many other eminent Professors are aligning themselves with Drs. Rossi, Cagnat and Oehler, in the belief that the Christians were originally economic organizations for self-help, and that they planted in the societies of the Solonic dispensation.⁸

Without doubt the man who has contributed most to our knowledge of the methods by which christianity was originally planted in Italy, is De Rossi, who has given his life to the development of the under-ground Rome. He finds that the early christians were mostly either slaves or emancipated slaves, and that they were very numerous at Rome even under old Tiberius, and grew in numbers under great persecution during the reigns of Claudius, Nero, the Flavii and Domitian. The labors of De Rossi are innumerable.⁹ He discovered that under the law, the members of the unions endorsing the cult of Jews, but retaining their old economic tactics¹⁰ of earning their living, actually had to bury their dead in subterranean holes. This they did to an astonishing extent. Great under-ground cemeteries are found, some of which are five to seventy feet beneath the surface; and the excavators are constantly opening with their picks new cells, called *scholæ*, provided with seats of stone, scattered tools of many trades, central tables for the common meal, *thuræ theou* or doors of Jesus, secret portals of entrance and exit, wells for water and often bright and beautiful wall paintings.¹¹

It will be asked why such secrecy if they possessed a legal right of organization? The answer is, that the new culture was hated, and when the police began to

⁸ Am Rhyn, *Mysteria*, pp. 114-115: "In this wise was Christianity developed out of the secret associations of the ancient world."

⁹ The law (*lex collegia tenniorum*), is a little vague but was well understood at the time. See *Digest*, XLVII. tit. xxii., 1. It reads: "Permittitur tenuioribus stipem menstruan conferre: dum tamen semel in mense coeat, ne sub prætextu hujusmodi illicitum collegium coeat, quod non tantum in Urbe, sed in Italia et in provinciis locum habere, divus quoque Severus rescipit."

¹⁰ Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, 1., p. 213, note 1, *fin.*: "Les chrétiens se renuaissent aussi dans les catacombs, dans les cubricula ou chambres sepulcrales, qui prirent parfois les dimensions d' églises souterraines."

¹¹ De Rossi, *Roma Sotteranea*, speaking of these ancient cemeteries, the burial part of which was made legal under the law of the coll. tenuiorum, says: "Ma o di singulare natura, o anteriore alla formazione dello stile e delle fogge consuete de monumenti sepulcrali cristiani, ricorda un Eutichio prenominato Tito Flavio; nomenclatura cominciata a moltiplicarsi tra i liberti, i libertini e gli stranieri ai tempi de Flavii Augusti, cioè alla fine del primo secolo cristiano." and cites quite a number of cemeteries, that of Lucina among others. We shall say more regarding them.

suspect that the Christians were using the unions which had the burial attachment, the old law of Julius Cæsar, of the date of B.C. 58, was hunted out and applied. It was applied as early as the time of Claudius, but Trajan's application of it about A.D. 100, comes into history so that we know.¹² Septimius Severus, even Hadrian continued this old law, and made the Christians still more secret, as has been recorded by Spartianus in the Augustan histories.¹³ Why such a profound silence of literature as is revealed by these discoveries of the under-ground Rome, is a question for coming students! For our own part we are satisfied that the lowly Christians, Jews and Gentiles alike, filled with admirable love for one another in their economic brotherhoods, wisely agreed to accept the new Master for their kurios and saviour and went straight on with their work furnishing each other with employment as best they could under the sad circumstances.¹⁴

It was in A.D. 99 that the emperor Trajan issued the decree, based on the old *lex Julia*, forbidding the existence of the *hetære* or close trade organizations. It became immediately recognized that the Christians were the hated sect forming the membership. Trajan's rescript was the law used by young Pliny when governor of Bithynia. It was the deadly edict against the "*collegia illicita*," which are now proved to be none other than the veritable unions of the early christians. The good teacher when he taught his followers to "take no thought for the morrow, what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink, or wherewithal ye shall be clothed" was speaking, not to an outside audience in the cold competitive life of struggles for existence, such as the masses are this day enduring and starving under. No one of

¹² *Rescript of Trajan* carried out by Pliny. It was valid all over provincial Rome and Rome itself. Cf. Neander, *Hist. Church*, Eng. trans., Vol. 1., p. 120.

¹³ *Digest, Tit., l., 1, § 24*: Cf. Spartianus in *Augustan Hist.*, c. 17, speaking of the doings of Severus: "In itinere Palæstinis plurima jura fundavit ludæos fieri sub gravi pœna vetuit. Idem etiam de christianis sanxit. The *Rescript of Severus* reads as follows: "Divus Severus rescripsit, eos etiam qui illicitum collegium coisse dicuntur apud præfectum urbi accusandos."

¹⁴ These sad circumstances continued amid persecutions. They had real cause for their awful secrecy; and this accounts for their habits of under-ground hiding. The law of the burial attachment legalized the ordeal of the grave; but the true object of the union was earthly, and it gave them means of existence. Under the awful rescript of Severus, the poor fellows huddled still closer to their under-ground cells, making their cemeteries the uppermost matter of importance to ward off the brutal police. Nevertheless "many were daily burned, crucified and beheaded before our eyes." Clem. *Strom.*, II., 414; Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, vi., 7. So also long before.

common sense would give such counsel to anybody. No teacher is so stupid, so silly, or so infamous a liar as to give such advice; for if he were mean and false enough to attempt such wholesale deception he would be called either a hypocrite or a fool. The fact is this teacher and every one of those special pupils to whom he was teaching elements of economic, social and religious truth were members, and he told them not to be embarrassed by worry and incertitude which drive a half of mankind to failure and starvation. It was not necessary. The union in which they were all initiated members would care for them and attend to their personal wants,¹⁵ leaving them precious time to peacefully attend to other things. It is now admitted by the greatest scholars that the economic unions mentioned by Tertullian¹⁶ were none other than the same Roman collegia and Greek *eranoi* which we have explained in previous chapters.

Julius Cæsar was the first who enacted laws of suppression of their organizations.¹⁷ He was seconded by Cicero, who bitterly fought Clodius the Roman tribune, of whom we have given an account in the first volume of this work. Cicero and Demosthenes, after all our university commendations, must, in the honest story of the poor workingmen, descend to the doubtful dignity of defenders of false systems, and little if any better than our lawyers, engaged by the holders of wealth to slander and revile those honestly organized for liberty and present happiness. Both came to a violent end as a direct result of their own inhumanity and of their false system.¹⁸

A little later, in the terminal years of the apostolic age and during the first years of the second century, Pliny the younger, came out plainly with his celebrated

¹⁵ *Matth.*, vi., 30-34.

¹⁶ Tert., *Apol.*, xxxix.: "Coimus in cœtum et congregationem," etc; likewise Dr. Oeliker, *MSS. to the Author*, speaks of an inscription found at Amisos in Bithynia showing an eranos of the same year that Pliny tried to persuade the emperor Trajan to permit him to organize a union of blacksmiths and firemen. We give the circumstance elsewhere. In his official letter to Trajan, he declares that these unions were innocent, and admits that they had a common table and a communal code.

¹⁷ Momms., *De Coll. et Sodal.*, p. 33; "Jus cocundi fuit, antiquis temporibus omnibus concessum." The *lex Licinia*, "*De Sodaliciis Supprimandis*," was one of the first conspiracy laws. It is declared by Cicero, *Pro Planc.*, 19, 46, that it applied to the *Collegia*. Another early conspiracy law was the *Lex Gabiana*; another, the *Lex Cornelia*; another, the *Lex Porcii Latronis*. see Momms., *id.*

¹⁸ Consult Vol. I., p. 284; also 499, note 12.

letters. Appointed to be governor of Bithynia in the north of Asia Minor, he found that the Christians were organized in the old Solonic unions in great numbers. He was ordered by his emperor Trajan, to carry out the *lex Licinia* against them because they would not go to the pagan temples with their earnings and purchase at high prices, the sacrifices, or in other words, the goats, calves, ducks, chickens, or geese brought thither to be sold and eaten—a species of religious market. The explanation to this vague affair turns out to be, that the priesthood of paganism, which was a part of the Roman government, was speculating on provisions, not so much for themselves, being government-paid, as for the revenues of the empire of Rome. It reveals that large sums of money were constantly flowing into the Roman treasury through the priests and their wives, by which the common people were kept ignorant, poor and superstitious.

The unionist cult, either of Solon or Jesus, had no commerce with this superstition and source of revenue. The Christians, while they abstained from all wrongdoing, positively refused to contribute their earnings to the Roman government through the pagan priest-power. Thus Pliny, and probably all the governors, found that the regular revenues had fallen off very greatly, and on close inquiry had discovered through their spies that the Christians were refusing to thus contribute. On investigation it was discovered that great numbers of *hetæra thiasoi*, *eranoi* and *orgeons* within Pliny's jurisdiction had become christianized and had endorsed the new faith still adhering to their common table and their communal code.¹⁹ They had turned the well-regulated family into a microcosm and enlarged it into the brotherhood of love and economics, conforming with the plan of salvation of Jesus. Each union had become a society of members, all working for one another, and economizing their incomes, keeping their money within themselves. They were no longer rushing to the so-

¹⁹ Pliny's *Epist.* 97. See Neander, *Hist.*, I., p. 97, whose remarks show clearly that the christians under Pliny had been in close associations, long before the opening of the second century. "Trajan's rescript suppressed the *hetæra*. It was the law Pliny enforced." Neander says: "These latter assemblies had been discontinued in compliance with the emperor's edict against the *hetæra*." p. 120. The *hetæra*, temporarily suppressed by Trajan was one of the nine trade unions given in the original Solonic law.

called sacrifices to squander their earnings upon state-priests mumbling over their market speculations. This refusal to contribute to the public funds is what lay at the bottom of the persecutions; for the emperors under the Licinian law, construed it to be treason punishable with death.

This discovery of the true causes of the ancient persecutions is the more striking when we consider that said causes were not religious but economical. It has been erroneously supposed that religion was at the bottom of those terrible deeds of torture, reddening antiquity with gore. But revelations of recent times show that Rome had bruised off her veneration for the old law of Solon and Numa and become its hater. That law supplied the workers with well-paid employment, taught them economies and dignified them to a condition above the slavish payment of tribute to Cæsar, raising them higher than the craft of the ancient pagan priest and thus depriving Rome's treasury of the fleecings of her pious methods. This was the crime for which they died in millions.

CHAPTER XVI.

APOSTOLIC AGE.

THE LAW UNDER TIBERIUS, CLAUDIUS, NERO, THE FLAVII AND DOMITIAN.

SECTION I.—TIBERIUS.

ERA Planted under this Monarch—Ever Memorable Vista—A New and Surprising Historical Sketch of Christianity—Environment of Dangers—The Poor Could not obtain Work without Organized Protection—Statement of their Influence on Christ—Tiberius Friendly—Men at the Head of the Movement all Initiates—The Word—Hebrew History—Abgar Letters—All Known of the Circumstance—Anger of the Emperor—Pilate a Historical Character—Crucifixion Proved a Historical Event—Lynching of Stephen—His System of Common Tables Competed with Provision Rings—New Light on His Assassination—Three Thousand Members in his Union—The Murder Broke it Up—Stephen was a First Class Business Man—The Metonym.

IT WAS during the reign of this monarch that the era under which we exist was planted. It would be entirely out of place for us to attempt fresh history of this event. We leave this to the innumerable profane histories, and the New Testament record. But we are about to give an anecdotal account of the origins of socialism, which first appeared in form of the beautiful microcosm.

The reign of the emperor Tiberius is ever memorable as being the age of this celebrated planting; and what makes him more and more remarkable is the fresh-found long latent proof that he was kindly disposed toward that Character whom Josephus the truthful historian hardly dared to call a human being.²⁰ Stripped of the

²⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.*, XVIII., iii., 3: "Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man; for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as received the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles. He was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men amongst us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him; for he appeared to them alive again the third day as the divine prophet had foretold; these and 10,000 other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of Christians named from him are not extinct at this day."

sacredness we love to adore in our still ascendant culture, Jesus stands as the most perfect character the world has produced. We have, in our ingenuous casuistical and even doubting inquiry, found that all mention alike by fault-finders; by masses of the poor who will not attend church clamoring that christianity is a failure; by the Jews who believe he was an impostor because a workingman; and by Buddhists who claim that our religion is a derivative from the ancient teachings of Indian theosophists; all agree that he is stainless and without reproach. However much the critics are disposed to arraign and abuse the priesthood that succeeded, the great teacher himself stands as a faultless example of a perfect man, and is so acknowledged. A disposition to reject the evidence is overwhelmed by the fact that the old-time supposition that no mention is to be found of Christ by pagan authors is proved untrue; inasmuch as more than forty mentions were recorded of Christ and christianity by trustworthy men. There abound reliable mentions of him either historical or anecdotal by authors of early days.²¹ Besides this there are inscriptions and monuments, which, after standing through the Cartesian age of doubt and ridicule, and after successive accessions of auxiliary evidence, are coming to be regarded as genuine testimony.

But the remarkable discovery of great numbers of inscriptions and other monumental proof that christianity was originally planted and had its home in the existing unions of the poor and lowly, and not in the haunts of wealth, and that it has been ruthlessly bereft of the great economic factor inherent in the Solonic organization and thus robbed of one half its usefulness, remains for this volume to set forth.

People of modern times are little aware of the fearful dangers which environed the life of the ancient poor man. Those who worked were hated and if not owned as slave property, or if not organized in close association they were in danger of being at any moment attacked and murdered. Feeling their danger they hugged each other in a manner unknown to-day. Their system of eating at a common table was enormously prevalent es-

²¹ Macrob., *Saturnalia*, II., iv.: "Cum audisset inter pueros quos in Syria Herodes, rex Judæorum intra bimatum jussit interfeci, filium quoque ejus occisum, ait, 'mallem Herodis porcum esse, quam filium.'" This refers to Herod's attempt to kill him in infancy.

pecially about the time of Tiberius. It was a part of their salvation, sought after and longed for. Their system of profound secrecy covered the ancient world. To gain admission into the union the applicant must undergo a long probation and a rigid scrutiny. This scrutiny we have already given. Once in the union, the member was furnished with work. But work he must. There were no poor houses, no charities, no particular asylums but there were retreats of another kind—simply walled enclosures where the wretched, when chased, might obtain a temporary refuge; not asylums such as are now known. But the trade and labor union of the Solonic dispensation tolerated no charity. "If any will not work, neither shall he eat."²² This is what the master said, for he was talking to a multitude of applicants who were about to join, and who did join, three thousand in number, soon after the teacher's crucifixion.²³

There was, in those days, especially after the commencement of the ministrations of the two perfectly historical characters, John the Baptist and Jesus Christ, a branch of the great Solonic organization, called the ebionim. The members of this society were brave enough to acknowledge that they were poor mechanics, laborers, and professors; for the word which originates their name in Hebrew, the language spoken in their topographical region including Jerusalem, most of Palestine and some lower portions of Syria, signifies poor.²⁴ In the great scheme of the ancient labor movement praise is due the Jews for having boldly joined this organiza-

²² 11. *Thess.*, iii., 10: ὅτι εἰ τις οὐ θέλει ἐργάζεσθαι, μηδὲ ἐσθίετω.

²³ *Acts*, ii., 41-42: Then they that gladly received his word were baptized; and the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls. And they continued steadfastly in the apostle's doctrines and fellowship and in breaking of bread and in prayers." To which is to be subjoined, iv., 32: "And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul; neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common."

²⁴ See Origen's definition of *Ebion*, the Hebrew for poor. *De Princip.*, IV., ch. i. Mosheim. *Eccles. Hist.*, I., 1st century, Part II., c. 5. § 17, says: "These Nazarenes are the ebionites; though commonly set down among sects of the Apostolic age, in reality belong to the 2nd century;" Hegesippus. ap. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, II., 23: "Now some people belonging to the seven sects existing among the people, which have heretofore been described by me in *Notes*," (A lost book by Hegesippus of great value; Irenæus, *Cont. Hær.*, III., xxx., quoting Theodotus and Aquila of Pontus, inveighs against the ebionites, as 'the poorer sort,' sneering them down because their name signified poor. The ebionites were fearfully attacked by Irenæus because poor *Adv. Hær.*, V., i., 1-3, and elsewhere. Justin Mart., *Dial. Cum Tryph.*, LXXXVIII., speaking of John the Baptist makes him to have been an ebionite. Gibbon, *Decline & Fall.*, xv., note 23, admits with ineffable contempt that the organization was one of poor people. Guizot, *Commentarii de Ebionæis*, 1770, I., 8, says they were an organization of the poor.

tion in large numbers. But they were not of the seclaries and egotistic Jews of the aristocratic family of Palestinian Israelites. They were the poor working people, as much embroiled in the struggle for bread as the workingmen Jews of to-day. They took sides with the poor and famished castaways. They nobly joined their ranks.²⁵ The cause they espoused was that of the genuine socialism, which, in imitation of the family, swelled out into a microcosm wherein each worked for all and all for each.²⁶

The great beauty of the Solonic organization is expressed in its universality; in all parts of the world with the same rules, by-laws, form of brotherhood, demand of mutual love, help and care. In all parts of the world it was patterned after the democratic city.²⁷ "Be ye therefore not solicitous about the maintainance, being in nothing wanting. To the artificer there is work; to the unable, commiseration; to the stranger, a home; to the hungry, food; to the thirsty, drink; to the naked, clothing; to the sick, visitation; to the prisoners, aid."²⁸ But work was uppermost; being the source always provided, there was no such thing as charity, as expressed in our boards of associated charities and pitiful eleemosynary institutions. The great critic and commentator Neander, writing of those early days of the planting, admits that for a long time those people lived together at their common table,²⁹ providing with strange

²⁵ Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, iv., 22, quoting from the *lost book* of Hegessippus, taking it from this early author, whose work he read before it was destroyed, furnishes a great argument sustaining the belief that the Jews were at the bottom of the economic idea. This mighty association was managed for many years by James at Jerusalem. He was a Jew whom the Jews stoned to death. The whole shows that something very valuable to us now, if we could have it, has been covered up; for it shows that aristocratic, Mosaic Jews attacked and murdered James, the poor man and Solonic Jew.

²⁶ Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, I., p. 513: "Le collège était une famille, mais il était aussi une république, une cité. Citoyen de la ville, l'ouvrier n'avait pas grande chose à dire; membre du collège, il était l'égal de ses confrères."

²⁷ This we have heretofore exemplified. Waltzing, Doctor of Laws, at the Louvain University in Belgium, has ably explained these social phenomena of the ancients: "Les corporations étaient l'image de la cité ou de la famille; elle constituait comme la famille, ou la cité un tout, une unité vivante!"

²⁸ *Apostolic Constitutions*, Book IV., Sect. 1, cap. 2-4. Cap. 3, is a strong prescription against leeches, fakirs and hypocrites.

²⁹ Neander, *Planting*, I., ch. ii., *First Christian Community*. He declares it "formed, as it were, one family;" but acknowledges that later "it was discontinued to become the narrower communion of Christian family life." The jus cuncti of Solon under which all this was done, did not want the competitive system in business at all. Through it mankind was drifting toward socialism, and it was certainly adopted by the earliest adherents of the new faith under direct orders of the master himself.

love, for one another, taking the kindest care of families and sang, worked, prayed, feasted and worshiped in common. We have even their mode of conducting the meetings of what they called the congregation; and it is surprising to see the similarity in this respect to the meetings of the older unions of *thiasoi*, *hetæra* and *collegia*, which we have previously described.³⁰ They appear exactly alike.

This economical institution of mutual care which was the prime incentive of the great labor organizations of the ancient world, could expect only to succeed in establishing a mere microcosm from its communal code. It had to struggle two thousand years, in terrible and often bloody vicissitudes, amid opposition by others, ignorance of its own, perversities of ambitious lusts and blind, groveling forces of opposing power. It had to undergo the retarding influences of kings and priests. These for ages swerved it often from its course; and it often well-nigh foundered on the rocks of resistance. Struggling in such tempests it is marvelous that it did not sink to rise no more. Yet it jostled into the creating of a vast church organization. Imperfect as it is, let us hope that it may yet be weaned from its despoilers who have abused and unhinged it, and come back so perfected as to re-adopt the original course pursued by the designers and planters.³¹

The similarity between these unions and those of the Greek *eranos* is quite surprising. They all follow the

³⁰ They all maintained the microcosmal form, whether Jews or Gentiles, always in apparently strict conformity with the inscription upon the eleventh of the Twelve Tables at Rome. Renan, *Life of Jesus*, Eng. trans., p. 146, gives us a complete *thiasos* of contemporary Ephesus, or Rhodes, where these organizations swarmed: "A Judaism outside of Jerusalem had no clergy proper; any person arose, read the lesson of the day, *parasha* and *haphtara*), and added to this a *midrasch*, or commentary entirely personal, in which he set forth his peculiar ideas. This was the origin of the '*Homily*' of which we find the complete model in the same treatises of Philo. The congregation had a president *ἀρχισυνάγωγος*, elders, *πρεσβύτεροι*, a *hazzan*, *ὕμνητης* or appointed reader or beadle, envoys, *Ἀπόστολοι* or *Ἄγγελοι*... and a *schammarsch* or sacristan, *Διάκονος*." This corresponds exactly with the scheme of the earlier *thiasos*."

³¹ Hermas, *Similitude*, V., 15-21, gives a few hints on what, in those early times the first planters dared to hope for. The society in this parable, is the master or lord. He owns a slave. This was a common thing even for the *eranos*. The father going abroad, entrusts his vineyard to the slave who is a workingman, typical of the faithful and good. This poor person though having nothing, feels an incentive to good citizenship unnatural to ordinary servants. He trims the vineyard and works so faithfully that the master on his return is delighted and makes him free and an heir with the rest of the children. Plenty of food and clothing, are given and the enfranchised bondman and his children all come into the common fold on equal footing. Thus the early church was an emancipator, and more an economic than a religious instrument.

model of the political state, which, as we have seen, was a regulation legalized by an early statute. M. Foucart says they were intensely secret but otherwise they were in character exactly the same as that of the outside political state.³² By this it is safe to draw, that the poor by means of their societies were multitudinous tiny republics, or microcosms of a future great socialistic state which it is yet too early to see reproduced, because so vast a politico-economic perfection is impossible in two thousand years of individualism. But these myriad republics were nevertheless actually experienced and enjoyed not alone by the outside pagan world of proletarian outcasts using the *jus coeundi* but also by the early Christians. They prove on close examination of their inscriptions to have been a secret socialistic government. And Jesus had the hardihood which cost him his life, of blazing it forth to the open world. A devilish attempt, under the power of property was made to cover up facts regarding the economic half of the teachings of this good man. So much for the microcosm which is the family enlarged into the economic and inter-caring brotherhood. Based upon the state and the city governments, the theory of which was desired to be perfectly democratical, these Solonic unions thrive; and when Jesus came, he attempted to burst the narrow trammels of their awful secrecy and launch their plan forth to the open world. He who dared to pronounce them public, and worthy of endorsement by government at large was immediately arrested and hung upon a cross and the secret thing of socialism covered back into obscurity beset with contempt, and has not dared to reappear until to-day.

Leaving for a moment the all-important subject of the microcosms, we now proceed to discuss the ebionic or poor man's societies in that early time.

The typical name of this genus of Solonic unions is the *essenes*, although it had the various appellations of *ebionim*, *nazarenes*, *hemero-baptists*; and it may be well held in mind that a vast gulf exists between a history of

³² Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, p. 50: "Après avoir étudié dans le détail l'organisation des thiasés, des Cranes et des Orgeons, il faut maintenant apprécier leur valeur et leur influence."

"Leur gouvernement est fondé sur le même principe que celui des républiques Grecques: assurer à la société tout entière la gestion de ses affaires, soit par l'exercice du pouvoir direct, soit par un contrôle incessant de ceux auxquels il a été confié pour un temps fort restreint."

christianity and a history of the church. People ignorant of the history of christianity may with some applause of the dissatisfied moderns, claim that this institution has proved itself a disappointment to the working million who, as they learn the lie of their emasculate religion refrain in disgust from attendance at church, withered with the belief that it is "on the whole, a calamity." No one but the impervious university empiric will hereafter repeat these words. They may be true of the history of priest-power which forged out of the kuriakos the chains of Jesus, but that has little to do with the history of christianity. Christianity is the proclamation of the truths of socialism.

It is now well known that the ebionites, essenes and therapeutæ were about one and the same.³³ We are fortunately able to prove by Philo and others, including many inscriptions, that no difference exists between therapeutæ, essenes and thiasoi. In fact, the two names essenes and thiasoi are derived from the same Greek word.³⁴ All these powerful associations being in full scope during the reign of Tiberius it is important to know more about them.³⁵ Dr. Oehler shows us that the therapeutæ were the same as the thiasoi.³⁶ Dr. Lightfoot struggling to excuse the great swindle that turned christianity over to the monopolies of money and property is suicidal enough to say: "Their simple meals are sacrifices; their refectory is their sanctuary; their president is their priest." This language of itself gives the

³³Lüders, *Dionys. Kunst.*, p. 53, note 100: "Die ganze Gesellschaft der Schauspieler habe in älteren Zeiten *θίασος* geheissen." The essenes and therapeutæ both are now found mixed together with the *θίασος τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τέχνητων*.

³⁴ Philo, *Quod Omn. Probus Liber*, XII., 457: "Ἐσσαῖοι... διαλέκτου ἑλληνικῆς παρώνυμοι ὁσιότητος." Again § 13, p. 459: τῶν Ἐσσαίων ἡ ὁσιῶν, and again, *Frag.*, p. 632: "Καλοῦνται μὲν Ἐσσαῖοι, παρὰ τὴν ὁσιότητα, μοι δοκῶ τῆς προσηγορίας ἀξιοθέντες." This makes the derivation altogether Greek, as we proceed to show the etymons of the 3 great orders, and how by perversion of name by many dialects they are but one vast order in fact.

³⁵ Philo's ὁσιότητος, i.e., most excellent, or holy, is from ὁσιός, hallowed. It is derived out of *θίασος*, by doubling the σ, for a provincial dialect, as Philo calls it. Thus we have *ἔσσιος* for *θίασος*; or, as Epiphanius writes it, *Ἰσσαιός*, instead of *Ἐσσαῖος*. Some wrote it *Ἐσσαῆνος* and *Ἐσσηνος* and to offset this we find in the inscriptions of Asia Minor of that date, *θιασσῆνος*.

³⁶ Oehler, *MSS.*: "Θεραπευταί—Nach der im Sarapeion auf Delos gefundenen Inschrift. *Bull. Hell.*, VIII., 1884, p. 103, haben *θεραπευταί* eine Weihung dargebracht für den König Mithradates Eupator, *Bull. Hell.* VI., 1882, p. 332, nr. 28, enthält eine Weihung der *θεραπευταί* οἱ ὑπ' αὐτῶν... ἀπομνημοὶ für den Antiochus, die Königen und Demetrios." In adjoined numbers, Dr. Oehler cites a dozen or more inscriptions showing the ancient therapeutæ; and all proves that as early as Antiochus, these and the essenes societies were running hand in hand, doing the trade labor and in a prosperous condition in many cities of Asia Minor and the islands.

whole business away. He might as well admit the self-evident fact that they were pure trade and labor unions, which, living at the common table, under the communal code, and rapidly growing into a vast political power were voting for the officers who were pledged to give them the public work; and have confessed that the sanctimonious priests insidiously deprived them of this economical power and wimble into, and finally got their holdings, degrading their pure Solonic, self-help scheme into a hideous priest-power. This comes nearer to being the history of the church.

Ebionites were hemero-baptists, a term, which translated, means hand-to-mouth initiates; but of course they conformed somewhat to the common requirements of the cotemporaneous public.³⁷

Investigation reveals that the therapeutæ and the essenes were so nearly allied as to be one and the same alike in Asia Minor, Palestine and Egypt. They are now proved by several inscriptions to have worked hand in hand, during the reign of Tiberius, with the eranos, in effecting the emancipation of slaves. At Athens this eranos under the milder cognomen of the Egyptian and Syriac forms, was met with resolute and perhaps fatal resistance,³⁸ The inscriptions coming to light are acknowledged by the archæologist Oehler, to substantiate the supposition that they were intensely secret.

They were numerous at the time of Tiberius, and several new testimonies show them to have had the burial

³⁷ King, *Gnostics*, speaking of the Essenes, p. 1: "Their chief doctrines had been held for centuries before in many of the cities in Asia Minor. There, it is probable, they first came into existence as mystæ upon the establishment of direct intercourse with India, under the Seleucidæ and Ptolemies." This author here speaks of the "college of Essenes and Megabyzae, high priests of Diana," at Ephesus, the Orphics of Thrace, the Curetes of Crete, etc." He knows nothing of the common-place fact that the mysteries he mentions were no more nor less than the veil of secrecy, which as now, screened their actions; and still less does he know that they used these secrets to cover up their methods of furnishing each other with means of life from day to day. This important fact remained hidden until the schools of the national universities with their inquisitive and patient epigraphists found it abundantly verified in the inscriptions.

³⁸ Oehler, *MSS.*: "Θεραπευταί. Sie werden genannt in Weihungen an die Syrische Aphrodite auf Delos, *Athen.*, IV., 1885, p. 460 f, nr. 13-15; *Bull. Hell.*, VI., 1882, p. 489 nr. 4; 493, nr. 7. In den vier erstgenannten Inschriften erscheinen die Θεραπευταί als corporation neben den Athenern und den Römern, *Bull. Hell.*, VI., 1882, p. 501, nr. 24, enthält eine Verwünschung des Theagenes gegen eine Frau, welche eine deponirte Geldsumme, die wohl für die Freilassung gegeben war, (vgl. *Serapis* bei Freilassungen in *Chaironea*) unterschlagen hat; es ist dann die Aufforderungen an die Θεραπευταί der Ἀγυῆ Ἀφροδίτη (hier Adad genannt), gestellt bei ihrer Versammlung die Verwünschung auszusprechen."

attachment legalizing all that was visible in their organization under the *lex collegia tenuiorum*. The penetration of Neander and Mosheim has established that the christians took refuge in them during four monarchs' reigns, and for at least a hundred years were closely allied and confounded with them. They were everywhere and were as much Greek as Egyptian or Roman; and they abounded in Phœnicia, Syria and Palestine, under one communal code but having a number of co-related names.³⁹ They are found to have invariably possessed the common table so popular and economical throughout the ancient world; and it was by this invaluable usage that they were able to head off the speculations of the provision rings which have been the bane of every age.⁴⁰ Renan also in his life of the Messiah several times declares that the *therapeutæ* of Philo were a branch of the Palestinian *essenes*.

We now proceed to state what is known of the influence of these organizations upon the founder of christianity. Seemingly to hide this, doubt and uncertainty have covered it. Every contamination, such as the Tübingen school has been jumbling the evidence. It is even denied that Jesus existed.⁴¹ He is proving a strictly

³⁹ Neander, *Hist.*, I., p. 59^{sq.}, drawing all possible from Philo, who seems to have considered both orders as about alike and directly interlinked, says the therapeutic life was godly. They were Hebrews; they were composed of men and unmarried women; ascetic, contemplative; dwelt quietly on the borders of Lake Mœris; resembled anchorites; shut themselves in *σπηλεια, μοναστήρια*; were the same as the *essenes*; "evident that one was a translation of the other." I., p. 61; both repudiated slavery; and the observant and scholarly commentator joins to this that one may pre-suppose a relationship with Christian sects; sort of nominal Christians; an element of mysticism in both.

⁴⁰ Lüders, *Dionys. Künst.*, p. 12, declares that the etymon *φρατρία* will stand good for every other term; note 26: "In übertragener Bedeutung steht wohl auch *φρατρία* in weitestem Sinn für Verein; *φρατρία ληστών*, Liban, *Decl.*, IV., p. 645, *τῆς τῶν πολυπραγμῶνων φρατρίας*. Plut., *De Curios.*, XV., 147.... So auch *συμμορία κολάκων*, Liban, *Epi.*, 84, p. 46; vgl. *ποιησώμεθα φρατρίας καὶ συμμορίας καὶ ὅπερ ἐπὶ συμποσίων οἱ πένητες ποιούσιν, ἐπειδὴν αὐτοὺς ἕκαστος ἐστίατωρ ὀλόκληρος γενέσθαι μὴ δύναται, συνελθόντες, ἅπαντες ἐξ ἐράνου τὴν εὐχίαν εἰσφέρουσιν.*" Joa, Chrysost., *Ad Antioch.*, Hom. XI., 122, vgl. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 1013."

⁴¹ Josephus, (see *index* in v. *Josephus* and *notes*, quoting his words), has been found by the scholars of very recent times to be exceedingly accurate. Several allusions of his, long denied, have lately turned out true to the inscriptions. Josephus, like Diodorus, is being searched by the scholars afresh. It has been long denied that his references to the founder were genuine. This is now no longer denied, but it turns out that he spoke of him about six times in his various works; and some of them are being quoted word for word. According to Whiston, it is found that Josephus was a member of the *Essenes*. Euseb., I., 11, of *Eccles. Hist.*, quotes verbatim the evidence of Josephus regarding "James, the brother of Jesus who is called the Christ." Origen, *Comm. on Matth.*, 234, says that Josephus spoke of "James the brother of Jesus, who was called the Christ." Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.*, I., 1, gives evidence of the truthfulness of Josephus

historical character and many of the best early writers have reluctantly admitted it, but their testimony has been suspiciously, not to say purposely covered up. The hawking champions of property and power, startled by a foreboding that the advocates of labor cannot longer be withheld from a knowledge of true reasons why this intellectual giant drove the money-changers out of the temple, and seeing that christianity, if realized, will also drive them to the wall, are loud against him to this day and pronounce his personality and his doctrine false. We propose to turn the light upon their blasphemy. We

and quotes his celebrated words in *Antiq.* XVIII., iii., 3. See *supra*, note, 18. Jerome is witness for the genuineness of Josephus in *De Vir. Illust.* where the *Antiq.* of Josephus, XVIII., iii., 3, is quoted *verbatim*. Georgius Syncellus, *Chronicon*, p. 339, written, A.D. 790, quotes Josephus. Platini, *De Vitis, Pontif. in Christo*, written 1480, quotes *Antiq.* XVIII., iii., 3, *verbatim*, adding that there was subjoined this: "And the famous name of Christians taken from him as well as the sect, do still continue in being." Photius, *Codex*, liber., XLVIII., speaks of a now unknown book of Josephus whose title was *Substance of the Universe*. In this work the Jewish historian speaks of "The Divinity of Christ." Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, I., II, speaks of Josephus having in his 20th *Book of Histories*, spoken of the vengeance which fell upon the Jews who slew James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus who was called the Christ. Origen, *Comm. in Matth.*, p. 234, more than confirms it. James was murdered A.D. 62. Cassidorus, *Hist. Tripartit. e Sozomen*, about A.D. 510, gave a synopsis of Josephus' celebrated statement in *Antiq.*, XVIII., iii., 3, subscribing to its being genuine. Again Josephus mentions that "they dared put Jesus to death," written by Sozomen, A.D. 640. Theophilact., *Joan.*, lib. xiii., wrote about A.D. 1080, that he read from Josephus the following: "The city of the Jews was taken and the wrath of God was kindled and Josephus witnesses also, that this came upon them on account of the death of Jesus." Godfredus Viterbriensis, in his *Chron.*, p. 366 *Vers. Rufini.*, about A.D. 1240, confirms and quotes his passages. It is found that Josephus again mentions Jesus in *Antiq.*, XIX., ix., 1, in very plain terms, as follows: "So he assembled the Sanhedrim of Judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, whose name was James." Ambrose, on Hegesippus, *De Eccid. Urb. Hierosolym.*, lib. II. cap. 12, quotes Josephus' entire mention in *Antiq.*, XVIII., iii., 3, for genuine in A.D. 360. Nicephorus Callistus, *Hist. Eccles.*, lib., I., p. 90-91, about A.D. 1360, confirms Josephus as a very reliable writer. Fourth mention: Suidas, *Voce Jesus*, wrote A.D. 980, speaking of Josephus as follows: "Jesus officiated in the temple with the priests." "This," says Whiston, in his *trans.* of Josephus, II., p. 571, "was taken from Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, who says it was copied from his *Memoirs of the Captivity*." John Malela, *Chron.*, lib., X., A.D. 850; Glycas, *Annual*, p. 234, written A.D. 1120; Johann Zonaras, of Byzantium *Chronicon Annalium*, 12th century, all wrote substantiating the truthfulness of the writings of Josephus. Cedrenus, A.D. 1060, quotes Josephus, *Antiq.*, XVIII., iii., for reliable, in his work, *Σύνωψις Ἱστοριῶν*. Mercurius, in *Actis Sanctorum*, tom. V., p. 149, ap. Fabric, Joseph., p. 61, about A.D. 900, quotes the *Antiq.*, XVIII., iii., 3, *verbatim*. Both Suidas and Thophylact quoted from the *Memoirs of the Captivity of the Jews*, a book never heard of in modern times, written by Josephus, which repeatedly spoke of Jesus Christ. It must have been of great value. Gibbon, *Hist. Decl. & Fall.*, chap. xvi., note 36, says the mention of Josephus "is no vulgar forgery." Isodorus Pelusioto, pupil of Chrysostom, lib. iv., *Epistolarum*, 225, A.D. 410, quoted the *Antiq.*, XVIII., iii., 3, *verbatim*. But Jesus, also the christians, are mentioned—See *index* in v. incl'g. catch-words:—by Trajan, Hadrian, Pliny, Dio Chrys., Abgar, Pontius Pilate, Galen, Lentulus, Vopiscus, by four of the Augustan historians and several other Pagan writers, and indirectly, by Celsus, Lucian, Porphyry, Macrobius, and numerous inscriptional monuments, the most surprising of them being innumerable finds of under-ground Rome, all proving him a historical character.

are exhibiting proof that the socialism called christianity was cheated of its economic half. It was swindled out of the most important moiety of its usefulness and goodness; robbed of the great life-sustaining nourishment, leaving little but famishing lies which allure but do not satisfy. Awakened by their own energy, men discover that the church is far astray from the original plan of salvation. Millions refuse to longer attend the mocking ordeals of a vapid and hypocritical cant, which like the ancient official paganism despoiled the name of religion and made a history of christianity the antithesis of a history of the church.

The evidence that the ebionites, essenes, nazarenes, therapeutæ, thiasoi, hetæræ, eranoi and collegia were one and the same the world over, under the Solonic dispensation is now overwhelmingly manifest through the modern schools of science; and we shall hereafter only bring them in as occasion requires. We proceed to pen down our history of the proletarian classes then struggling under the emperor Tiberius. This powerful man after receiving the official report of Pilate, and his predecessor who wrote out the life, goodness, elevating influence and moral perfection of Jesus, which is preserved but denied, is said to have been a christian.

Matthew, the author of the book of the New Testament, says: "Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehen of Judæa in the days of Herod the king, behold there came wise men from the East to Jerusalem." It is well known and fully acknowledged that this Herod who was a brutal ruler and possessed enormous power over the province, was exceedingly jealous, and being a narrow-minded and cruel man, he caused the indiscriminate slaughter of male children, even including his own son,⁴² in order to drag them all under the broadaxe at one swoop, so as to make sure the death of the prophetic Jesus among the victims of his jealous rage. But ah! there had been "wise men" there, who had taken precautions against his assassination. Something secret and extraordinary occurred right here at the manger or cave which is believed to have been told in the ungarbled original history given by Matthew, written in the Hebrew-Aramaic tongue, now known to have been the

⁴² See *supra*, note 19, of this chapter, quoting the anecdotal mention by Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, who gives the brutal speech of Herod, on being told that his own son was one of the victims;—"my swine rather than son."

language used by St. Matthew in his Gospel, but lost in somebody's tergiversation and ruin in after days. However, Origen, the scholar, scientist, student and recorder of facts,⁴³ having read the afterwards burned history of Hegesippus who wrote the story soon after the crucifixion, had in it, means of knowledge at his command. His book on the history of the doings of Jesus and his disciples, was burned because it told of the ebionitic essenes who had mellowed the field into which Jesus planted and careered, and gave an account of the escape of Joseph, Mary and the infant to Egypt. Justin, who was also very early, read it and from him we have the story.⁴⁴ But the remarkable and tell-tale point of this certainly wonderful revelation, which he traces back to a prophecy of Isaiah, is, that no distinction is made in the name of the secret order into which the three were initiated. He calls it all Mithraic, corresponding to the emperor Hadrian's letter to Servianus when in Alexandria, about A.D. 129.⁴⁵ It is known that the Mithraic mysteries were the essenic, therapeutic and eranic; and Hadrian is but one of a dozen good

⁴³ Origen is now admitted as the most learned of all the ancient commentators on the events recorded in the New Testament. He was attacked by the prelates and despoilers of christianity and driven to banishment and finally to a cruel death.

⁴⁴ Justin, *Dial. Cum Tryphone*, cap. lxxviii., speaks of the wise men who found the infant with Joseph and his mother in a cave. These travelers who acted very strangely after the fear and hostility to the three innocents leaked out, initiated all three into the secret order. It had to be done so that the brotherhood could spirit them away under the impenetrable umbrage of their mystic veil. Thus they could run them through the "underground railroad" as used to be said of the escape of American slaves to the free North and Canada, and land them safe in Egypt among congenial therapeutic brotherhoods who provided for their welfare: "Καὶ ἀνιστόρησα ἦν καὶ προέγραψα ἀπὸ Ἡσαίου περικοπὴν, εἰπὼν διὰ τοὺς λόγους ἐκείνους τοὺς τὰ Μύθρον μυστήρια παραδιδόντες, ἐν τόπῳ ἐπικαλουμένῳ παρ' αὐτοῖς σπηλαίῳ μνεισθαὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν." κ.τ.λ.

⁴⁵ We give the statement of Flavius Vopscus, as he quotes Hadrian's letter to his friend the consul Servianus, together with his statement, that of Phlegon the literary freedman who first wrote it in his book. Vopscus certainly must have seen Phlegon's now lost work: after himself mentioning the Christians, in *Saturnino, Augustan Hist.*, XXIX., 7, Vopscus says: "Ac ne quis mihi Ægyptiorum irascatur et meum esse credat quod in literas rettuli, Hadriani epistolam ponam ex libris Phlegontis liberti ejus proditam, ex qua penitus Ægyptiorum vita detegetur: 'Hadrianus Augustus, Serviano Consuli, Salutem, Ægyptium, quam mihi laudabas, Serviane carissime totam didici levem, pendulam et ad omnia famæ momenta volitantem. Illic qui Serapem colunt, Christiani sunt et devoti sunt Serapi, qui se Christi episcopus dicunt, nemo illic archisynagogus Judæorum, nemo Samarites, nemo Christianorum presbyter non Mathematicus, non haruspex, non aliptes. Ipse ille patriarcha cum Ægyptum venerit, ab aliis Serapidem adorare, ab aliis cogitur Christum. Genus hominum seditiosissimum, vanissimum, injuriosissimum, civitas opulenta, dives, fecunda, in qua nemo vivat otiosus. Alii vitrum conflant, alii charta conficitur, alii linthones, omnes certe cujuscumque artis et videntur et habentur. Podagrosi quod agant habent, habent caesi quod faciant ne chiragrici quidem apud eos otiosi vivunt.'"

writers about Christ who declares mithraism to have presented the closest resemblance to christianity of all other pre-christian secret unions or brotherhoods.

Brought up under the veil from boyhood, Jesus knew how to keep secrets.⁴⁶ Baring Gould, in his work on the Last and Hostile Gospels, charges that this Messiah did not perform his miracles as a Jewish prophet, but holds that he was brought up in Egypt as a magician and an initiate into the then heathen temples, which were those of the Mithraic and therapeutic doctrines. According to Renan, who spent money and a useful life in his research into the character, surroundings and influence of this great teacher, it seems that at best, "He was a stranger and without influence, long compelled to lock his discontent within himself and to communicate his sentiments only to the initiate society which accompanied him." According to the Ogdoad, VIII., the Decad, X., the Duodecad, XII., in all 30, the 30 aeons or periods of his life are accounted for. If, as recounted in the strange averment of Irenæus, Jesus lived to be fifty years old, from the time he was initiated by the wise men, and started for Egypt, he would be a long time in Egypt learning arts, and still be thirty years in Nazareth with his father who soon returned to his home. This accounts for his powerful secret organization and possible sympathy and personal acquaintance with John the Baptist.

Search as we may, the knowledge we are able to collect of the years that elapsed between the mysterious escape from Judæa and the first intimations of him, when working at his father's trade in and about Nazareth, is extremely meager. It is acknowledged that he studied magic in Egypt. Some accounts prove him to have learned this and taught it for the economic purpose of earning a living during the danger period of his sojourn in Africa. There are some apocryphal stories about his infant precocity which are silly. He learned to be a good, intelligent member of his union; he learned to speak Greek; he had some knowledge of Syriac and Coptic; he was probably acquainted with Philo; he returned to Jerusalem and took more instructions from

⁴⁶ *Matth.*, xvi., 20; xvii., 9; *Mark*, viii., 30; ix., 8. "Τότε διεστείλατο τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μηδενὶ εἴπωσιν, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός." For *Mark*, viii., 30: "Καὶ ἐπέτιμησεν αὐτοῖς, ἵνα μηδενὶ λεγῶσι περὶ αὐτοῦ."

Gamaliel and other learned and good rabbis of the sanhedrim, and went back to his father, an educated and accomplished young man..

He was not above work. This is the everlasting glory of Jesus. Without this world-renowned attribute he is of no possible figure in a history of the ancient lowly. All commentators, all historians, all adverse critics, the Gibbons, Lucians, Porphyries, Paines, Ingersols, even the Jews unite in the unequivocal admission that he was a lowly, humble, refined, faultless, perfect working-man, against whom never a fault of movement or slip of judgment was discovered from the days he trod the earth down to this our living age.⁴⁷

Jesus, if we must dismiss the report of Irenæus, was fourteen years old when Tiberius assumed imperial power at Rome. Jerusalem, the land of the Jordan, Nazareth, Bethlehem, belonged to Rome. This emperor, on hearing of his crucifixion which he regarded as an illegal deed, was incensed and punished the procurator Pontius Pilate severely for his part in it. Tiberius was so pleased with the good works of Christ that he wanted him enrolled among the gods of Rome.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Renan, *Jesus*, pp. 272, 3, 4, *trans.*: "He was probably a man of prodigious voice, eloquence, magnetism and sweetness, and knew how to make the most of them." Again p. 104: "Jesus has no visions. God does not speak to him from without, God is in Him; He lives in the bosom of God, by uninterrupted communication; he does not see Him but understands Him, without the need of thunder and the bush, like Moses; or of a revealing tempest like Job; or of an oracle like the old Greek sages; or a familiar genius like that of Socrates; or of the angel Gabriel, like Mahomet...." It is impossible to raise any question of race, or to inquire what blood flowed in his veins."

⁴⁸ Tertullian, *Apol.*, V.: "Vetus erat decretum, ne qui Deus ab imperatore consecraretur, nisi a senatu probatus... Tiberius ergo, cujus tempore nomen christianum in sacellum intravit, annuntiata sibi egi Syria Palæstina quæ illic veritatem istius divinitatis revelaverat, detulit ad senatum cum prærogativa suffragii sui. Senatus, quia non ipse probaverat, respuit." The senate in refusing was thus snubbing the emperor who is reported by more than one to have been converted. Mr. Gibbon, chap. xvi., note 105, however, thinks that the senate's refusal to place Jesus among the divinities of Rome did not raise the anger of Tiberius, who contented himself with his treating of all christians kindly during the four remaining years of his life. Eusebius and Chrysostom confirm this story of Tiberius. Elios Lampridius, cf. Lardner, *Testimonies*, III., p. 157, testifies that Alexander Severus caused the statues of Abraham, Christ, Orpheus and others to be placed in his lararium or sanctum sanctorum, among others. Neander, II., p. 7, tells us that Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine, and a pagan, gave a place for Christ, by the side of the Gods of Rome. Among the Elagabulan deities is the inscription, Deo Cyrist, in Parietinis Fregellarum, Orell, no. 1915. Gorius, *Monumentum sivi Columbarium*, p. xxiv., speaks of the tendency, at the time of Tiberius and Claudius to amalgamate the Roman deities into one: "Veluti Deam Pantheam, deorum omnium cultu et attributis honoratam fuisse." He cites the contents of the Columbarium as furnishing inscriptional evidence. In fact, it is well established by history and monumental relics that not only Tiberius but Hadrian and Heliogabalus apotheozed Him; and it looks as if Tiberius, in spite of the senate, actually set up his statue in the imperial

The archæologists inform us that while there were no baptists among the Hebrews of the Mosaic dispensation, the great Solonic organizations were baptist. This we have shown in our chapter on that subject.⁴⁹ In perfect conformity with this new discovery that Jesus founded christianity in the Solonic brotherhoods, we find him, on his return from Egypt, courting the acquaintance of John the Baptist. Commentators are confounded in this mysterious event. That there was an initiation of baptism here the whole christian world seems agreed. But nobody until now knew that thousands of genuine labor unions existed at that moment in and around those regions.⁵⁰ They thronged in Lower Syria a few leagues up from North Palestine when this occurred and the stone monuments of dozens of them are found among the ruins of Tyre, Sidon and Joppa in Phœnicia twenty-five miles away. Even fishermen's inscriptions are now being picked up on the famous bank of the Sea of Galilee. The Nazarenes were mithraic ebionites taking their name from Nazareth and nobody knows how long they had been there. There was contempt for them because they were an organization of working people. Renan has shown⁵¹ that Nazareth was a city of contentious discussions and that its people were greatly dissatisfied with the condition of things in Judæa, about the time of Herod's reign. They were almost at a point of revolt. The miseries they were compelled to submit to galled their conscience and manhood, and they appear sad in their beautiful topographical retreat, one of the most charming in the world to this day. It is a

lararium. The much-quoted historian of the Cæsars, Elius Lampridius, in *Alex. Severus*, XVIII., 43, brings more evidence showing that Jesus was long deified by the pagans at Rome: "Capitolium septimo quoque die, cum in urbe esset, ascendit, templa frequentavit. Christo templum facere voluit. eumque inter deos recipere. Quod et Hadrianus cogitasse fertur, qui templa in omnibus civitatibus sivi simulacris jusserat fieri, quæ hodieque idcirco, quia non habent numina dicuntur Hadriani, quæ ille ad hoc parasse dicebatur; sed prohibitus est ab is, qui consulentes sacra reppererant omnes christianos futuros, si id fecisset, et templa reliqua desecranda." All this for the pagans who craved to have Jesus swell out of the environment of industry to which he belonged; but on the other hand, there was at a very early time a strong opposition by the workers' organizations themselves who claimed that to inflate their master to an aristocratic realm would be blasphemy, in the interest of priests, prelates and unearned wealth.

⁴⁹ *Supra*, in the preceding chapter.

⁵⁰ Augustine's curious passage in *Joan.*, V.: "Mithra Christianns est." is explained in this discovery. Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, I., p. 330, refers to this astonishing confession when he says: "Les membres des collèges professionnels et funéraires s'appelaient ordinairement *collogue*; c'est à dire membre du même collège; amici ou sodales; c'est à dire comrades et amis."

⁵¹ *Life of Jesus*, in his beautiful topographical dissertation.

monument to their honor as men, that they had the intelligence to revolt against the oppressions they were compelled to submit to.

This personage, amid these self-help organizations, in the year A.D. 30 or before, began to teach the already developed lore of truth. He explained with wonderful powers the necessities of a universal brotherhood and the ways of salvation from the tyranny we have described. In strict conformity with the law of Solon, which was now more than ever hated by the aristocrats desiring human slavery, he worked up an opposition to existing regulations. It succeeded. He next carried his conquest into Jerusalem, seventy miles to the south. He had already worked there as a scholar. He reappeared as a teacher. It is enough to say that he attacked the economic rather than religious conditions. He discovered that there was a gang of outside traders who were using the temple of Jerusalem as a market place for gains. No one dared to disturb them because like the stock gamblers of Lombard and Wall streets, they held the shining coins. Their wealth awed the common people. The sectaries and the Sanhedrim had submitted to the infamy from immemorial time, until the interests of all were one.

But in this master they found a match. He attacked these devils of dicker and money changers and drove them from the sanctuary. It was no mere verbal suasion; he whipped them out like dogs. They had long enough blasphemed justice and honor by turning the sacred temple into shambles of mercenary greed. They had proved by their desecrations that the love of money is the root of all evil. With a powerful hand, and he must have been a giant, he seized them and violently whipped them from the place. Inexpressibly graphic and terrible is the Greek of this master-stroke of the founder of socialism.⁵²

It is with reluctance that the student of human nature understands the unforgiving emotion of hate, especially when based upon the dissolute instinct of covetousness. To be interrupted from their methods of money-getting men will fortify their pretensions with a

⁵² John, ii., 15-16: Καὶ ποιήσας φραγελλίων ἐκ σχοινίων πάντες ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, τὰ τε πρόβατα καὶ τοὺς βόους, καὶ τῶν κολλυβιστῶν ἐξελεγε τὸ κέρμα καὶ τὰς τραπέζας ἀνέστρεψε, καὶ τοῖς τὰς περιστέρας πωλοῦσιν εἶπεν· ἄρατε ναυτὰ ἐντευθεν· μὴ ποιεῖτε τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς μου οἶκον ἐμπορίου.

clandestine villainy inspiring them to secret conspiracies with the officers of the law and cause them to work in secret, and form unions of their fraternities, powerful in numbers and bribing influence, such as to secure the friendship and support of fellow millionaires, prelates, politicians, kings and emperors. This was true in the case of the daring workingman who drove the ravenous corruptionists, stock gamblers and provision rings out of the temple of Jerusalem. Hatred and underhanded intrigue was soon to develop itself in the case of Stephen the proto-martyr. Jesus was a real workingman, born and raised among vigor-inspiring environments, with a feeling for the poor.⁵³ He went ahead, got down to the bottom, planted a vast scheme of political economy in the open world; it was secret before. True, he planted amid the mellow brotherhoods, loving, working for, and engendering sympathy among themselves, the creators and authors of sympathy, that grand and hitherto almost unknown emotion of the human breast; but they had not yet dared to lisp louder than with the still small voice that they had a soul, much less a right to herald to all the world the beautiful socialism. They had never dared to burst the trammels of contempt and danger and make of their plan an open political economy to the new salvation. No one could do this but the kath-egemon, long promised to come in the spirit and the flesh. No mighty military genius, with gilded trappings and kingly pageantry; no thundering potentate or pretentious heir to proud dynasties could work the salvation of the ancient men of labor. The proud Hebrew of the Mosaic law made the mistake of his life supposing this. The poor and lowly Jews, the brilliant workingmen both of that day and of this have perceived this fundamental fact that no messiah could succeed; none but a workingman born of the flesh who in humility makes the wealth of nations, builds means of enlightenment, invents, makes and nationalizes tools of labor to solve the problem and crumble pride and arrogance into dust.

It is probable that in Egypt he learned the trade of

⁵³Justin, *Cum. Tryph.*, 89. declares he was in the habit of working at making plows and ox-yokes: 'Τούτα γὰρ τὰ γεωργικὰ ἔργα ἐργάζετο ἐν αἰτηρωποῖς ὡν, ἀροτρα καὶ ζυγά. διὰ τούτων καὶ τὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης σύμβολα διδασκῶν καὶ ἐνεργῆ βίον. κ.τ.λ.

the dyers.⁵⁴ We have much to say in future pages about the dyers. They swarmed in Asia Minor, especially in the Phrygian Heraclia, Colossæ, Ephesus and Laodicea, and there is important Biblical mention of them in several other places.

The general teachings of Jesus were perfectly logical, and in harmony with the great words of Aristotle who told the world that men bound down to the awful miseries they were suffering in his time, could not be good citizens. That required some freedom and independence from the trammels of poverty and persecution. Under christianity, therefore, mind must be elevated to a susceptibility of good citizenship. The great trade organizations were ready. But the millions of members, all slaves or their descendants, were still too low, though now possessing some means to work out their lasting hope.

The teacher is now born. His coming business is to make the most of conditions. Economic misery must be cured.⁵⁵ Hermes Pastor, one of the earliest church fathers, proposed a cure but he was hounded down.⁵⁶ He wanted the cure, long in operation by the law and its method, celebrated as the brotherhoods, beautiful in mutual care. When the kathegemon came, he was taken in by the poor, but hunted by the aristocratic, of both Jews and Gentiles.

No shambling, floundering moon-calf could veer those centuries, unhinged by the Roman conquests, into line. Such an abnormality as a messiah to set none at liberty but Jews, and that by dint of a "conquering hero," was impossible. Another Athenion with a glittering wand

⁵⁴ *Apocryphal New Testament*, Lord, 1821, p. 21: "There are several stories believed of Christ, proceeding from this Gospel; as that which Mr. Sike relates out of La Brosse's *Persian Lexicon*, that Christ practiced the trade of a dyer, and his working with the colors; from whence the Persian dyers honor him as their patron, and call a dyehouse a shop of Christ." The legend tends to explain the *κνριάκος* of which wonder we make revelations from the archæologists; and it may be that the boy actually lived in Persia."

⁵⁵ Aristotle, *Problem.*, XXX., 10, as paraphrased into Latin by Aulus Gellius, XX., 4: "Quibus causis scenici artifices plerumque pravi esse solent? Nonne quod studii sapientiæ minime participes sunt, consumpta in necessaria attificii meditatione vitæ maxima parte, et quod plerumque nunc in intemperantia, nunc in egestate degunt? Ex utroque enim pravitas oritur." Spend most of their time in extreme poverty. True! and in intemperance; just so. Then with the great Aristotle, we ask, how could they be good citizens? They could think of nothing but the lowest things.

⁵⁶ Hermes Pastor, Book III., *Similitudo*, x., cap. 4: "I say that every one ought to be saved from inconveniences. Both he who is in want and he who suffereth inconveniences in daily life is in much torture and necessity. Whoever rescues a soul from physical necessity, will win for himself great joy."

the world did not want. Another fire-spitting Etnus with a reeking sword would have made memory shudder. Another Spartacus could only thrill, much less convert the dizzy race. A demokolax flunkying before Jehovah for authority to twirl this Armageddon of Jordan into a lake of blood and vengeance would not do. Such a return to the irascible and concupiscent champions, who had failed, would have been a libel on the masterly prowess of a jostling movement, the only true representative of the working millions. Mosaism never taught that labor is the highest majesty of the universe. Thus when the teacher came to openly proclaim and redeem the world, though meekest and humblest of the lowly, he was "King of Kings." This Being is still fresh among us, a factor in the science of mechanics, whether spiritual or actual we care not—a representative of progress; an eternally evolving light, blazing down upon civilization, political economy, mutual love and care, in beams of the old salvation. The Hebrew workingman, shrewd, brilliant, progressive, is again to do as did great numbers of his ancient kindred. He will be swift to rediscover these almost demolished foundations of his own masonry and rehabilitate the socialism he himself has planted. If to-day there exists a race that deserves to be proud of its record it is that of the Hebrew. We are in possession of abundant evidence that it was the Semitic workingmen who in Asia were foremost in planting the enormous Solonic organization which stands at the bottom of this history. It was not the quarrelsome aristocrats of Jerusalem whose sectaries fought for a rich messiah, gorgeous and studded with military trappings, raging like Bar Cochbas.⁵⁷

This species of messianism never failed to end in disaster. They wanted nothing of the kind. In Asia Minor, Babylonia, Corinth, Philippi and Greek-speaking

⁵⁷ Doane, *Bible Myths*, pp. 423-437, under the denomination of *Angel Messiahs*, gives a list of those he has discovered: Guatama, Simon Magus, Basilides, Menander, Manes, Appollonius and others. Bar Cochbas came last. He had an army of 25,000 men, and proposed to win by the sword, but was met and defeated by the Romans, during Hadrian's time, A.D. 130-138. General disaster attended his ravings, which ended in the second destruction of Jerusalem; see Mosheim, *Eccles. Hist.*, I., 2nd century, part I., cap. I., § 11: "The Jews, first under Trajan, A.D. 116, and afterwards under Adrian, A.D. 132, led on by Bar Cochbas who pretended to be the messiah, laid insurrection against the Romans; and again suffered the greatest calamities. A vast number of them were put to death, and a new city, Ælia Capitolina, was erected on the site of Jerusalem, which not an individual of the miserable race was allowed to enter."

islands, as well as Palestine, the Jews prove a potent factor in the great organized industries. Their archaeological remains give them their history in words more reliable than those of any historian and these words, with the crude slabs of stone which perpetuate them are in the scientific collections of many museums. Thus the ancient work of the Solonic dispensation is proved to have been largely Semitic. The Hebrews, environed by persecutions, shadowed by police, insulted and followed by proconsular spies, wisely mixed with the Gentiles for safety, and in a common bond, they all safely worked out the economical problem of life together.⁵⁸

We are far from any wish to present a disquisition in opposition to the Mosaic dispensation. Up to that time no legal instrument of its enormous value had spread such wholesome civilization. But as it is well-known and adhered to, alike by Jew and Gentile, and comes down to us in power and glory in the sacred writ, it stands in no need of our criticism and scarcely of our mention. It was a religion. We are not writing a religious book. Solonism was not a religion. The point in contact with a history of the strictly ancient unions is aimed only at the working people. It is seven hundred, or perhaps one thousand years more ancient than the Solonic law. It provided for slavery; the new *jus coeundi* emancipated slaves by buying them honorably from their masters; the *jus coeundi* had no king, no nationality, knew no distinction between man and man; mosaism built cities and gilded temples; the *jus coeundi* built only cabins of comfort and modest *kuriakoi*, and *scholæ* for business details and common tables, and had miniature groves and fountains for symposiums, banquets and communal joys. The one was proud, majestic, ambitious; the other humble, occult, undefended, except through the reverence of reigning despotism for the sacredness of lawgivers who, in almost a reign of Saturn had established it; the one paid its attentions to shrines, rites and sectaries; the other delved in industries, built up the wealth of nations, while burrowing in secret, and unknown; the one wanted its Sampsons and Solomons; the other held and hugged a code of inter-mutual love which created a vast emotional

⁵⁸ John, xiii., 29: Τινὲς γὰρ ἐδόκουν, ἐπεὶ τὸ γλασσοκόμον εἶχεν ὁ Ἰουδας, ὅτι λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ἀγόρασον, ὡν χρεῖαν ἔχομεν εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν, ἢ τοῖς πτωχοῖς ἴνα τι δῶν. See also John, xii., 6; Acts., ii., 44-45; iv., 32-34.

sympathy, with father and mother, and sweet fraternal affection—new creations which christianity made its foundation and corner-stone. Such is proved by both inscriptional and literary evidence to have constituted the difference between the Mosaic and Solonic dispensations, in the time of the emperor Tiberius.⁵⁹

The fact can no longer be suppressed that the men at the head of this great movement were all initiates into secret orders. They were to keep secrets.⁶⁰

Perhaps there is no more important point in this history than the discovery that the Jews of Phrygia at least the theatre of the celebrated seven churches and many others, did not follow the Mosaic, but the Solonic code. This is being elaborated by the archæologists.⁶¹ We

⁵⁹ Smith, *Dict. of the Bible*, Bost., III., p. 2372, explains how Paul tore away from the strictly Mosaic law and discarded circumcision, which certainly would act in reconciling the brotherhoods in Asia Minor and outside of Palestine. Large numbers of the Jews left the synagogue, a purely Greek word and term, and joined the "House of the Lord." Neander, *Planting*, chap. iii.: "It is highly probable that he was first induced by his dispositions with the Hellenists, to present the gospel on the side of the opposition to the Mosaic law." *Amer. Cyclopædia in verb. Hebrews, Epist. to the*: "It aimed to demonstrate the preëminence of Christ over Moses and the angels of the Lord; and of the gospel over the law; and to show that the latter was typical of the former and was abolished by it." *Acta. Sanct. Theod. Ancyra.*, § 3: "Paganorum atque Judæorum magnum numerum adduxit ad Ecclesiam." Mac Muller, *Origin of Religion*, p. 130, thinks Mosaism and the Zend Avista one and the same. They were both heirless to the producers,

⁶⁰ Matth., xvi., 20; xvii., 9; Mark, viii., 30; ix., 8; Philo, *De Vita Contemplativa*, § I., ii., p. 41., declares that the brotherhoods of Egypt, now proved by inscriptions found in Asia Minor to be one and the same with the industrial unions of the *θίασοι*, *εράνοι*, *εταίραι* and *collegia*, took care both of the body and the soul: "Θεραπευταὶ καὶ θεραπευτῖδες καλοῦνται, ἧτοι παρ' ὅσον ἰατρικὴν επαγγέλλονται κρείσσονα τῆς κατὰ πρόεσις (ἢ μὲν γὰρ σώματα θεραπεύει μόνον, ἐκείνη δὲ καὶ ψυχὰς. κ.τ.λ.) ἢ παρ' ὅσον ἐκ φύσεως καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων, ἐπαιδευθήσαν θεραπεύειν τὸ δν. κ.τ.λ." Thus they must have an eye on their bodily comforts, their souls and the common wealth. They were the original coöperative commonwealth. The etymological kinship of *therapeutæ*, *essenes*, *θίασοι*, and the rest, we have already shown. Lüders, *Diogenes. Künst.*, p. 53, note 100, who in enumerating the fifty different trade unions attached to, and bound together in the Great Gemeinde, argues that they are pretty much one root-word. Renan, *Life of Jesus*, p. 206: "From this moment he takes the position no longer of the Jewish reformer but of a destroyer of Judaism."

⁶¹ Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, II., p. 538, no. 390 bis: "Αὐρ. Ρούφος Ἰουλιανῶ β'. ἐποίησα τὸ ἥρῳον ἐμαυτῶ κὲ τῇ συμβίῳ μου Αὐρ. Τατιανῇ ἰς ὃ ἔτερος οὐ τεθῆ, εἰ δὲ τις ἐπιτηδεύσι, τὸν νόμον οἶδεν τῶν Εἰουδῶν." Dr. Ramsay, substantiating his opinion by that of Rheinach, here sees that this law referred to in the inscription, though applying to the Jews, was not the law of Moses. He remarks: "This remarkable epitaph may be added here though not Christian. The law of the Jews cannot here be the law of Moses;" and farther on he says: "The phrase is suggestive of a strong Jewish element in the Apameian population." The truth seems to be, that, it being given among quite a number of unions, though undesignated in the brevity of this particular inscription, Aurelius Rhuphus was a member of a union; and it was not the Mosaic law referred to but none other than the Solonic. Ramsay, p. 63, also in states, referring to this same 390: "In no. 390 bis, the law of the Jews is mentioned, and we recognize there, with S. Rheinach, not the law of Moses, but a regulation agreed upon." Of course it is the "ἢ ὑμῶταφοι" clause of the Solonic law. See *Digest*, XLVII., Tit., xxiii., le. 4, which we have so frequently quoted.

are reminded by Strabo that the Dionysian artists, an early times suffered great persecutions from the kings. Atalus drove them on account of a strike, first to Myonesos, later to Lebedos and they had already been banished to Ephesus, where they formed great and powerful unions, retaining Teos as their central seat. As great numbers of them were Jewish working people we give his statement.⁶² The learned Ramsay declares in his books on the Phrygian cities that "The Jewish community in Apameia is as old as the foundation of the city. (B.C. 280-261) The seleucid kings used the Jews as an element of the colonies which they founded to fasten their hold on Phrygia and other countries," and on the same page he adds that: "when Antiochus the great, desired to strengthen his cause in Phrygia and Lydia, about B.C. 200, he brought two thousand Jewish families from Babylonia and settled them in the strongholds granting them lands and guaranteeing them his favor in every way."⁶³

Long before that they had settled throughout Asia Minor, especially in Phrygia and Syria, but the strange and difficult problem is that they do not seem to have been the real Mosaic Jews, for they came from the river Euphrates, not from Palestine. There is a legend that a great split-away occurred at the Exodus.⁶⁴ We have inklings that they did not faithfully follow the law of Moses, and furthermore that these were the true proletarian Jews. Be this as it may, it has now come to the surface that those found organized so numerously in trade unions, or as the archaeologist Ramsay erroneously designates them "guilds," were followers of the strictly Solonic dispensation. In our division of this chapter engrossing Sections Claudius and Nero, we

⁶² Strabo, *Geog.*, 643: "Ἐνταῦθα (ἐν Λεβέδῳ) τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν ἡ σύνοδος καὶ κατοικία τῶν ἐν Ἴωνίᾳ μέχρι Ἑλλησπόντου, ἐν ἣ πανηγυρίζετε καὶ ἀγῶνες κατ' ἔτος συντελοῦνται τῷ Διονύσῳ· ἐν Τέῳ δὲ ᾧκον πρότερον τῇ ἐφεξῆς πόλει τῶν Ἴωνων· ἐμπροσθῆς δὲ στασιῶς εἰς Ἐφεσον κατέφυγον. Ἀτταλοῦ δὲ εἰς Μυόννησον αὐτοὺς καταστήσαντος μεταξὺ Τέῳ καὶ Λεβέδου, πρῶτονται Τηοὶ δεόμενοι Ῥωμαίων, μὴ περιδείν ἐπιτειχιζομένην σφίσι τὴν Μυόννησον, οἱ δὲ μετέστησαν εἰς Λεβέδον δεξάμενοι τῶν Λεβεδίων ἀσμένως διὰ τὴν κατέχουσαν αὐτοὺς ὀλιγαρχίαν."¹

⁶³ Ramsay, *Cit. and Bish.*, *Phryg.*, II., p. 668.

⁶⁴ *Exodus*, chap. xxxiii.. The story told in this chapter appears incomprehensible. There was a prodigious revolt against Moses, over the golden calf. They came to blows. No less than 3,000 of the naked creatures were slain. If there is any truth in this history it was all in regard to the law of Moses, which a large number of them refused to obey. It seems certain that a large portion of these Jews split away and left for unknown countries.

shall give the amazing discovery of the shoemakers of Shoemakers' Street in Apameia, as ably discussed by Ramsay, showing an important christian plant into an old pagan temple on the acropolis of Kelainai, in a suburb of this once great city.⁶⁵

Driven out of Mesopotamia by the Asian kings and forced to settle in Asia Minor, the Jews flourished greatly by industry in their western homes, and existed there in large numbers under Roman domination. But they maintained their old love of kindred and were following somewhat the Mosaic law when, as reported by Cicero they sent their gold to Jerusalem.⁶⁶

But we find that these Jews referred to are those who had traffic in proconsular Rome, as Cicero distinctly states. The Jews who really founded the unions of Laodicea and Hierapolis were from the Euphrates; and the reason we hear so little about them is that they did not write history, but like other workingmen, contented themselves with the plenitude of their industries, writing no records, except those we find on their monuments, made compulsory under the law.

Everything found on the stones tends to prove that what all the Jews of Asia Minor at that time or during the reign of Tiberius did was to get a living.⁶⁷ All goes to show that the poor were denied the right to enjoy their own religion⁶⁸ based on the salvation of the flesh. According to their business-like and correct tenets, the household was first of all, to be provided for. It was so originally with the christians.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Strabo, *Geog.*, 576: "Ἐἵτα Ἀπάμεια ἐ Κιθωτὸς λεγομένη καὶ Λαοδικεῖα αἰπερ εἰσι μέγιστα τῶν κατὰ τὴν φρυγίαν πόλεων." 577: "Ἀπάμεια δ' ἐστὶν ἐμπόριον μέγα τῆς ἰδίας λεγομένης Ἀσίας δευτερεῖον μετὰ τὴν Ἐφέσον."

⁶⁶ Cicero, *Pro Flacc.*, 28: "Sequitur auri illa invidia Judaici. Quum aurum Judæorum nomine quotannis ex Italia et ex omnibus provinciis Hierosolyma exportari soleret, Flaccus sanxit edicto ne ex Asia exportari liceret ... multitudinem Judæorum, flagrantem nonnumquam in concionibus, pro republica contemnere gravitatis summae fuit. ... Apameæ manifesto comprehensum ante pedes prætoris in foro expensum est auri pondo centum paulo minus, Laodicea viginti pondo paulo amplius." The Jews of that locality, economical and business-like, locked their gold up also in their own secret coffers. Some idea has been calculated regarding the Jews residing in these localities of Phrygia from the figures of Cicero and Josephus, who make it out that they were numerous.

⁶⁷ Lüders, *Dionys. Künstl.*, p. 116, cites inscriptions tending to prove that they had no other idea than that of making a living.

⁶⁸ Tac., *Annal.*, xv., 34: "Odium generis humani." Suetonius, *Nero.*, 1. What caused the Romans to persecute the new sect of Christians was the fact that it deprived the public treasury of much income.

⁶⁹ Irenæus, *Adv. Har.*, V., xix., 22, all through. "Unless the flesh was saved, the Word would not have taken upon it the flesh. Again, quoting Paul, see *Adv. Har.*, V., xvi. 2: "Now the final result of the spirit is the

All goes to prove that the official religion of the pagans was a tyrannical hinderance to the winning of bread. All the arguments engrossed in this study show that there was an old and deep rooted wrong forced upon the poor by the official religion everywhere. When the climax was reached the revolt arrived in form of christianity. Then the Roman persecutions began. Really they began before the Advent. When christianity was planted into the mellow ground of the secret unions, the members took it up with wonderful alacrity.

Directly adjoined to this split-away from the dispensation of Moses, of a large portion of the Semitic race calling themselves Hebrews and who in reality were the laboring and outcast class, there appear some harmonies, both historic and biographical.

The celebrated Logos of Plato, brought down by Philo, James and John, if not Matthew in his Hebrew Gospel, gives mankind a set of laws. They are being confirmed by the recent discoveries of Grenfell and Hunt in Egypt and are attributed, some to Matthew, some to Jesus.⁷⁰ But it is not the law of Moses. It is plainly something emanating indirectly from the Twelve Tables of Rome, and this logos was the basis of the collegia. Gibbon plainly tells us that Plato had the logos, and that the Alexandrian school originally Hebrew, borrowed it from Plato.⁷¹ The author of the astute work entitled *Supernatural Religion* mentions what we think a fundamental but natural mistake of Justin in stating that Socrates and Plato borrowed the remark so ad-

salvation of the flesh;" and again, V., xii., 6, Irenæus argues that work of this kind was considered equal to work of procuring food and shelter. He talks about handiwork and tradesmanship, regarding them as above all other things. So Barnabas *Epist.*, chap. iii.: "To us, behold this is the fast which I have chosen, not that a man should humble himself, but that he should do away with every bond of iniquity until the fastenings of harsh agreements restore to liberty them that are bruised, tear up the unjust engagements, feed the hungry, with bread, clothe the naked, bring the homeless into the house, nor despiseth the humble."

⁷⁰Oxyrhynchus Papyri, of Grenfell and Hunt. *Gleanings From Egypt*, (From the London Lancet.) "It is probable that no archaeological literary discovery of the expiring century will in future be so celebrated as the rescue from the sands of the Egyptian Fayoum of more than 10,000 complete and fragmentary papyri by the explorers acting under the auspices of the "Graeco-Roman Branch of the Egyptian Exploration Fund," a society which, at its commencement, owed much to the late Sir Erasmus Wilson. A selection from some 1,400 documents, the greater part of which are at Oxford, and the minority at the Ghizeh Museum, has been made by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, who have carefully edited about 150 of them and published them with a commentary in a volume entitled "*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Part I, with Eight Fac-simile Plates.*" First in importance is the now famous portion of the 'Logia' or a collection of 'Sayings of our Lord.'"

⁷¹Gibbon, *Decl. and Fall.*, chap. xxi and note 13.

mired and studied by Justin, from Moses.⁷² But Justin was not alone in placing Plato and others among the pre-Christian christian immortals.⁷³ Irenæus thought so too. A large part of the Jews, during the reign of Tiberius adopted this Logos or Word. A large part, including official Judaism repudiated it, and denounced John, Peter, the apostles and disciples. It aimed at salvation.

The recent exhumation of the so-called Logia of Egypt, about one hundred miles from Cairo up the Nile, at the site of the ancient Oxyrhynchus, brings to us long-lost evidence that he encouraged the oppressed and declared that he was with them and one of them. One Logion or Word, as John called it says: "Raise the stone and there you will find me; Cleave the wood and I am there."⁷⁴ This perfectly agrees with Origen who says he made ox-yokes and did many sorts of hard work in wood.⁷⁵

But what salvation was, is a question now rising above the pretensions of priest-power which, like that

⁷² *Supernat. Rel.*, N. Y., 28 Lafayette Place; p. 567: "Justin, who frankly admits the delight he took in the writings of Plato. *Apol.* II., 12; *Dial. Cum Tryphone*, II., 2⁹⁹, and other Greek philosophers, was well aware how Socrates and Plato had enunciated the doctrine of the Logos. *Apol.*, I., 60, although he contends that he borrowed it from the writings of Moses." The same with Theophrastus.

⁷³ Irenæus, *Adv. Hæc.*, III., xxv., 5, quoting Plato, *De Leg.*, iv., 715, 716, *Timæus*, vi., 29, declaring what constitutes the Word, and says it is the beginning, the End and the Mean.

⁷⁴ We quote the new-found Oxyrhynchus Papyri containing a Word or Logion of Jesus, saved from the dry sand-dunes of the Egyptian Fayoum by Grenfell and Hunt, with their translation, who think Matthew penned it to his dictation; labled *Λόγια Ἰησοῦ*, Oxyrhynchus, frontispiece, I., plate I., p. 3; "Ἐγειρον τὸν λίθον καὶ ἐκεῖ εὕρησαις με, σχίσον τὸ ξύλον καὶ ἐγὼ ἐκεῖ εἰμι λέγει Ἰησοῦ." This they render as follows: "Jesus saith: Raise the stone, and there you will find me; cleave the wood and I am there." It is clear from these words that he was preaching to working people such as masons who work in stone, and carpenters, and all sorts of woodworkers, and inspiring them to take courage for he is there as one of them, and as their representative.

⁷⁵ See the preceding note. The papyrus containing the 5th Logion says: "Λέγει Ἰησοῦς ὅπου ἐὰν ὡσιν β'. οὐκ εἰσὶν ἄδικοι καὶ ὅπου εἰς ἔστιν μόνος, λέγει, ἐγὼ εἰμι μετ' αὐτοῦ. So secret was he that a part of it was written in figures, i.e; β'. Now come the significant words of the epigraphist who found this treasure and noted it with some remarkable plates, in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, pp. 3 ff.; and aided by valuable restorations of Prof. Blass. They write as follows: "I. We have here part of a collection of sayings, not extracts from a narrative gospel; II., that they are not heretical; III., that they were independent of the four gospels, in their present shape; IV., that they were earlier than A.D. 140 and might go back to the first century." Then they add: "These propositions especially the first, have, and it is natural, been warmly disputed. Attempts have been made to show that the Logia were extracts from the Gospels according to the Egyptians (Harneck), the Gospel according to the Hebrews (Batiffol), or the Gospel of the Ebionites (Zahn); and gnostic, mystic ebionitic or therapeutic tendencies, according to the point of view have been discovered in them. On the other hand our position has received the general support of critics such as Swete, Rendel, Harris, Heinrich and Lock."

of money and property stalks over the magnificent economic schemes of the first fathers, and consigns the salvation of Jesus to realms of reasonless etherialism; whereas, in fact he preached for the redemption of his people from the monstrous impositions and cruel brutalities of force. No doubt can longer exist that in the early apostolic age covered by Tiberius, there began a strong contention over the scope of this economic movement for the salvation of humanity.

It was the celebrated *logos* which the densely secret essenic and therapeutic organizations possessed. And so far they were christians, regardless of date. But in fact, the great ancient Solonic communities did not vary materially from christians.⁷⁶ There recently has been set afoot an accusation that christianity is a failure. Supposing that it was ever a part of the official religion this might be true. But it was not so. These accusers would have us understand that, if let alone, the old pagan world was rapidly achieving all that is being accomplished by christianity. True, Aristotle,⁷⁷ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plutarch, Strabo, and Pliny have presupposed this in words which they have dropped, yet not one of them all, not even modern commentators, not even Neander, can see that christianity lies undetachably on the bedrock of the labor problem. This alone, when understood in its true, economic and ethical sense, will overturn the "calamity" accusation. In truth, too much

⁷⁶ The Rev. Robert Taylor, *Diagnosis*, chap. ix., in describing the therapeutic essenes, of whom he thinks Philo was a member and which recently found the inscriptions prove to be one and the same as the *eranos* and *collegium*, says "They had, 1, parishes; 2, churches; 3, bishops, priests, and deacons, 4, they observed the grand festivals of christianity, 5, they pretended to have apostolic founders; 6, practiced the same manners which distinguished the immediate apostles of Christ; 7, used the scriptures which they believed to be divinely inspired; 8, and which Eusebius himself believed to be none other than the substance of our Gospels; 9, the same allegorical methods of interpreting these scriptures which has since obtained among christians; 10, and the self same manner and order of performing public worship; 11, having missionary stations or colonies; 12, having missionary stations at Corinth, Galatia, Ephesus, Philippi, Colossae and Thessalonica, precisely such circumstances as those addressed by St. Paul in his respective epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, and 13, answering to every circumstance described of the state and discipline of the first community of the christians to the very letter; 14 and all this is nothing new in Philo's time, but of their long established society and venerable antiquity." In the *Diagnosis*, p. 97. Dr. Taylor further claims that Alexandria was the cradle of christianity.

⁷⁷ Aristotle *Eth. Nic.* II. 3, in some of his deep thoughts holds that the external suppresses the internal and consequently nothing is hidden from omniscience, touches this *diagnosis*: "Οτι δε τα δεσνα ερωτησιν δεσινος γινεσθαι, τα ερωτησιν δεσινος Αγγελος, ορας η τοσυντα οια εινε δεσινος ερωτησιν. Διαι τον δε εινε ο οια τοσυντα ερωτησιν. Αλλα εινε ο οια ερωτησιν δεσινος ερωτησιν." "It is because the questions are asked of the questions that the questions are asked, and the questions are asked of the questions that the questions are asked, and the questions are asked of the questions that the questions are asked."

has been expected from, and accredited to, the pagan cult. It did not sweeten or mollify human sympathy. That was done by the myriad secret unions whose one mysterious tenet was love and care. They were labor unions. This is admitted. The labor cult, then is the original christianity. But a conspiracy forced it to at last give way and surrender the world up to the dark ages infinitely more pagan than christian.

Pursuing the discussion of Hebrew history to find the cause of these people not adhering to the law of Moses, we strike some remarkable points showing that some of them did and some did not.⁷⁸ According to the Bible this earliest refusal to conform to his law was what broke the heart of Moses in his old age.

A long period of awful revolts and massacres followed, lasting from 975 to 712 B.C. Now we have it for a certainty that the Solonic dispensation began just about this time and we are coming to a knowledge that this great branch of Hebrews adopted and made it a basis of their secret labor organizations; for we find them in the inscriptions all through that quarter of Asia. It is here that a little-known circumstance of Abgar, king of Edessa which we are about to recount, stands as a landmark in the history of christianity, though it did not begin until a few months before the crucifixion.

The conflict of the north-eastern against the Palestinian Hebrews never ended, even until the latter were destroyed; for their utter destruction may in a measure be attributed indirectly to the unquenchable rage of Abgar. We leave this for its proper place, merely remarking here that Abgar revolted against Judah for the murder of Jesus who was himself from the north, not far from Edessa, his city; and a close inspection reveals that Jesus was following, not the Mosaic, but the Solonic dispensation, its *jus coeundi* of labor organization and all their secret mysteries which Abgar the king certainly upheld.

⁷⁸ *Amer. Cyclop.* art. *Hebrews*. "The name Israel applied to his (speaking of Abraham) descendants, at a much later period, about B.C. 712, at the dispersion of the ten tribes." Again: "The division of the state into two separate kingdoms was consummated B.C. 975;" and proceeds to explain that the north was settled by the tribe of Benjamin which reached east of Jordan and was called Israel, and fell to Ephraim, Manasse as the house of Joseph. This is remarkable, since it would comprise Syria, Phrygia and in all probability Edessa and Abgar's Mesopotamia. This information is continued in words as follows: "The southern, from their chief tribe called Judah, had the advantage of possessions, the sanctuary of the old capital, and of being supported by the Levites and the priests, who gathered around it."

King Abgar a Roman subject under Tiberius, pitied, endorsed, believed in Jesus, and even prevailed upon Tiberius to avenge the crime committed on him. The letters they wrote are extant. Modern investigators are aligning themselves upon the old belief that the story is in substance true, but has been guffawed down by the bejeweled ones who could not make their methods prosper by allowing such a common sense plan of human economies to live. The story of Abgar accentuates the success of Solonism in Asia Minor as well as the thrift of christianity there, and the early christianizing of Armenia through the great Gemeinde, east and west.

It may now be said, on the dispersion of the tribes, that the re-discovery and rehabilitation into history, of the Solonic dispensation and *jus coeundi* account for a phenomenal hiatus in the annals of the Semitic race. It leads to the causes, inklings of which crop out of the disastrous anarchy among the idol worshipers, from the Exodus down to B.C. 920, and elucidates the Mosaic law—that greatest of all codes until Solon, and stoutly claimed to be the greatest until now. This law was so refined as to be impossible to tatterdemalion throngs of poor, uneducated working people constituting the populations. These were too simple-minded to obey, at so early an epoch, the noble and grand refinement inherent in that great rescript. The laboring, jostling majority thus wrangled and struggled under pure polytheism from B.C. 920 to 712, fighting and wallowing in obstinate self-sufficiency and failure, until there came from Athens and Rome the great law of economic organization compelling them along with everybody who had to work for a living, under penalty of death to organize in trade unions.⁷⁹

The story of King Abgar of Edessa and his correspondence, which it is as certain as history, took place between himself and Jesus, and after the crucifixion between him and the soon afterwards murdered Emperor, must now be recounted. We have already shown that this is not a religious work, but a history of these prosy facts. It is only necessary to prove that the men who came out as champions of labor's cause were

⁷⁹ See *supra*, p. 83, and note 1, quoting the *Euterpe* of Herodotus, giving assurance that originally the organization was made compulsory on pain of death, as well as the reasons why.

historical characters. If this cannot be established, much of our history falls to the ground. As Abgar was an undoubted historical character this singular correspondence is of great importance because it helps to clear up some of the dark lacunæ making fitful and uncertain the newly discovered evidence that the Hebrews who are found in the inscriptions adopted and for ages thrived under the *jus coeundi* of Solon in such numbers in Asia Minor and North Phœnicia. Abgar's story therefore becomes the more important; for it helps to prove that the extreme northern and eastern Semitics, of whom this king was one, approved the Solonic rather than the Mosaic dispensation. Of course the great and all-important injunction of Moses, that which characterizes mosaism as above all other legislation, elevating mankind above competing paganism, and fully endorsed as a new commandment in the teachings of Jesus, was retained in the *jus coeundi*, the full text of which is lost. Solonism, then, which provided by secret labor organization for food, clothing, shelter, a place of refuge under the ægis of a god for those chased and threatened, and a method of emancipation from slavery by means of the sale of bondmen to a god, was fortified by the powerful injunction of the great law-giver Moses, that we love one another. And thus the Solonic law of the lowly was perfect.

King Abgar wrote a letter to Jesus.⁸⁰ He had a disease of some sort, difficult if not impossible to cure by the ordinary methods of the physicians. He was of a credulous turn, and living in that age of sorcery and occultism, became convinced, on hearing of the healing powers of the great master who was walking about in

⁸⁰ The letter was translated from Eusebius' *Hist. Eccles.*, I., chap. xiii., many centuries ago. It reads: "Abgarus, King of Edessa, to Jesus the good Saviour, who appeared at Jerusalem, greeting:

I have been informed concerning you and your cures, which are performed without the use of medicines and herbs.

For it is reported that you cause the blind to see, the lame to walk, do both cleanse lepers, and cast out unclean spirits and devils, and restore them to health who have long been diseased, and raise up the dead.

All which when heard, I was persuaded of one of these two, viz: either that you are God himself descended from heaven, who do these things, or the son of God.

On this account therefore, I have written to you, earnestly to desire that you would take the trouble of a journey hither, and cure a disease which I am under.

For I hear the Jews ridicule you, and intend you ill.

My city is indeed small, but neat, and large enough for us both."

(Signed,) Abgar, King of Edessa.

Judæa, performing wonderful deeds, and whose name had spread world-wide, was possessed with so strong a faith in him that in about the year 32 he sent a legate named Ananias with a letter asking Jesus to come to him, and guaranteeing him safety and comfort.⁸¹ The messenger arrived in due time and after some waiting was ushered into the presence of Jesus, and presented the letter. This teacher on due reflection returned Abgar his answer in epistolary form. The epistle which is likewise vouched for by both Origen and Irenæus, also mentions the picture of Jesus called the Veronica which accompanies the letter. Abgar kept it. The missive was received by the king who regarded it with such veneration that he had it inscribed among the records of the

⁸¹ Lest any person should doubt as to the dignity of this letter we quote from men of standing and literary qualities, words regarding this correspondence: Myers' *Konversations Lexikon in verb. Abgarus*: "De Unechtheit der beiden von Eusebius bewahrten Briefe wurde schon 494 vom Papste Gelasius ausgesprochen." Gibbon, *Idea, & Fall*, chap. xlix., with note B, refers to Lardner, *Heathen Testimonies*, I., pp. 297-309, and cites Cave, Grabe, Tillemont and the celebrated Addison as firm believers in the *Abgar Letters*. In the text, Gibbon speaks of the "Correspondence of Christ and Abgarus, so famous in the days of Eusebius." *Ante Nicene Fathers*, VIII., 651-743; *Ancient Syrian Documents*: "King Abgar aided the christian plant of Thaddaus at Edessa, time of Tiberius and it flourished until Trajan. Then terrible persecutions occurred, lasting until A.D. 320. Edessa, now Orfa, was a Syrian portion of Armenia, subject to most terrible religious persecutions, iconoclastic wars, etc. The *Syriac Documents* embrace *Letters of Abgar & Jesus*; *Story of King Abgar*; *Teaching of Addaus*; (Thaddaus), *Teaching of Simon Cephas who is Peter*; awful torture and death of *Shorbil*; awful torture and death of *Baranna*; *Martyrdom of Deacon Habib*; of *Shamuna*; of *Guira* and vast numbers of the more common of mankind." Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.*, I., cap., 13. The *Apocryph. N.T.*, Lond., 1724, pp. 43-44, in *Prolegomena* says: "The first writer who makes any mention of the epistles that passed between J. C. and Abgar, is Eusebius, Bishop of Cesarea in Palestine. For their genuineness he appeals to the public registries and records of the city of Edessa in Mesopotamia where Abgar reigned, and where he affirms that he himself found them written in the Syriac language. He published a Greek translation of them in his *Histories*, I., c. 13. Dr. Parker and other divines have strenuously contended for their admission into the canon of the scriptures. The Rev. Jeremiah Jones observes that the common people of England have this *Epistle* (of Jesus) in their houses in many places fixed in a frame, with a picture of Christ before it; and seriously regard it as the word of God, and a genuine letter of Christ." *The Amer. Cyc.* art. *Gnostics*, discoursing on the subject, says: "Bardasanes who flourished about A.D. 161, in the city of Edessa, now Orfa, where he was the trusted friend of King Abgar. . . . He was the author of hymns which remained in favor of the Eastern church, and inflexible in his hostility to paganism." The celebrated "Nyzzies," pairs, companionship, are the invention of Bardasanes. On the whole the evidence connects Edessa very plainly with the $\delta\alpha\sigma\sigma\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\omega\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\omega\varsigma\ \tau\omega\varsigma\ \Lambda\epsilon\delta\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\omega\tau\omega\varsigma$. Two things are noticeable. No one doubted the genuineness of the Abgar Episode until Pope Galatius, all at once condescends to proffer us his wisdom condemning them. But he lived at the time when popes and prelates were conspiring to mutilate, burn and destroy, not this alone, but thousands of invaluable testimonies. The other point in their favor is based upon the Diocletian massacre in A.D. 303. Dr. Ramsay, *Cities & Bishops of Phrygia*, Vol II, pp 507-509 declares that the massacre utterly exterminated the Phrygian and he might have added the Syrian population; so that the whole church was killed out and no more inscriptions could be found, written after that date.

city of Edessa, in the public registers.⁸² It was seen by Eusebius and entered upon the pages of his histories. It remained for centuries to be seen and consulted by all men and was well known to Bardesanes, and later in A.D. 460, to Moses Chorenensis who entered it on the pages of the celebrated ancient Syriac Documents, whence it formed a part of the history of Armenia.⁸³ The great Mosheim⁸⁴ is on record as admitting in a vague manner the truthfulness of this story; and Cureton, the translator, who became celebrated by his researches in ancient Syriac literature, expressed his belief that the Abgar episode is authentic.⁸⁵

When this monarch heard of the conduct of the Jews at Jerusalem in causing the crucifixion of Jesus he was incensed. It appears that he was on some military mission with an army, and encamped on the banks of the Euphrates when the information, with its details reached him. Boiling with indignation, he wrote to the emperor Tiberius at Rome a letter, in which he demanded vengeance against the awful crime.⁸⁶ This letter is also

⁸² *Letter of Jesus to King Abgar*, found by Eusebius inscribed in the registers and public records of the city of Edessa, in the Syriac tongue that was translated by him into Greek; Origen and Irenaeus speak believably of it.

"Abgarus, you are happy, inasmuch as you have believed on me whom you have not seen.

For it is written concerning me, that those who have seen me should not believe in me, that they who have not seen me might believe and live.

As to that part of your letter which relates to my giving you a visit, I must inform you that I must fulfill all the ends of my mission in this country and after that be received up again to Him who sent me.

But after my ascension I will send one of my disciples, who will cure your disease and give life to you and all that are with you."

(Signed)

Jesus.

⁸³ Abgar wrote a letter to Ardechès, also recorded by Moses Chorenensis, in his *History of Armenia* which reads in part as follows: "I know that you have heard of Jesus Christ, the son of God whom the Jews have crucified; Jesus who was raised from the dead and has sent his disciples through all the world to instruct men."

⁸⁴ Mosheim, *Eccles. Hist.*, I., First Century, Part I., chap. iii., § 7. *Letter of Christ to Abgar*: "There are respectable writers who state that Abgarus, King of Edessa, being dangerously sick, sent a letter to Christ imploring his assistance: and that Christ not only wrote an answer to the king, but also sent him his picture.....I see no very weighty reason for altogether rejecting the whole story."

⁸⁵ *Ante-Nicene Fathers, Letters of Jesus to Abgar, and of Abgar to Jesus*. Vol. VIII., p. 648. *Memoirs of Edessa. Introduct*: "Here the Edinburgh commentator says that Cureton firmly believed the letters to be genuine. Cureton according to Dr. Wright, was going to write down his convictions, but died. Dr. Wright says: "He (Dr. Cureton) was himself firmly persuaded of the genuineness of the Epistles attributed to Abgar, King of Edessa, and of our Lord; an opinion which he shared with such illustrious scholars as Baronius, Tillemont, Cave, R. Montague, Bishop of Norwich, and Grabe."

⁸⁶ *Letter from Abgar to Tiberius, Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VIII., p. 655: "Letter from Abgar to Tiberius. Abgar at the river Euphrates, wrote to Tiberius for vengeance on the Jews for crucifying Jesus, thus; "I have been wishing to go up to Jerusalem and lay her waste inasmuch as she has slain

extant. Tiberius who was also very deeply impressed, returned an answer.⁸⁷ Being involved in some insurrection with Spain he was temporarily prevented from consummating the wish of Abgar to destroy Jerusalem; but he discharged from office, and disgraced the vacillating, more than half converted and christianized procurator of Judæa, Pontius Pilate, stationed at Jerusalem.⁸⁸ Abgar had actually demanded this in various letters.⁸⁹ The emperor returned to Abgar an immediate and very respectful answer.⁹⁰ In this letter the emperor confirms both the statement that he had dismissed and disgraced Pilate and that he had received the official account of that procurator on the whole affair. This report and that of Lentulus, predecessor of Pilate, both of which have been sorely discounted, are extant.⁹¹ The

Christ." Cureton and five other great scholars and critics, including Baronius and Tillemont, believe that this correspondence between Abgar and Tiberius and Abgar and Christ is reliable." It is certainly to be regretted that the death of Cureton occurred before he published his statement which he had promised, since it might have revealed more on the recedite problem

⁸⁷ *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VIII., p. 705, *Ancient Syriac Documents. Histoire d'Arménie* par Moïse de Chorène, or Moses Chorenensis, A.D. 460. Answer from Tiberius to Abgar's letter: This apparently authentic letter begins as follows: "Tiberius, emperor of the Romans, to Abgar, King of the Armenians, Greeting:" Then, after acknowledging receipt of King Abgar's letter to him he mentions Christ by name as follows: "Though we had already heard several persons relate these facts, Pilate has officially informed us of the miracles of Jesus." Again, as evidence of the allegation that Tiberius was a christian, he says, "We have commanded all those whom Jesus suits to receive him amongst the gods." In this letter the name Jesus occurs again once; and the name "christians" once.

⁸⁸ It was largely at the suggestion of Abgar who exercised a powerful influence on Tiberius, that Pilate was disgraced.

⁸⁹ A letter from Abgar to Tiberius, preserved in the *Ancient Syriac Documents* and quoted by Moses Chorenensis in his *History of Armenia*, A.D. 460, is at our command. It begins: "Abgar, king of Armenia, to my lord Tiberius, emperor of the Romans, greeting:" After a few opening platitudes he continues: "The Jews who dwell in the cantons of Palestine have crucified Jesus, after so many acts of kindness, so many wonders and miracles wrought for their good." The name Jesus occurs once again in this letter and Christ, once.

⁹⁰ *Ancient Syriac Documents Teachings of Thaddæus. Letter of Tiberius to King Abgar of Edessa:* "And Tiberius wrote and sent to King Abgar; and thus he wrote to him." After the opening clause, Tiberius says: "Concerning what the Jews have dared to do in the matter of the cross, Pilate the governor also has written. . . . Because of a war with the people of Spain who have rebelled against me, which is on foot at this time, I have not been able to avengo this matter." A few lines later he says: "The Jews did not act according to the law. On this account as regards Pilate who was appointed governor there by me, I have sent another, to his disgrace, and dismissed him because he departed from the law. . . . For the gratification of the Jews he crucified Christ, who according to what I hear concerning Him, instead of suffering the cross of death deserved to be honored and worshiped." This is in response to another letter from Abgar to Tiberius which is also extant.

⁹¹ Meyer's *Konversations-Lexicon*, in verb *Lentulus* (Publius): "Augeblich der Amtsübergänger d. d. d. l. t. u. s. o. l. l. in einem Brief abgedruckt im ersten Bande der *Magdeburgischen Centen* in Mich. Neander's *Apoerypha*, und in Grynkäus's *Monumenta Patrum Græcæ Scriptura*, an den römischen Senat geschrieben haben, der eine Charakterdarstellung Jesu enthält."

author of the remarkable recent work on Supernatural Religion seems in doubt⁹² although his ambiguous words express what we look upon as equivalent to a powerful endorsement of their authenticity since he uses an edition of the Apocrypha seventy years later than the one before us, and which we have not seen. However, the assurance of their authenticity is greatly emphasized by Cureton, who gave his life and talent to research among Arabic and Syriac literature of that quarter of the East. He was in the act of writing out his convictions on this subject when he died. 1864. It is known that during the Middle Ages the Saxons and Britons used to hang up these letters in their rooms as palladiums.⁹³ Cureton, Baronius, Tillemont, Cave, Montague, Grabe, according to Dr. Wright, were firm believers in the letter of Jesus, and most of them contended that it should have been preserved in the Gospel canons.

Thaddeus, one of the seventy, was commissioned, after the Pentecost to carry the tidings to Edessa.⁹⁴ There is valuable ancient history confirming this. Tacitus tells us that there was, in the Parthian kingdom governed by Abgarus, a man named Addus, now found to be Addæus, or Thaddeus, possessing great power among the people.⁹⁵ The time covered by this annal of

⁹² *Supernat. Rel.*, Edition 2 vols. in one, M. G. p. 234, admitting that far from Eusebius being the first to mention the *Abgar Letters*, they were published by Irenæus and Origen centuries before Eusebius. He says half doubtfully, half believingly: "Does anyone believe the letter of Jesus to the prince of Edessa to be genuine because Eusebius inserted it in his history, as an authentic document, out of the public records of the city of Edessa?" But he mentions that the quotations of Irenæus and Origen are from the original letters, although this is averred by the *Apocryphy* of 1790. Note, in the *prolegomena* of the *Apocryphy* of 1721., Lond., we read: "For their genuineness he, Eusebius, appeals to the public registries and records of the city of Edessa, Mesopotamia, where Abgar reigned and where he affirms that he found them written in the Syriac." Eusebius living so near, would have hardly dared to perpetuate so self-evident a falsehood as this statement were it not true; for there were many christian as well as pagan critics at the moment he wrote and who had a grudge against him and would have detected the lie. They were inscriptions and most undoubtedly truthful.

⁹³ *Σιδασην Θαδδαίου*: "Si quis hanc epistolam secum habuerit, securus ambulabit in paco," and this is preserved as a creed in the British Museum, for the common people. It lingers even to this day in some places.

⁹⁴ *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VIII., p. 569. Thaddeus and Abgar, *Teachings of Addæus* the Apostle. After Thaddeus had healed King Abgar, "Abgar commanded them to give to Addæus silver and gold. Addæus said to him: 'How can we receive that which is not ours? For lo! that which was ours have we forsaken as we were commanded by our lord; because without purse and without scrip, bearing the cross upon our shoulders, we were commanded to preach His Gospel in the whole creation.'"

⁹⁵ Tacitus, *Annal.*, VI., 31-32: We give his fragmentary segments for the reason that this great pagan historian certainly refers to Addæus, though he calls him Addus. What nails the suspicion fast is the secrecy he here bears witness to. It was in the old age of Tiberius and thus the time cor-

the celebrated historian, corresponds remarkably with that of his mention of Christ, recorded in his description of the conflagration of Rome.

Tiberius, soon afterwards wrote to King Abgar for whom he seems to have formed a strong attachment.⁹⁶ In this letter which may ever remain celebrated as a monument of early christianity, he mentions his attempt to prevail upon the Roman senate to allow Jesus Christ to be numbered among official divinities, a fact which is confirmed by Tertullian.⁹⁷ Neander does not consider Tertullian's statement reliable. Why not? There is everything to substantiate it. If we cannot believe history, then indeed all record of the past is founded in an opinionated incredulity and droops into chaos. The fact is, Tertullian, whose statements, like those of Diodorus, and Josephus, have forced themselves upon us through strictly scientific examination of monumental evidence, is now being researched, with care. His statements are found to agree with inscriptions and this places them beyond distrust of the merely empirical, as a careful and accurate historian.

Pilate like Jesus, becomes a historical character. After his disgrace, being endowed with riches, he wandered to Europe and settled at the old city of Vienne, twelve miles below Lyons, on the Rhone, a very ancient industrial city, at the mouth of the river Gère. There he died by his own hand.⁹⁸ We have visited a curious

responds: "Senectatem Tiberii ut inermem despiciens." Again: "Rege Artabano." Abgarus was one of the Armenian Artabani: "Parthis mittendi secretos nuntios validissimus auctor fuit Sinnaeces, insigni familia ac perinde opibus, et proximus huic Addus, ademptæ virilitatis." Accustomed to secret concert, Abgar could rely on Addus, or Addens with safety. This made him useful. But he is poisoned at last; *ibid.* cap. 32: "Valuit tamen utilitas, ut Addus specie amicitie vocatum ad epulas lento veneno inligaret, Sinnaecen dissimulatione ac donis, simul per negotia morarentur." This signification here of venenum may not be deadly poison; and Thaddeus may have only been lured and deterred from consummating a purpose. But he was poisoned and gotten rid of.

⁹⁶ The letter was in answer to one of Abgar which contained these words; "If you will not be angry with me, I will say that the conduct of the senate is extremely ridiculous and absurd." And in another; "Send another governor to Jerusalem in the place of Pilate who ought to be ignominiously driven from the powerful post in which you placed him."

⁹⁷ Tert. *Apol.* V., 25; See *Index in verb. Tertullian.*

⁹⁸ Records published in the *Ville de Vienne*, 1876, p. 44. and frontispiece presenting a picture of the supposed Pyramid of Pilate. Delorme, *Records: "La Pyramide de l' Aiguille."* This author mentions that there were three opinions of its antiquity, one of which, mentioned by Adon, in his *Chronicles*. "Selon l' autre, la même édifice nous offre le tombeau de Pilate, juge de Jesus-Christ qu' Adon, dans sa *Chronique*, dit avoir été exilé à Vienne par l'empereur Caius Caligula et s' y être donné la mort." Cf. Eusebius, *Chronicon*: "Anno tertio Cæii Caligulae, Pentius Pilatus, in multo incidens calamitates, propria se manu interfecit." Jarvis. *Introduct. Hist. Church.* p. 369.

monumental proof of this. It is situated at the open crossing in the lower end of the town. M. Joseph Piot the president of the bank of Beauregard very obligingly conducted the author to this weird, towering obelisk which the authorities of that busy manufacturing city claimed to be more ancient than Romulus, have wisely preserved. The pyramid shoots up in the air nearly a hundred feet and has an archway once used by teams. There is a legend that the great stone cap surmounting the pinnacle still covers a vast sum of gold coyly sequestered thereunder, for some future accident to disclose, besides documents which may add to our knowledge of the true history of Jesus Christ.

Mosheim speaks of the Epistle of Lentulus to the Roman senate concerning which we have made a quotation from Meyers' Encyclopædia.⁹⁹ Mr. Gibbon, in his own peculiar way of assassinating credulity in words fiery hot with sarcasm and irony, also gives some opinions regarding Pilate.¹⁰⁰ In the Ante-Nicene Fathers, the eighth volume on the four hundred and sixtieth page, we have the correct version of the report of Pontius Pilate to Tiberius on the crucifixion, sent to that August Cæsar in Rome. This comes down to us in two Greek forms, both of which are given here. The "man named Jesus" is mentioned six times in the first, and five times in the second Greek form, which has a manuscript at the close of the fourth paragraph, naming Jesus for the sixth time. Even the letter of confession from Pilate, intended as an official report but convinced the emperor of the splendid and blemishless personage that had been ignominiously sacrificed; the more poignant to the old man because this useless, undeserved

⁹⁹ See *Supra*, note 90, of this chap. Mosheim, 1., Part II., chap. 2. § 17, note 23: "The Epistle of Lentulus to the Roman senate describing the person and manners of Christ, Latin one page."

¹⁰⁰ *Hist. Decline & Fall*, chap. xvii., note 105: "The testimony given by Pontius Pilate is first mentioned by Justin. The successive improvements which the story has acquired, as it passed through the hands of Tertullian, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Orosius, Gregory of Tours, and the authors of several editions of the Acts of Pilate, are very fairly stated by Dom Calmet, *Dissert. sur l'Écriture*, tom. III., p. 651, etc." Pilate certainly wrote the letter to Tiberius and Gibbon acknowledges it with a smirk couched in language like this: "We are required to believe that P. Pilate informed the emperor of the unjust sentence of death upon an innocent man and divine person....that Tiberius....conceived the design of placing the Messiah among the gods of Rome; that the servile senate disobeyed, and Tiberius protected the christians from persecution." Nothing can be truer than this latter clause; and since Gibbon, much new information substantiates the whole story. The new proofs consist in inscriptional glyptics and some of them from the excavations at Rome.

supplicium of the cross was his doom. Against this, every manly instinct revolted, because it was the official punishment of the slave and the lowly. Pilot thus unconsciously became his own accuser; and it cost him his office and his life. The document is extant. "Upon Jesus Christ," he writes, "whose case I had clearly set forth to thee in my last, at length by the will of the people, a bitter punishment has been inflicted, myself being in a manner unwilling and rather afraid—a man, by Hercules, so pious and strict, no age has had or ever will have; but wonderful were the efforts of the people. . . . to have him crucified." This letter is certified to by Tertullian, and evidence recently discovered removes the doubts which long hovered over all the many priceless proofs, attacked as they were, and burned up, and ignored by the prelates who could not glory in power, if their darkening mists of theology should give way to honest historic records. Tertullian told the world enough to close the pratings of these later mutilators. He wrote: "All these things Pilate did to Christ, and now in fact, a christian in his own convictions, he sent word of Him to the reigning Cæsar who was at that time, Tiberius.¹⁰¹ Renan, in threading the story, says Pilate was so friendly to Jesus that they had a protracted interview and that Pilate's wife interceded for him, having had a dream premonishing her to beware and allow no hurt to befall him.¹⁰³

Nevertheless Pilate was afraid of the Jews, who were in a foment of insurrection, demanding the immediate death of the prisoner. He had not the determination of the occasion. He gave way to their importunities, signed the death warrant and took the consequences.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Tertull., *Apol.*, xxii., "Ea omnia super Christo Pilatus, et ipse jam pro sua conscientia Christianus, Cæsari tum Tiberio nuntiavit." But Tertullian, continuing, further declares that the Cæsars themselves were converted, as well as Pilate: "Sed et Cæsares credidissent super Christo, si aut Cæsares non essent sæculo necessarii, aut si et Christiani potuissent esse Cæsares."

¹⁰² Renan, *Life of Jesus*, Eng. trans. N. Y., pp. 323-325. Cf. *Matth.*, xxvii., 19, which is the best record of all these attestations: "Ἴδει γὰρ, ὅτι διὰ φθόνον παρέδωκεν αὐτόν, Καθημενον δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἀπέστειλε πρὸς αὐτόν, ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ λεγουσα· μηδὲν σοι καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ ἐκείνῳ· πολλὰ γὰρ ἔπαθον σήμερον κατ' ὄναρ δι' αὐτόν."

¹⁰³ Pilate's Sentence was recently published in the "Boletin Masonico." of Mexico, Pronounced by Pontius Pilate, the Roman Procurator. The original was discovered about the year 1380, in an iron tube, among the marble ruins of a temple in the city of Aquila, Italy, written in Hebrew characters on parchment. It is now in the custody of the keeper of the Royal and General Archives of Simancas, Spain. The original warrant, on a Hebrew parchment, reads.

Then followed the arrest, the ever memorable march of the condemned lord to Gethsemane, place of the wine press and the olive grove; the scene of Golgotha or bald hill; the prodding by fierce army officers, of unwilling, half-christian soldiers to make them do their duty; the forcing of Simon, father of Alexander and Rufus, to carry the heavy wooden cross for the condemned, by pitying soldiers, since the Roman law demanded that the culprit do it; the stripping of the master of his raiment and wrapping him in the red or scarlet robe¹⁰⁴ and

"In the year 17 of Tiberius Cæsar, Emperor of Rome and of all the world, unconquerable monarch; in the CXXI Olympiad; in the XXIV Iliad; and of the Creation of the World, according to the number and count of the Hebrews, four times 1157; of the propagation of the Roman Empire, the year 73; of the deliverance from slavery of Babylon, the year 430; and of the restitution of the Holy Empire, the year 497; Lucus Marius Sauricus being Consuls of Rome and Pontiff., Proconsuls of the unconquerable Tiberius; Public Governor of Judea, Regent and Governor of the City of Jerusalem, Flavius IV; its graceful president, Pontius Pilate; Regent of Lower Galilee, Herod Antipas; Pontiff of the High Priesthood—Caiphas; Ales Maelo, Master of the Temple; Rababan Ambe, Centurion of the Consuls and of the City of Jerusalem.—Quintus Cornelius Sublimius and Sextus Pompilius Rufus, on the 25th of March.

"I, Pontius Pilate, representative of the Roman Empire, in the Palace of Larcii, our residence, judge, condemn, and sentence to death, Jesus, called Christ, the Nazarene, of the multitude of Galilee, a man seditious of the Mosaic Law, against the Great Emperor Tiberius Cæsar. I determine and pronounce by reason of the explained, that he shall suffer death nailed to the cross, according to the usage of criminals, because having congregated many men, rich and poor, he has not ceased to stir up tumults throughout Galilee, pretending to be the Son of God, and King of Israel, threatening the ruin of Jerusalem and the Holy Empire, and denying the tribute to Cæsar; having the boldness to enter with palms, in triumph and accompanied by a multitude as King, within the City of Jerusalem in the Sacred Temple.

"I therefore command my Centurion, Quintus Cornelius, that he conduct publicly through the City of Jerusalem this Jesus Christ and that he be tied and flogged, dressed in purple and crowned with prickly thorns, with his own cross on his shoulders, so that he may serve as an example to malefactors; and to take with him two homicidal thieves; all of whom will leave by the Gianicola Gate, designated to-day Antoniana, and will proceed to the mount of the wicked, called Calvary, where, crucified and dead, the body shall remain on the cross so that it may be a spectacle and example to all criminals, and on said cross there shall be the inscription in three languages: Hebrew, Greek and Latin, In Hebrew: 'Jesu Aloï Olisidin.' In Greek: 'Ἰησοῦς Ναζαρηθὸς Βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων.' In Latin: 'Jesus Nazerenus Rex Judæorum.' We likewise command that no one of whatever class he may be, shall attempt imprudently to impede this justice by us commanded, administered and followed with all rigour, according to the decrees and laws of the Romans and Hebrews, under the penalty which those incur who rebel against the Empire."

This sentence was confirmed for the twelve tribes of Israel, by Raban, Daniel, Raban II, John Becair, Berbas, Isabel.

"For the High Priesthood: Raban, Judas, Cancasalon. Lucius, Sisilii, Amasinus, Silvanus, Notary of Crime."

¹⁰⁴ According to Tertullian, *De Pallio*, it was the pallium which, like the himation, was red. Red was the type of the ebionites, therapeutæ, thiasoi, and the glory of all the Roman collegia, and all working people. *Apocryph. N.T., Epist. of Barnabas*. Tertull., *De Pallio*, 1, written after he left the prelate power and back-slid or lapsed into the secret unions, says it was Phœnicæ n. "punccei coloris." All agree that it was red. Lactantius also, *Divine Instit.*, IV., 1, says: "They put upon him a scarlet robe—punccei

mocking him with the crown of thorns.¹⁰⁵ The being whose name and majesty stands to-day far above all others was then flogged and tied tightly to this wooden crucifix and inhumanly lifted into the air beside two real criminals, who had had their legal trial and sentence and were regularly waiting execution.¹⁰⁶ In the most humiliating condition, whelming ignominy, debased to the nethermost swamp of disgrace, suffering in the physical qualms which of all other torture was known to the ancient laws of vengeance¹⁰⁷ to reek with exhercuating agony most awful, especially for a young man in full nerve and muscle writhing in this crucial climax, we say, let us pause and ask history and epistolary and monumental evidence, what was the appearance of the dying carpenter. Let us ask to be shown a photograph of Jesus.¹⁰⁸

coloris—and a crown of thorns." The editor of *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VII., p. 120; says the robe was red agreeing with Renan, and all appear to agree that it was a pallium, which being the apparel of the slaves of labor found among the Greek and Asiatic inscriptions, and referred to as that of the essenes, was undoubtedly meant by the haughty non-laboring Jews whom Jesus had just before scourged as money changers and provision rings, as an expression of contempt. We have inscriptions found in the vicinity of the seven churches of Asia, registering numerous *διασολί των ιματισσων*, colleges of trade unions who made the *παλλια*, and other clothing, in great quantities for commerce. See Oehler, in *Index*, Vol. II., *infra*.

¹⁰⁵ Crowns were the celebrated laurels of the unions from high antiquity, Cf. *supra*, chap. xiv.

¹⁰⁶ One of the clauses of the inscription of Pontius Pilate, discovered in Aquila, in 1380, reads: "Denying the tribute to Cæsar, . . . I command, . . . that Jesus Christ be tied and flogged, dressed in crimson, and crowned with prickly thorns." Renan, who speaks of the inscription as genuine, declares the garment was red.

¹⁰⁷ The tactics of the sectaries were, like the Sacarii whom Renan's *Life of Jesus*, Eng., p. 92 calls: pious assassins who imposed upon themselves the task of killing those who disobeyed the law in their presence, meaning the law of Moses.

¹⁰⁸ The actual and contemporary descriptions made by Pilate in his letter, *supra*, note to the emperor Tiberius, is our first description of this martyr. It was followed in a few days, by the report of Lentulus, Pilate's predecessor to the Roman senate, which is extant, and may be seen in Neander's *Apocrypha*; in Grynaeus' *Monumentum Patrum Orthographia*, and in *Magdeburgischer Centurion*, Vol. I. Renan thinks it genuine. Josephus, *Ant.*, XVII., III., 3, comes next with his celebrated words. Later Athenagoras says something though vaguely, in an essay *Περί χριστιανών*, cap. 10; "Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀθεοὶ μὴ εἶναι, εἶνα τὸν ἀγένητον καὶ αἰδίου καὶ ἀορατον καὶ ἀπαθὴ καὶ ἀκαταληπτον καὶ ἀχώρητον, ὑφ' ἑνὸς καὶ λόγῳ καταλαμβάνομενον, φωτὶ καὶ κάλλει καὶ πνεύματι καὶ δυνάμει ἀνεκδιήγητῳ περιεχομενον, ὑφ' οὗ γέγενηται τὸ πᾶν δια τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου καὶ διακεκόσμηται καὶ συγκρατεῖται, θείον ἄγοντες, ἐκαίως μοι δεκείται." Neander, p. 159, quoting Lucian's *Peregrinus Proletus*, declares this adverse critic plainly says: "The christians still worship that great man who was crucified in Palestine, because it was he by whom the initiation into these new mysteries was introduced into human life. These poor creatures have persuaded themselves that they are all immortal and shall live forever." But Lucian has been misunderstood. We shall soon learn how to take him at his word. He speaks elsewhere in this same dissertation in scurrilous language against the Dionysan artists, and of what he saw. All the initiates of that day christian with the rest), were poor wandering creatures whom Lucian despised as deserving to be whipped. But while

A good many things are being dug up and otherwise coming to light in proof that Jesus was a genuine historical character. Something new and strange is the now wonderful Gate which used to be called the Pylé tou Theou, or door of the Lord. It becomes to our disquisition more intensely interesting since it was discovered that the gate-keepers union existed in many cities, and that it is consequently probable that the one at Jerusalem where Jesus is known to have concealed himself in moments of danger and behind whose secret bars Judas betrayed him to the detectives, was none other than a social union like all the others.¹⁰⁹

To be plain and fair, this work, not being a religious one in the advocacy of any particular idea, but merely a history of events, persons and characters that have

satyrizing them, Lucian gives the christians credit for being a constant brotherhood and shows their system of communism. His whole diatribe goes to show that at his time, the christians were yet working people and initiates like the other brotherhoods. Jesus was pushed forward to be the Messiah. So says Justin, *Dial.*, 191, ed. Colon, where he makes Trypho say; "He was a man distinguished above all others for piety and was therefore considered worthy to be put forward as the Messiah." Mentions "Ebionites, originally from Pella." Was he the one of whom Dionysus was the forerunner? Again, Renan, *Life of Jesus*, p. 476, *supra*, is very pronounced in the belief that he was a bold revolutionist and cites the pure ebionism: "The reign of the poor is at hand, and the reign of the poor was the doctrine of Jesus." On page 179; "The name of 'poor' (ebion, ἔβρων πτωχός), had become synonymous with 'saint' and friend of God." Renan cites Philo, *De Confusione Linguarum*, § 14; *De Migratione Abrahami*, § 1; *De Somnis*, II., § 41; *De Agric. Noe*, § 12; *De Mutatione Nominum*, § 4. The new find of Grenfell and Hunt, at Behneseh, in Egypt, of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri given *supra*, note, adds to the authority for his being a historical character and a defender of the interests of labor.

¹⁰⁹ Κοινωνίαν τῶν γειτόνων. See *Index* in verb. *gate*. And now we have Dr. Brüsselbach's *Papyrus*, with a plea for the oppressed, in Christ's own hand writing in Aramaic, a few lines of which are legible and which we here present, accompanied with doubts. It comes as the trophy of the Palestine Exploration society and is given as the statement of Dr. Brüsselbach, who found it and makes this description: "This manuscript is a small quarto page, written on both sides. The writing is almost entirely effaced, or so imperfect as to render a complete translation out of the question. This much, however, can be established with certainty, that it is the prayer of an oppressed and persecuted spirit, written in Aramaic. The writing is peculiar in being inscribed below instead of upon the lines.

The best preserved section is given here in fac-simile. It is signed in the name of the Savior, spelled precisely as upon the record of the gate-keeper at Jerusalem, published lately.

On the margin of the manuscript another hand using the square Galilean characters, has written the word "Savior," showing that its first owner considered this the manuscript of Jesus. The word Savior in the Galilean Aramaic of that time, is expressed Hoseach. This writing belongs to the first century, as will be admitted by all scholars.

The manuscript is very brittle. Line three of the fac-simile may be rendered, 'and still another stigma as a stain, in meekness under (persecution)'. The whole is a plaint concerning persecution, that everything and every one is against him who has the divine treasure and stands alone. Every one misrepresents the word he utters; he is trodden down like dust and ashes, darkness is round about him.'

We have already given numerous unions of the gate-keepers which the reader will find in their place.

operated in the development of socialism as opposed to the competitive system and their influence upon the great labor question, we propose to be irreverent enough to touch, in a concise note the desecrate phase of many doubters and show another side. We mean by this, the doubts which have prevailed as to whether Jesus was not rescued even on the cross and by some prearrangement permitted to live, through an occult complicity fixed between himself and Pilate, his wife and a secret few. Very numerous proofs have recently been adduced to the effect that he did not die; but that more tenderly treated on the cross than the two other men, he gluttoned the revengefulness of the Jews, being actually hanged, yet under secret orders from Pilate, he did not actually die but survived the death struggle, and lived on in secret through his natural life.¹¹⁰

The episode of Stephen, the so-called Proto-martyr, occurred just at the close of the life of the Emperor Tiberius who was certainly extremely kind at that moment to the christians and must have had personally a good deal to do with them at Rome. The discovery of the first columbarium, a vast mausoleum of the christians of what now goes by the name of cemeteries and scholæ of under-ground Rome, proves that during Tiberius' reign an enormous secret plant was being estab-

¹¹⁰ Renan, *Life of Jesus*, chap. xxiv., xxv., xxvi.; First, he was very popular, Matth., xxvi. 69.; second, it was the day before the feast of the Passover, Matth., xxvi., 1, 899; Mark xiv., 12; Luke xxii., 7; John, xiii., 29; third, and was consequently contrary to law that he should die. Jesus must be sacrificed, *Life of Jesus*, p. 324; Luke, xxii., 37. Thought of swords and defense, Luke, xxii., 26-40. The execution was against the Sanhedrim., 331-332; John, xviii., 31; Josephus, *Antiq.*, xx., ix. Pilate was friendly to Jesus, and consequently would not kill his friend, Renan, p. 333; John, xviii., and *id.*, xviii., iv., 1, 2; Pilate's wife took a strong part for Jesus, Matth., xxvii., 19; Renan, p. 355; Pilate was right; it was going to be a juridical murder, if not headed off, pp. 336-337. Political release of a prisoner, Mark, xv., 10. Pilate tried to show that he was not a Jew, *id.*, p. 339; John xix., 12, 15. Tac., *Annales*, xv., 44: "Ergo abolendo rumor Nero subdidit reos, et quasitissimis poenis affecit, quos per flagitia invisos vulgus christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Christus Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat; repressaque in præsens exitiabilia superstitio rursus erumpebat, non modo per Judæam, originem ejus mali per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluent, celebranturque." Pilate tried hard to release him by the Passover; release of a prisoner, Mark, xv., 10; Pilate to show that he was not a Jew, Renan, 339; John, xix., 9; if Pilate saved him he had to do it with the utmost cunning and secrecy, Renan, 340; John, xix., 12, 15; Luke, xxiii., 2. Neither Tiberius nor Pilate condemned Jesus, Renan, 341; Doubt generally; for the Talmud says he was stoned; *Michna Sanhedrim*, vi., 4; *Talmud, Jesus, Sanhedrim*, xiv., 16; *Talmud, Bab*, 48^a 67^a; stupefying drink offered, Renan, 346; *Talmud Bab.*; *Sanhedrim*; 43^a. *Prov.*, xxi., 6; Mark, xv., 23. Renan thinks he drank, Matth., xxvii., 34; body was held up by a billet of wood, 346; Irenæus, *Adv. Har.*, II., 24; Just., *Dial. Cum Tryph.*, 91; drank posca, Matth., xxvii., 48; Mark., xv., 36; the illegal haste in taking him down caused great suspicion.

lished in the catacombs of the Appian Way, and the sepulchre of Stephen is there with an inscription.¹¹¹ We propose to relate this occurrence in the same prosy manner that belongs to any realistic history, entirely unmingled with religion; for the reason that it is a true historical event.

About the year 34 or as some think, 35 or 36, a young man from Tarsus in Asia Minor named Saul, who had been a student under Gamaliel, was a leading figure, perhaps a ringleader, as the New Testament later quotes him.¹¹² His face was pale with determination, for he was directing a noisy tempest of human passions like a swirling tornado of physical phenomena, in the very vortex of revolution. And such it was. It was Saul, afterwards the evangelist, pitted against Stephen, head waiter of the common tables which supplied the food for the three thousand first members of the great, first-known brotherhood and sisterhood of Jerusalem. Whether this Saul was the little blear-eyed cripple, as he is sometimes represented, is doubtful. He had some sort of chronic infirmity, it is true, but he was possessed of wonderful endurance and indomitable courage. He was a scholar of the first rank and wore the protective dignity of a Roman citizen. The trouble with this strange man was, that he was not yet converted. His large, honest, susceptible mind was at that moment in a whirlpool of the tumult he had been deputized to lead, where by an attrition of office, he was drinking in, little by little, a great principle destined, through an antipodal summersault, to make him a most celebrated and useful person. This is all that we now can say of Paul.

Let us turn to Stephen. In him we have a large, fine

¹¹¹ De Rossi, *Inscr. Christ. Urbis Romæ*, Roma, 1856, Vol. III., pp. 201, 202, cap. II., *Il Testa degli atti dei martiri Greci*. "Valeriano et Lucillo Consulibus." (in note 2: fortasse sub con. Valerii et Accilii: quo anno censetur etiam Stephanus papa coronatur martirio); erat quidam vir, Hippolitus monachus, qui habitabat in cryptis, serviens domino in absconditis suis, ad quem multi Christianorum accurebant ad audiendam doctrinam apostolorum. Et dum frequenter ad eum universa turba concurreret, crescebat quotidie turba Christianorum, qui ex paganis convertebantur et baptizabantur, temporibus beati Stephani, et deducebat ad eum ex doctrina sua multos ex paganis, et baptizabantur." It was to such secret under-ground dens that he took or pretended to have taken the body of Stephen for cremation and deposition in the urn. Of his first and actual burial at Jerusalem, we shall soon speak.

¹¹² *Acts.*, xiv., 5; "For we have found this man a pestilent fellow and a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes."

young man of business. A full-blooded Hellenist Greek, probably from Ephesus. It looks as though he had been an influential *kurios* or lord in one of the great brotherhoods there. We have already seen that to be promoted to the degree of *kurios*, or as the Romans styled the office, *quinquennalis*,¹¹³ he would have been high in the rank and exempt from many burdens. He was respected as a lord. Strictly, the *kurios* was the business manager and assumed the dignity and responsibility of president. This man was lynched. Of this, there is sufficient evidence; since the code of honor of the modern Lynch law demands a peremptory trial, wherein the accused is allowed to make a speech in self defense.

Nobody knows just how long after the crucifixion the great organization of three thousand people was formed at Jerusalem in a house of the lord. Each of the ancient unions had a house or temple, used for assemblages of deliberation, for the rooms of the common tables, the friendly refuge or home; and this was no exception, although Neander and Mosheim are in wonderment about a mere private house belonging to one of the members, as they suppose, being sufficiently capacious for so vast a membership.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, these people had the room and a sufficient auditorium, which can never be otherwise explained than that there always existed a secret society with much property, among which were capacious buildings, and that these societies resembled those of the Mithraic order.¹¹⁵ But Mosheim who, through eyes blindfolded with the mystic veil wrapped around the early centuries by creatures

¹¹³ Momms., *De Col. et Social.*, p. 130, and chart: "Item placuit, ut quisquis quinquennalis in hoc collegio factus fuerit, a sigillis ejus temporis, quo quinquennalis erit, immunitis esse debebit, et ei ex omnibus divisionibus partes duplas dari."

¹¹⁴ *Super. Rel.*, on *House of the Lord, Pentecost*, pp. 952, 953: "In the preceding chapters, Acts, I., 15, we learn that the number of disciples was then about 120, and the crowds which came together when the miraculous occurrence took place, must have been great, seeing that it is stated that 3,000 souls were baptized and added to the church upon the occasion. *Acta*, II., 41: *Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀσμένως ἀποδεξάμενοι τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθησαν, καὶ προσετέθησαν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ψυχαὶ ὡσεὶ τρισχίλιοι.*" We may ask in what house could such a multitude in Jerusalem have assembled. Apologists have exhausted their ingenuity in replying to the question."

¹¹⁵ Renan, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 35, speaking of the *Mithraic Order*: "It had its mysterious meeting, its chapels which bore a strong resemblance to little churches. It forged a very lasting bond of brotherhoods between its initiates. It had a Eucharist, a supper so like the christian mysteries that good Justin Martyr, the apologist, can find only one explanation of the apparent identity, viz: that Satan, in order to deceive the human race determined to imitate the christian ceremonies, from them."

of the property-holding power which this organization, like that of the modern socialists, threatened to extinguish, sees something which he can make out only by the greatest difficulty. He declares of Jesus, whose trouble with Judas a few days before, he is describing, that he had a regular place of refuge and retirement right then, somewhere in Jerusalem. There is no reason to believe that it varied from numerous other secret unions of the economic organizations of that day.¹¹⁶ The sense of many new-found inscriptions points to a confirmation of our discovery that the "churches in our house," mentioned so frequently all through the Acts, and the Epistles were none other than these recondite establishments specially provided for under the Solonic law. They served as retreats, business places and eating houses. Here, then, we find ourselves in the delineation of the career of Stephen.

He had been appointed by Peter and other apostles, soon after the so-called glory of the members on that memorable day of Pentecost, when "suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind and it filled all the house where they were sitting."¹¹⁷ They had formed a great association patterned after the Plan of Salvation as laid out by Jesus. It varied from the ordinary collegia, thiasoi and ebionim, in that it was to both feed and otherwise economically supply the poor, and also to spread the glad tidings of salvation throughout the world.

They had but fairly got down to work when there came complaints that women members from Asia, probably ignorant of the Hebrew language and unable to make their wants intelligible on that account, were being slighted and deprived of their share of the nourishment. It was accordingly determined to appoint seven

¹¹⁶ Lüders, *Dionys. Kunst.*, p. 72, note 122, quoting Bursian, *Geog. Greek.*, I., p. 290: "Versammlungshaus der Techniten und Handwerker," showing that the brotherhood mentioned was one of the manual workers. Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.*, First Century, Part I., chap. iii., § 8: "His ungrateful disciple Judas, disclosing the place of his master's nocturnal retirement." Here Mosheim sees deeper than most commentators. He perceives that there was some secure, secret retreat, unknown even to the police. This was the secret *Κυριακή* of the brotherhood, corresponding with thousands existing at that time in Asia, Europe and everywhere. Under the protection of these initiates it was difficult to find a secluded member, unless he was betrayed by another. The hideous criminality of Judas was probably not so much in his protecting the treasury as in his divulging the secret whereabouts of the lord of the brotherhoods.

¹¹⁷ Πραξεις τῶν Ἀποστόλων, II., 2: "Καὶ ἐγένετο ἄφνω ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἦχος ὡσπερ φερομένης προῆς βιαίας καὶ ἐπληρώσεν ὅλον τὸν οἶκον, ὃν ἦσαν καθήμενοι.

thoroughly experienced business men to attend to this difficulty and rectify their grievance about the tables.¹¹⁸ The names of the men who made the appointments were Peter, Barnabas, John, the three Jameses, Mathias, Andrew, Thomas, Bartholomew and Simon Jelotes. The names of the men appointed were Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas and Nicholas. They appear to have all been Greeks or Asiatic Hellenists, acquainted not only with the language but their habits, manners and the organizations and mysteries they were accustomed to. Cyprian perhaps, in his fifth epistle to the Deacons, is the first to show in published form, the true business of the early deacons; but more recently numerous inscriptions of that early age are revealing fresh proofs of Cyprian's descriptions. He was faithful to the true meaning of the Greek word *diaconus* or deacon, a table waiter, also a person who assists in furnishing and trying on clothes, making beds to sleep on, and in fact, truck work, even menial employments where one is constantly on the run at grimy uncanny jobs. Such was the deacon until raised by prelate power under this name. The business died out with the slaughter of the economic function of the church, the employment differentiating to a high profession.¹¹⁹ The whole story of this hitherto little studied but important literature is that some three thousand to five thousand plebeian or proletarian people organized by Peter and the others formed the first congregation. They were so numerous that Jewish prelates dared not attack them. They naturally had some little trouble with the economic adjustments, especially with the women and children who partook at the common tables. The Cyprian letter, written two centuries later, explains the duties of the deacons, being founded on the work of the table-

¹¹⁸ Προξεις τῶν Αποστόλων, VI., 1. 'Εν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις πληθύνοντων τῶν μαθητῶν ἐγένετο γογγυσμὸς τῶν Ἑλληνιστῶν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑβραίους, ὅτι παρεθωροῦντο ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ τῇ καθημερινῇ αἱ χῆραι αὐτῶν'. 2. Προσκαλεσάμενοι δὲ οἱ δώδεκα τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν εἶπεν· οὐκ ἀρεστὸν ἐστίν, ἡμᾶς καταλείψαντας τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ διακονεῖν τραπέζαις'. 3. 'Ἐπισκέψασθε οὖν, ἀδελφοί ἀνδράς ἐξ ἑμῶν μαρτυρουμένους ἐπιτά, πλήρεις πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ σοφίας, οὓς καταστήσομεν ἐπὶ τῆς χρείας ταύτης· ἡμεῖς δὲ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ διακονίᾳ τοῦ λόγου προσκαρτερήσομεν. Acts, VI., 1-3.

¹¹⁹ Cyprian, *Epist.*, V., *Ad Diaconos*. We prefer to give the English rendering of *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. V., p. 283: "If there be any who are in want of clothing or maintenance, let them be supplied with whatever is necessary." See also *Acts*, vi., 32. Lüders, *Dionys. Kānst.*, p. 10, says the name of the houses where the *ἐράνος* and the *θίασος* met was *φωλητήρια*, or *φωλήτριον*, also *διασῶνος*.

norant credulity of masses, and to whom the organization of Peter, James and Stephen was so inimical, was outdone by the invasion of a nest of money-changers. Any one studying the insolence, even in our modern days, of the system of money-changing and its world-wide speculations through usury, mutilation of coins, petty peculation, and a dozen other of its mean ways, can comprehend the ratiocination of Jesus in making that celebrated raid. There are now extensive headquarters at London having branches in Paris, Amsterdam and New York, managing thousands of petty agents who fleece travelers and others by constantly pulling fluctuation wires touching hundreds of different coins, and realizing out of the disparity of silver, copper and nickel with gold. All cities and towns of the world are beset and tormented with these thieves. Scheduled values of coins and paper are furnished the money-changers every month, and they must conform or be hounded from the business. Their little tiendas, casas de cambio and broker shops are everywhere. They are the same old argentarii and numularii who had their petty, skinning traffic in Rome, Athens and Jerusalem. The author once counted nine of these little open-air stalls in one of the sea-girt marts of the Piraeus, the seaport of Athens, and found them at Gibraltar, Cadiz and Naples. These gangs are averse to the French metric system which would equalize the value of coins, and they have their lobbies upon the floors of every chamber of legislation especially at Washington and the palace of St. James. They are as secret as they are insidious and deceitful.

It is under these circumstances, far more economical than religious, that we find Stephen attacked by a mob of Jews. Like the modern western American, who is set upon by a mob to be lynched, he was allowed an hour or more to render in his defence. A principal charge against him was that he was opposed to the law of Moses. It indeed looks as if Stephen, like Jesus himself, might have been adverse to the Mosaic rule, since it was found to permit of corruptions such as caused Christ's celebrated attack upon the den of speculators. The Jews charged him with the crime, punishable with death, of maligning the law: ¹²⁴ for they pretended to

¹²⁴ Προσέειπεν τῶν Ἀποστόλων, VI., 13, 14: Ἐστησάν τε μάρτυρας ψευθεῖς λέγοντας· ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁστος οὗτος οὐ πανταίᾳ ῥήματα Ἀλλῶν κατὰ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ τοῦ τόμου Ἀκηκόαμεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος· ὅτι ἱεροῦσὶς ὁ ἄριστος ἐστὶν· κατὰ δόξαις τὸν τόπον τοῦτον καὶ ἄλλαί τε εἶδη, ἃ παρεδωκεν ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν, εἰς

arrest him because he said that the wonderful Being they had crucified had declared that he would destroy Jerusalem and change the customs which Moses delivered them. History is here to tell us that in about thirty-six years the entire population of above one million people, the best part of the great temple of Solomon, the mighty walls, arches, streets, gardens and even deep foundation stones were obliterated by the awful Roman conquest of vengeance.¹²⁵

The most classical histories which have embellished this story admit that the life and death of Stephen form an episode in ancient history. He was a person of majesty and grandeur. While delivering his final oration he was insulted by the Jewish sectaries who had actually wimble into a bullying and insolent mastery of the better precepts of the Sanhedrim and awed them down. Seeing that his speech was belittled and made a subject of ridicule, he "broke off from his calm address and suddenly turned upon them in an impassioned attack, which shows that he saw what was in store for him. Those heads thrown back on their unbending necks, those ears closed against any penetration of the truth, were too much for his patience. 'Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart, and ears! Ye do always resist the Holy Ghost. As your fathers did so do ye.'"¹²⁶ It was a grand spectacle. What was it all about? Like Jesus, this man had attacked their iniquitous speculations carried on even in the temples, and was, by the introduction of the co-operative commonwealth, undermining the pilfering usuries and peculations of the provision rings.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Josephus, "De Bell. Jud.," VI, ix., 3, saw it, and as now adjudged, truthfully reported it in his histories, declaring that it was a massacre hitherto unknown to the world. The number massacred by the Roman general, Titus, was 1,150,000, according to this historian, although Tacitus, who confirms the tragedy, puts it less. See supra, p. 142. Objections have been made by some that the actual population of Jerusalem did not amount to that figure. The answer is that the massacre of Titus, took place just at the moment of the celebration of the Passover, when great numbers of the Jews were assembled from the country, filling the city with outside visitors.

¹²⁶ "As he spoke," continues Smith's "Bible. Dict.," p. 3111, "they showed by their faces that their hearts, to use the strong language of the narrative, were being sawn asunder; and they kept gnashing their teeth against him."

¹²⁷ Chrysostom, "Works," I, p. 666: "Cur Stephano viduarum cura commissa ab apostolis." This author, under the above rubric, gives some interesting theories regarding Stephen's economic mission, as head of the committee of deacons. "Stephanus diaconorum prædiscipulus." Again, *Ibid.*, XI, 553: "Diaconisse in primitiua ecclesia," XI, 454: "Diaconi munus in ecclesia." and XI, 553, "Diaconodum officia, qui mores eorum sint oportet." "Diaconi, in Ecclesia tumultum confecibant," IX., 190.

Stephen, then, is another character in the history of the ancient lowly, bearing a name mysterious, in being a metonymy, or transmutation, and in the ordinary reading he appears as an almost allegorical character. Smith says, we hear nothing of his ministrations among the poor. This is exactly the part they would rule out. It is extremely probable that he and his assistants undertook to carry out practically the work they were appointed to do, and adjust the economic design embodied in the teachings; but to assume the daring task, to bring so brilliant and enormous a scheme to the front in defiance¹²⁸ of political, religious and social institutions reigning and murdering in that cruel age of individualism and military rule, and to broadly proclaim it to the open world, as commanded by a martyred lord, was death. The man defiantly braved his peril and became the second martyr. Arraigned before an improvised tribunal he was given some minutes to express his defense. In this speech, one of the very few given in the Bible, he is admitted to have told the Hebrews that Moses was secondary and his words glowed with aggravating vehemence and were pronounced with powerful and defiant eloquence, causing them to pale with rage and gnash with anger.¹²⁹ Saul, who was the accuser, was present. With a mad rush they seized the young deacon,¹³⁰ dragged him into the suburbs of the city,

¹²⁸ Every one was killed who dared to speak for Stephen's teacher; even Tiberius. As additional evidence to that of Tertullian and the Augustan historians, that Tiberius attempted to enroll Jesus among the sacred immortals, we have Orosius, "Adv. Paganos," VII., iv.: "Tiberius cum suffragio magni favoris retulit ad senatum ut Christus Deus haberetur. Senatus indignatione motus, quod non sibi prius secundum morem delatum esset, ut de suscipiendo cultu prius ipse decerneret consecrationem Christi recusavit edictoque constituit, exterminandos esse Urbe christianos; præcipue cum et Sejanus, præfectus Tiberii, suspiciendæ religioni obstinatissime contradiceret. Tiberius tamen edicto accusatoribus christianorum mortem comminatus est." Thus they refused, threatened and afterwards murdered him.

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and after the abuse they were able, in their exasperation, to heap upon him, seized stones and hurled them in tempestuous hail, breaking his bones and tearing his flesh with their cutting angles and swift flight till death rescued him from a sense of their furious rage.⁸³⁵ And when the heart and tissues were quivering in dissolution they threw the clothes and probably the throbbing form at the feet of Saul.¹³² This young man had steeled his conscience up to the point of vengeance and he did not flinch. He accepted a commission to persecute the brotherhoods, followed them to Asia and in some mysterious way, believing he had seen his victim Jesus, was thrown into a trance and whelmed in a wonderful conversion.

Such was the short but vigorous career and awful fate of Stephen, the proto-martyr.

¹¹³ Smith, "Bib. Dict.," p. 3112, says of the funeral of Stephen: "His mangled body was buried by the class of Hellenist and proselytes to which he belonged, οἱ εὐσεβεῖς, with an amount of funeral state and lamentation expressed in the two words used here in the N. T., i.e.: *συνεκόμισεν* and *κοπετός*." The proselytes were the old, long-existing brotherhoods, converted. The word *εὐσεβεῖς* especially applies to them and belongs to the law of Solon as preserved in the Twelve Tables of Rome. See chap. xiii., on the fundamental requirement, Ἄγαθος Ἄγιος Εὐσεβής, where it is thoroughly explained as a requisite of the old pagan unions. As to the burial, the learned Dr. Ochler, in his "MSS. to the Author," speaks of the young men who took Ananias and Sapphira to burial, as performing a regular and natural rite of the burial attachment of a Solonic union. Of course then, this was the same in the burial of Stephen a few days afterwards.

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CHAPTER XVI.

CONTINUED.

THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

SECTION II.—CALIGULA—CLAUDIUS.

TERRIBLE Change in Treatment of Jews and Christians—Involved Thousands of Workingmen—Marvelous Discoveries—The *Domus Augustalis*—Caligula Began and Claudius Continued the Persecutions—Victims Secretly Organized—Discoveries of De Rossi—Under-ground Rome—The *Columbarium*—Tyrannus—Their *Scholæ* discovered far beneath the Surface—Driven to Such Hiding Holes at Rome—Had System and Schools in these Recesses—Caligula Murdered—Mommson, Cagnat, Oehler and other Savants Agree that these *Collegia* were the Regular Solonic Unions—Full Description of School—*Roma Sotterranea*—Exhaustive Researches of De Rossi—Four Trades represented in the *Silvani* Find—Discovery that During Persecutions of Claudius, those wretched Workers Dived Down into Subterranean Abodes—Continued in Hiding Throughout Nero's Reign—Devotion for Each Other—The Strange Practice not Confined to Rome—Clement of Rome—Friend of Peter—Wrote *Kerugma Petrou*—Sketch of his Life—Why his Valuable Works were Suppressed—Consistency of the Term "Lord" as Manager of Business of Union—How there Came to be so Many Lords—It was a Clause in the Law of Solon—The *Quinquennalis*—He was also an Evangelist—Banishment by Claudius Caused Great Numbers to Escape and Colonize in Other Parts of the World—Exiles—Well Received in Asia Minor—The *Gerousia* turns out to be a Solonic Union—The *Aventine Hill*—*Ægis* of Diana—Colony of Shoemakers of *Shoemaker Street*—Evidence that the Christians Planted into and Thrived upon these Trade Organizations—*Aquila* and *Priscilla*—Other Exiles of Claudius—Episode of *Demetrius*—How an Important Matter is Misunderstood—His Union worked making Images for Diana at *Ephesus*—All tended to Madden Claudius—Supposed Quarrel of Paul, John and Peter Refuted—A perfect Harmony Agreed Upon—The Innumerable Secret Hives—Traces of Work of *Joseph of Arimathea*—*Briennian* Find of Parts of Peter's Teachings.

The short reign of the emperor Caligula, who succeeded Tiberius, A. D. 37 to 41, lasting four years, was marked by an egregious change in the treatment of the

associations' members. Recently discovered evidence establishes that immediately after the death of Stephen and Jesus an enormous christianized colony of these unions was in existence at Rome. How could this be? That there were thousands, if not a hundred thousand, there, is now ascertained to be certain. It is one of the marvels of the world. Already under Tiberius, great numbers of them in pure trade union form are found to have swarmed in palaces, courts and especially, the kitchens, wash-houses, baths and gynæciums or imperial work-shops, and now there come under contribution the newly unearthed subterranean scholæ, mausoleums and cemeteries, many inscriptions, paintings, sculptures and cinerary ollas, glaring chiselings legible and grammatical, of a vast occult christian life.¹³³

How is this? The reader will say it is impossible. We shall bring forth these long-lost wonders and prove both their antiquity and truthfulness.

It was during the life-time of Augustus, Livia and Tiberius that the so-called *Domus Augustalis* was created for their benefit. Livia and her son were foremost in recognizing schools within the *collegia*.¹³⁴ The *domus Augustales* were homes of freedmen and slaves at the imperial courts and residences, where work was furnished them, together with the means of life. Large numbers of these people, with which Rome swarmed, were glad and sometimes even flattered to obtain this gracious protection.

So long as Augustus and Tiberius remained in power the unions, such as conformed to the laws, were unmolested and it was during their reigns that they flourished and in numbers, common goods and influence greatly increased. The vast building dug out of the earth, from

¹³³ Mr. Reber, in his ingeniously written Book, "Enigmas of Christianity," treats with contempt the idea that so early a Christian plant existed. The good friend knows nothing about the tell-tale monuments and inscriptions sleeping in an occult history. Archaeology is ruled out. The vast organizations which Tiberius, the friend of Jesus, permitted to indorse this great work, constituting an era of the existence of manhood on the earth, were already in Rome, and had nothing to do but accept the truths he preached. There is evidence to show that they did this even before the crucifixion.

¹³⁴ See Vol. I., p. 365. The empress and her son gave a trade union of carpenters the privilege and also money to found a flourishing school for instructing the members and their children. Waltzing, "Hist. Corp. Prof." I., p. 217: An inser. C.I.L. xiv., 45. "Numini domus Auguste dendrophori Ostienses Scholam quam sua pecunia constituerant." When all the facts are collected it will be understood that the modern colleges, name and all are developments of these ancient schools of the *collegia* which were trade unions of the workmen.

a depth under the soil of seven feet, in the year 1727, near Rome on the Appian Way, was built by the unions themselves out of the common funds. The great columbarium was more than one hundred feet square. It was first supposed to have been purely a burial place; but more recent excavations show it to have been a place of many residences, and of very fine Architecture.¹³⁵

Since the accidental discovery of this wonderful combination of graveyard and palace, the archæologist De Rossi, has given a lifetime to deeper investigation, the results of which we shall disclose as we proceed. The fact before us is, that it was originally pagan and so remained until christianity came during Tiberius, when the unions owning it, were converted to the new faith. Tiberius did not molest, but on the contrary assisted them. For this, in all appearance, he paid with his life in his old age. He was mysteriously murdered in 37. He had dared to ask the Roman senate to allow him to apotheocize the Lord of the unions. In this he met the wrath of Jupiter. The awful vengeance of Caligula Claudius and Nero, which we shall soon describe, tells how bitter was the hatred of that imperial aristocracy against a doctrine contrary to their revengeful priest-power, so soon as it was discovered that the communistic theories of a crucified carpenter were making swift head against their conscript gods.

Another strange thing about the columbariums is, that the modern schools of archæology have revealed that they did not exist before the time of Augustus, about B.C. 38 to A.D. 14, nor did they survive the days of the Flavii, or in other words, the apostolic age. That their members became completely christianized as early as Tiberius is certain.¹³⁶ The cinerary urns,

¹³⁵ Gorius, *Mon. sive Columbar.*, p. xii., xiii.: "Mirandum sane in Via Appia, olim omnium celeberrima Romanorum Mausoleis, et sepulcris ornatisima, nuper inventum est monumentum, sive columbarium libertorum, servorumque Livie Augustæ ac Cæsarem, quamplurimis ollarum titulis, inscriptionibus, aris, urnis, sarcophagis anaglyphico opere pereleganter sculptis, musivo opere, parergis, emblematis, monstris, quæ nos *stucchi* et *grotesche* patrio sermone appellamus, tectorio opere aliisque eximiis ornamentis valde insigne, cultorumque omnium antiquitatis aspectu dignissimum, cujus antiqua supellex sculpturæ quoque, et architecturæ præstantissimis artibus non parum lucis conferre protest."

¹³⁶ Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, l. pp. 257-260: "Tels étaient les socii Columbariorum. Ces sortes de monuments semblent n'avoir existé qu'aux environs de Rome. Les plus anciens datent de la fin de la République, et les plus récents ne dépassent pas le temps des Flaviens."

also the spaces under the floors were not all in use before Nero's sweeping extinction of the christians and Jews at Rome. He murdered them all, Paul, Peter and thousands more and their remains which were carefully collected, filled them up.¹³⁷

Gorius who wrote a full description in 1728, gives an inscription in his large illustrated work which proves that they built the great mausoleum, on the Appian Way, themselves. They paid the costs out of their own common funds and they had no other, for their life was wholly within the socialistic state.¹³⁸

The news of the doings at Jerusalem under their own membership inspired them against the hopes of ever accomplishing anything from the aged idea of revenge through irascibility and concupiscence, as expressed in the plans of Eunus,¹³⁹ Athenion, Aristonicus and Spartacus. The meek and lowly Logos of Jesus was all that was left for them. Between the old and the new, military brutality proved more than a match for their own unscinded rebellions. They had discovered that the maxim of the new teacher, that by kindness "thou shalt heap coals of fire on their head," was true, since it worked out an exquisite refinement of vengeance, improving the old brotherhoods the world over. Besides this, it had the advantage of that dense secrecy which characterized the ancient mysteries. The church was first planted in their mellow soil. Mr. Gibbon, although he knows nothing of these great industrial unions, his lifework having transpired before the real work of archæology commenced, sees with a wonderful vision; for he

¹³⁷ Gorius, *Mon. sive Columbar.*, p. 60, § xiii.: "Ex numero ædicularum, sive Columbariorum supra quingenta, et quinquaginta, pluribus ordinibus ac lineis ubique per parietes depositorum, colligi facile potest numerus tum ollarum cineriarum in ipsis conditarum, tum titulorum, in quibus inscripta sunt nomina, et officia libertorum, ac servorum domus Augustæ quos supra centum et mille promiscue cum feminis inlatos fuisse intelligimus in hoc commune Sepulcrum."

¹³⁸ Gorius, *Mon. sive Columbar.*, pp. 62-3. Here will be found that the magnificent monument of the Augustan family, was not the gift of emperors, but of the unions themselves, out of their common funds, whose associates furnished the necessary means. The emperors themselves, who at first were thought to have done all this for them as a gratuity, had no hand in it. They gave the unions however, their full consent. Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, I., p. 329, admits in his description of the symposiums of the collegia and the intense love that prevailed among them, their economic solution, their common table and their generally successful system which their socialism brought forth. He also admits that the christians early found their solace and safety there.

¹³⁹ See Vol. I., chap. vii., *Drimakos*; chap. viii., *Virtathus*; chap. ix., *Eunus*; chap. x., *Aristonicus*; chap. xi., *Athenion*; and chap. xii., *Spartacus*; all of whose revolts had failed.

says: "By a wise dispensation of Providence a mysterious veil was cast over the infancy of the church, in which the faith of the christians was matured, and their numbers multiplied, serving to protect them, not only from the malice, but even from the knowledge of the pagan world." The truth is, there had been a revolution. Their old, borrowed schemes of irascibility and concupiscence which characterized the ancient paganism, its competitive greed backed by military power, had been changed for mutual organization and mutual love and care. "Behold a new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another."

Who built this great monument?¹⁴⁰ This seems to be correctly decided by Gorius. He thinks that one Tyrannus, who was an important quinquennial, under the reign of Caligula, and who had for a long time been the president of a combination of many collegia at Rome, and working under the consent and pecuniary aid of Tiberius, was overseer of the splendid architectural construction, and when it was at last finished, he dedicated it to his successor one Tiberius Claudius Veteranus, an old freedman of Augustus Tiberius, the emperor.¹⁴¹

This answers a problem which has caused much discussion among the scholars. Who was the architect and with whose money was it constructed? Who owned it afterwards? The unions, of course. Tyrannus was lord of the house, like the quinquennalis of the great collegium of Lanuvium, called by Mommsen a purely burial association, but in reality, an economic trade union with the burial attachment. He had served the unions, risen from the ranks to be a kurios or quinquennial, exempt from most of the cares and responsibilities,

¹⁴⁰ Gorius, *Mon. sive Columbar.*, p. 62, after a page of conjecture concludes: "Quare si conjecturis indulgere liceat, crederem hunc Tyrannum sociorum curatorem fuisse, et monumentum ex pecunia collata sociorum aedificasse." This is probably the truth.

¹⁴¹ The *inscription* giving the words of the dedication reads: "Tyrannus Verna. Tab. Apparitor, sacris omnium immunis. Is dedit Ti. Claudio Aug. L. Veterano, Columbarium totum.

Is intulit Ianthum. Aug. L.

Fratrem suum."

Ministri:

Such are the words of the stone. Gorius further remarks and we think correctly:

"In hoc lapide eximio, cui merito principem locum damus, quod multa notatu digna contineat, Tyrannus verna dedisse legitur Tiberio Claudio Augusti liberto Veterano Columbarium totum; qui iure donationis in idem intulit Ianthum Augusti libertum fratrem suum."

as shown in the very instructive Lanuvian inscription. He was an immune.¹⁴²

There is a mass of inscriptional, historical and biblical evidence serving to prove that this Tyrannus was a Mithraic demigod and emporiarch, and that he came to Rome from Asia Minor with his important system of schools, accompanied by many immigrants, and planted in the innumerable collegia that are known to have thrived under Tiberius and to have received immunities and favors through that emperor's large wealth and kindness. The early emperors well knew the value of the trade unions. Dr. Cagnat has recently portrayed this in his publications;¹⁴³ and being one of the masters of the schools of inscriptions of the French Academy, we feel doubly assured regarding these facts.

Thus, while it is proved by this inscription of the home-born slave or freedman Tyrannus, that the huge mausoleum was owned, controlled and enjoyed by the unions, it is evident that its construction was known to, and probably aided and encouraged by Augustus Tiberius. Its first calamity came with the monster Caligula. Then it met with the horrors of jealousy and vengeance throughout the reigns of Claudius, Nero and Domitian, during which time it was literally sunk into the ground, and with its many kindred cemeteries and phenomenal scholæ, is being recently unearthed from depths of seven to forty feet, to become a wonder of our age.

We now propose in our analysis of this extraordinary character, Tyrannus, who wherever found, is a slave or freedman and school master, to follow all historical, biblical and inscriptional evidence; since we find him mentioned in the New Testament, in Strabo, in Foucart,

¹⁴² See Vol. I., p. 357: "Item placuit, ut quisquis quinquennalis in hoc collegio factus fuerit, a sigillis ejus temporis, quo quinquennalis erit immunis esse debebit;" and further the nature of this exemption or immunity. Corins, pp. 65-66, gives a long explanation of his views on this immunity and winds up with these words, p. 66, *fin.*: "Immunitas praeterea dari potuit libertis a suis patronis sive dominis, vel tamquam beneficium, vel tamquam præmium: ut colligitur ex frequenti inscriptione quam exhibet Gruterius DCCCLXXIV., 1, et ex alia apud eundem Gruterum MCLVI., 1, quam Fabretus, cap. vi., p. 440, n. 60, Romæ extare dicit apud nobiles de Mignanellis."

¹⁴³ *Article in Vie Contemporaine*, Paris, Jan., 1896, p. 167: "Les empereurs découvrirent, vers cette époque, (about A.D. 30-130) que l'état avait tout à gagner à la prospérité des associations ouvrières à Rome, en Italie, dans les provinces. Ces réunions étant des foyers de travail, où l'administration centrale et municipale trouvait de précieux auxiliaires. C'est le moment où les syndicats paraissent le plus florissants, leurs membres sont puissants et honorés, ils sont exemptés d'impôts, et jouissent d'avantages inconnus aux simples citoyens."

Lüders, Oehler, Waltzing, most elaborately of all in Gorius, and in the great collections.¹⁴⁴

The New Testament mention covers this period of the columbarium which began to be persecuted and hunted by Caligula, who, although not credited as a persecutor by Gibbon, actually murdered everybody, and for three years wallowed in the innocent blood of rich and poor alike. This celebrated mention seems rather to come into the reign of Claudius the immediate successor to Caligula. But Tyrannus' schools were going on at Ephesus, while he himself seems to be at Rome.¹⁴⁵ The Greek word *scholæ* reveals some hidden wonders connected with the early heresies.¹⁴⁶ The truth is, they were not heresies but genuine schools of discussion, and instruction, each with its own little membership; each with its own common table and food supply, and each with a row of seats. They were secret and generally neat, built of stone hewn smooth, often carved, and had a center table. De Rossi has dug out the one presided over by St. Peter, and it has an inscription informing us that Peter made the table with his own hands.¹⁴⁷

The inscriptions show a half-pagan demigod named Men Tyrannus, a pedagogue, always connected with some manner of temple. A study of all this new-found evidence forces a consensus of points of fact, which focus upon a christian plant into a multitude of brotherhoods, invariably of plebeian blood. We know this Tyrannus to have been a Phrygian poor man's protector

¹⁴⁴ Strabo himself, it will be found, was under Tyrannius or Tyrannus of Pontus. Almost all the men of this name between B.C. 10 and A.D. 37, appear to have been pedagogues of the schools. It is now certain that they were the Mithraic schools; moreover the term Tyrannos is proved to be another metonym.

¹⁴⁵ Πραξεις τῶν Ἀποστόλων, xix., 9: Ὡς δετινες ἐσκληρύνοντο καὶ ἠπειθῶν κακολογῶντες τὴν ὁδὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πλήθους, ἀποστάς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀφώρισε τοὺς μαθητάς, καθ' ἡμέραν διαλεγόμενος, ἐν τῇ σχολῇ Τυράννου τινοῦ.

¹⁴⁶ Lightfoot, *Colossians*, pp. 32-34, speaks of Epaphras, Onesimus and other slavish persons and some heresies which broke out among the brotherhoods—"a combination of Judaic formalism with oriental mystic speculation, and was spreading rapidly." It was the Mithraic *scholæ* of Tyrannus. Tyrannus must have colonized them and thousands of people at Rome; for we find his schools or *scholæ* by hundreds in the pits of the columbaria.

¹⁴⁷ De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*. Vol. I., p. 182, VIA CORNELIA: "Primum Petrus in parte occidentali civitatis juxta Viam Corneliam ad miliarium primum in corpore requiescit, et pontificalis ordo, excepto numero paucis, in eodem loco in tumbis propriis requiescit.

"Ibi quoque juxta eandem Viam sedes est apostolorum, et mensa et recubitus eorum de marmore facta usque hodie apparet. Mensa quoque modo altare quam Petrus manibus suis fecit, ibidem est."

and teacher; that he was imported into the Piræus, and also Macedonia, particularly Philippi; that Paul had a great deal to do with his cult; that his cult was taught in the little secret temples of the thaisos and the collegium which were the original kuriakoi or churches and before, for centuries, had been the pholetteria or council chambers of the Solonic unions. The schools of Tyrannus were the movement which caused so much disturbance spoken of in the Acts of the Apostles. This system of elementary schooling, not at all averse to the system from Jerusalem, certainly was early transplanted into Rome; for the positive evidences we are digging out, all point that way.

Another undecipherable matter connected with this Tyrannus is, that a certain Xanthus often accompanies him. In Gorius, as we have just quoted, it is Ianthus.¹⁴⁸ Again we find this queer if not weird being at the Pisidian Antioch where Paul met a rebuff, and it looks as if his school took him in, after he had been turned out of the synagogue by the real Jews.¹⁴⁹

There has been found a monument of Coloé at Philippi where many radical associations existed at the time Paul visited the place. He received imaginary information that he must go there. As a matter of fact, being an inmate of the secret unions endorsing Jesus, he had been informed through some unexplained method, that he was wanted at Philippi. There, whipped and awfully abused by the pagan official prelates, he nevertheless established this Philippian church, so celebrated in the New Testament. It was in the days either of Caligula¹⁵⁰ or Claudius.

A profound secrecy pervaded these columbarian organizations at an early time, presumably during the

¹⁴⁸ Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, pp. 121-123, gives from an inscr., a valuable anecdote of a poor fellow, the slave of one Caius Orbius, about the close of the apostolic age who had to work in the Laurian mines. He found an old, deserted temple or heroon, and converted it into a sanctuary in honor of Men Tyrannus. It is probable that, feeling the need of an education, he organized a school and that it became one of the "schools of Tyrannus."

¹⁴⁹ It was in southwest Phrygia, right where afterwards arose the seven celebrated churches of Asia. Drs. Foucart and Oehler have proved that the Tyrannus schools and unions were baptists and they had their home in the eranos.

¹⁵⁰ Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, p. 120, monument de Coloé. This Tyrannus is represented as, "vêtu d'une tunique et d'une chlamyde et coiffé du bonnet Phrygien. Il a un croissant sur les épaules, il tient à la main un thyrses, et pose le pied gauche sur une tête de taureau. Le croissant est son attribut caractéristique; il figure également dans le monument de Coloé, et sur un bas-relief de Philippi."

last two years of the reign of Caligula. He had three years. Then he was murdered by his own pretorian guard. During the first year he had been comparatively humane, but the last two were engulfed in horrors and inhumanity such as knew no distinction between rich and poor; for thousands were swept to the block, senators, prelates, jurists, blood relations, struggling christians and trade unionists; and many knew not why they had been doomed to his indescribable vengeance.

This affords us some idea of how those cringing wretches, with this great mausoleum in their possession cowering under the benign, though hideous ægis of the law of exemptions of the collegia funeraticia, went down in their secret terror under the earth, sometimes even deeper than the catacombs and there in dense darkness built their scholæ after the pattern of Tyrannus. They bore a double meaning, because so habituated to their under-ground, compulsory existence, that it got to be a second nature, and caused the catholics in after ages, even extending to our own time, to build the horrid crypts which degenerated into subterranea dungeons such as still shock the world.¹⁵¹

But the schools and influence of Men Tyrannus, and of Tyrannus, especially, where he appears as a plebeian pedagogue and extends his schools even to Pontus, beyond the city of Byzantium, went westward to the Piræus.¹⁵²

Having shown what science is bringing to light to the effect that innumerable schools existed among those squalid slaves and freedmen, managed in the auspices

¹⁵¹ All through these dangers the Roman law of the collegia tenuiorum held good, legalizing the burial attachment. Waltzing, "Hist. Corp. Prof.," I., pp. 150-151, says: "Le commandeur de Rossi a démontré que les chrétiens les imitèrent (the colleges), et que l'Église, persécutée, interdite pour sa religion, fut licite comme corporation funéraire: comme telle, elle put avoir une caisse commune, posséder un cimetière, tenir des réunions, recevoir des dons et des legs." Consult "Bull. Christ.," 1864, p. 57; 1865, p. 90; 1866, pp. 11, 22; 1870, pp. 35, 36; 1877, p. 25; 1886, pp. 83, 84; also "Roma Sotterranea," I., p. 101; and 209-210.

¹⁵² Oehler, "MSS.": "Eine Weihung der ἐρανιστῶν an Μέν Τυράννος nennt die in Laurium gefundene Inschrift, CIA, IV., p. 307, 132S, vgl. mit CIA., II., 133S." In another place, "Μέν Τυράννος verehrt bei Sunion wahrscheinlich von den in den Bergwerken arbeitenden Schläfen: vgl. CIA., IV., 132S e; CIA., III., 73." These associations of slaves and freedmen in the mines of Laurium and Sunion are known by various inscriptions. A great insurrectionary strike once occurred at each place. See Vol. I., pp. 143, for Sunion; 131 for Laurium. Dr. Oehler finds traces of the Lycian Xanthos existing much later; "id. in MSS.": "Den νόμος ἐρανιστῶν aus dem zweiten Jahrhundert n. Chr. enthält CIA., III., nr. 23, die vom Lykien Xanthos in Sunion, im II. und III. Jahrh. n. Chr. zu Sunion gegebenen Bestimmungen für Ερανισταί des Men Tyrannos, CIA., III., 75 vgl. 73 u. 75."

of this mysterious, perhaps mythical Tyrannus of whom nobody seems yet to have obtained a tangible clue, we next come to explain what thus far is known to science as exhibited by the schools of epigraphy, regarding the nature of these schools during the reigns of Caligula and Claudius, together with the known laws permitting and forbidding them.

Tertullian carefully describes the nature of his organization, such was probably in enormous use at his time, about A. D. 165, and which was at least a hundred years old when he wrote. "Our modest supper rooms" furnish us with a theme. These are being found buried from five to seventy feet under the surface of the earth. We shall describe them as they were hid away during the fury of Claudius, Nero, Domitian, and earlier without doubt under the blood-thirsty monster Caligula. At any rate they are there. Good old Tertullian, at a moment of comparative respite from the atrocious persecutions of the monarchs, speaking in his powerful apology written to them, breaks the silence of secrecy and tells men of the "fraternal stability of our community of goods, our brotherhood, how it knits, while the Roman system of individualism disintegrates. No tragedy makes a noise about our brotherhood. The family possessions which generally destroy brotherhood among you, create fraternal bonds among us. One, in mind and soul, we do not hesitate to share our earthly goods with one another. All things except our wives are common among us;" and closes his paragraph by retorting against the "sneering ado made by the persecutors of our modest supper rooms." He is describing a regular collegium, such as existed in great numbers under the law of Solon.¹⁵³

Mommsen, who first, so far as we know, discovered the necessity of analyzing and comparing the inscrip-tional and Tertullianic descriptions, was at first a little in doubt, but finally concluded that the two organizations were one and the same.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ Tert., "Apol.," xxxix. The words on this subject most attracting attention of the archaeologists like Mommsen, Foucart, Waltzing, Lüders, Oehler and others are, these: "Modicam uniusquisque stipem menstrua die vel quum velit, et si modo velit, et si modo possit, apponit.; nam nemo compellitur, sed sponti confert. Hæc quasi deposita pietatis sunt. Nam inde non epulis, nec potaculis nec ingratis voratrinis," etc.

¹⁵⁴ Momms., "De Coll. et Sodal. Rom.," p. 91: "Erant quidem coitiones ille illicitæ, quicquid dicit Tertullianus, sed ideo tantum, quod erant Christianorum. Non enim nego per se hæc omnia licite fieri potuisse et sæpe facta

Dr. Waltzing comes later and expresses his opinion that Tertullian's collegium was a regular thiasos with burial attachment under the law.¹⁵⁵ The law required that the members of a collegium should constitute their organizations a burial society. Under this distinction they might organize. It was a pretext with a loophole; and taking advantage of it, they always kept up their associations for economic and religious purposes.¹⁵⁶

It is impossible to deny that the christian cult was planted into the trade unions. When Numa sanctified the Solonic law, a collegium pontificum or union of bridge-builders existed in much power. The Roman government employed them to build bridges. They included stone masons, wood workers and a variety of trades in stone, clay, brick and metals. They are known to have had master workmen. This master bridge-builder became the pontifex maximus. The title gradually took on sacerdotal power and in course of time the pontifex became the pope and is now supreme pontiff of the catholic world. Dr. Oehler squarely admits that the great Gemeinde of Dionysan artists had an object in the direction of making a living and shows that it was the principal thing.¹⁵⁷ Thus it is seen that all this time the unions were in quest of a living. The religion was a secondary matter. They used the burial clause of the law to shield them from the police and

esse a collegiatis. Sed collegia his nominibus omnibus licite institui ipse Tertullianus non sensit; recipi ejusmodi piæ causas a collegio funeraticio, quam causam animadvertas a Tertulliano pæne primo loco collocari, nulla lex vetabat. Quod latissime patuisse et magnam partem institutorum ad piæ causas, quæ postea plurima fuisse scimus, ab ejusmodi collegiis ductam esse non dubito."

¹⁵⁵ "Hist. Corp. Prof.," I. p. 131, note 1: "Tertullian dans son Apologétique ne dit pas expressément que la communauté chrétienne était légale comme collège fénelaire; mais de son temps c' était généralement le cas." And again, p. 313, the professor says the collegium tenuiorum of the law, which is Mommsen's collegium funeraticium, was a regular Roman collegium; or as much as says so.

¹⁵⁶ Oehler, "MSS.": "Wer denkt da nicht an die christlichen Friedhöfe? Wir finden aber Verschiedenheiten in der Art und Weise, wie die einzelnen Vereine diese Sorge bethätigen, vgl. Schiess über "Die Römischen Collegia Funeraticia," 1, durch Beistellung des Grabes selbst, wenn der Verein einen gemeinsamen Begräbnisplatz hatte, durch Zahlung einer bestimmten Geldsumme ταφικό zur Bestreitung der Kosten, durch Theilnahme am Begräbnisse, u. s. w."

¹⁵⁷ Oehler, "MSS.": "Verein der dionysen Künstler. Diese sind sowohl als Cultvereine des Dionysos als auch als Erwerbsgenossenschaften zu betrachten. Poland hat im Programme des Weltiner Gymnasiums unter dem Titel 'De Collegiis Artificum Dionysiacorum,' 1895, darüber gehandelt. Ziebarth seine irrigen Ansichten über Κοινόν und σύνοδος berichtet. Ich will hier nur eine Uebersicht der in den Inschriften vorkommenden Bezeichnungen der mit den theatralischen Aufführungen in Verbindung stehenden Vereine."

this made the most valuable function of the union, for working out their problem of existence.

Let us now plunge down into the under-ground recesses and with the archaeologists dig out their graves and schools, such as bear the early record of Caligula and Claudius. These wonders, for ages, cherished in hideous secrecy and gloom, have been called the trophies of the apostles.¹⁵⁸ The columbarium which was one of the first great discoveries of the kind, and is the subject of a large folio volume in velum, elaborately illustrated, is only one of the trophies now sought by the schools of science. Nearly two hundred years old it is classic. Soon after Gorius, Antonius Bossius wrote a valued work, *Roma Satterranea*, or subterranean Rome but died before completing it, and Giovanni Battista de Rossi took up the subject where Bossius left off and his many works have made him famous. The combined labors of these savants, assisted by large appropriations by the government and city from time to time, have brought forth and opened to the light of day dozens of cemeteries, many of which were furnished with school rooms, called *scholæ* now being studied as true marvels of antiquity. We shall now attempt a description of some of them, always giving our authority in their own words, lest the facts exhumed be thrown into discredit by doubters disposed to charge us with incorrectness. It must be constantly borne in mind that these columbaria, and schools came under the law of the *collegium tenuiorum*, which simply means a trade union consisting of members who are of the outcast poor, and miserable. The word college was ancient and belonged to the Solonic plan, noble enough to come under the *ius coeundi*,¹⁵⁹ but its adjective was a term of contempt. At the close of the conquests, an effort was made to suppress these trade and labor unions and Cæsar, Cicero and the senate succeeded in accomplishing their object only with the greatest difficulty being met by Claudius and the tribunes,¹⁶⁰ and were obliged to legalize the burial attachment. This burial attachment served to

¹⁵⁸ *Digest De Collegiis et Corporibus*, XLVII., xxii., lib. 4, *Ad Legem Duodecim Tabularum*.

¹⁵⁹ Consult Vol. I., pp. 344, 345, his law, 302, note 69; as an orator and tribune, 363.

¹⁶⁰ Asconius, *In Pisonem*, speaks of the law: "L. Julio C. Marcio Consulibus quos et ipse Cicero supra memoravit, Senatusconsulto collegia sub-

bring for thousands of unions the privilege of combination in a limited way. They could have a graveyard, but the conduct must be beyond suspicion; for during the commotions between Cicero and Claudius they¹⁶¹ had been working politically and had elected their own tribunes and commissioners of public works to office, which, according to the persons of boasted blood, like Cicero and Cæsar, was a mortal offence. But, as shown by Cagnat and Cassagnac, the Roman government was in need of these trade organizations and their enormous and efficient labors. Accordingly the government was in some measure kind to them and employed them to do the considerable labors of the imperial court. The unions organized this into the gynæceium.¹⁶² Thus the emperors themselves found the unions of great value to them, as well as a resource of the state, while the jealous senate circumscribed their usefulness and drove them to the wall. But these were the good emperors Augustus and Tiberius. After them came such monsters as Caligula, Claudius and Nero, and the poor wretches had nothing better to do than to dive down into the earth and immure themselves in their subterranean abodes, inapproachable by the spies of such tyrants, and hide, stifle and worship and study and perish together. In woe they thus built in secrecy their scholæ, a development of the burial attachment of the unions.

lata sunt, quæ adversus rempublicam videbatur esse." This was the year B.C. 64. The true law, preserved by Marcion is in the *Digest*, XLVII., xxii., 3. It is only for slaves and the very poor and reads in full thus: after saying: "fuerint illicita." it proceeds: "In summa autem, nisi ex senatusconsulti auctoritate, vel Cæsaris, collegium vel quodcumque tale corpus coerit, contra senatusconsultum, et mandata et constitutiones collegium celebrat. § 2. Servos quoque licet in collegio tenuiorum recipi voluntibus dominis: ut curatores horum corporum sciant, ne invito aut ignorante domino in collegium tenuiorum recipent, et in futurum pœna teneantur, in singulos homines aureorum centuum." The law crippled the primordial Solonic rights.

¹⁶¹ We are able to give quite a number of the cemeteries recently exhumed, by name, from De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, Vol. I., p. 159. We find his list as follows: "Cœmeterium Calepodia ad s. Pancratium — Cœm. s. Agathæ ad Girulum — Cœm. Ursi ad Portesam — Cœm. s. Felicis, Via Portensi — Cœm. Calisti juxta Catacombas — Cœm. Prætextati inter Portam Appiam ad s. Appolivarem — Cœm. Gordianum foris Portam Latinam — Cœm. inter duas Lauros ad s. Hellenam — Cœm. ad Pileatum ad s. Bibionam — Cœm in agrum Veranum ad s. Laurentium — Cœm. s. Agnetis — Cœm. fontis sancti Petri, id est, Nymphas — Cœm. Priscillæ ad Pontem Salarium — Cœm. Cucumeris — Cœm. Thrasonis ad s. Saturninum — Cœm. Feliciatis — Cœm. Hermetis — Cœm. s. Feliciatis juxta Cœm. Calisti." Many of these names occur in the *Acts*, or the *Canonical Epistles*.

¹⁶² Levasseur, *Hist. Classe Ouv.*, I., p. 37: "In Gaul dans le 4^{me} siècle on trouve encore six gynécées appartenant à l'état; à Arles, à Lyon, à Rheims pendant plus particulièrement les empereurs, sous autorité du comte du domaine privé, à Trèves et à Autelæ." For a description of the gynæceium, see p. 419, Vol. I.

These scholæ constitute one of the difficult problems of modern science. In fact we are so prejudiced and blinded that we do not desire to know the whole truth about them, seemingly because, on the outset, they show themselves to be a work of the wretchedly poor. But political science, having discovered that nations owe their wealth to labor and nothing else, there looms up a modicum of respectability and men are obliged to pay attention to the logic of truth.¹⁶³

Even the form of these schools is known. Of course, during the peaceful days of Tiberius whose long and gentle reign lasted from A.D. 14 to A.D. 37, these poor people had their schools above ground; we even have reasons for knowing that Augustus patronized and helped them, and we know that Livia, his wife, the empress and her son and others also did.¹⁶⁴ It was not until the persecutions of their immediate successors began that they sank these abodes into the dark subterranean recesses. We shall only portray them in their hidden quality; and our principal object is to show that they were used by their members as a part of the burial attachment under the law of the collegium funeraticium or burial society.

Dr. Cagnat, on an investigation of this subject, found scholæ of the Roman soldiers who belonged to the unions in Africa; and we judge by his description that the general form of their edifice was about the same as at Rome.¹⁶⁵ Small as they were, some not being more

¹⁶³ Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, I., p. 217, says: "La description de ces scholæ des collèges funéraires et religieux nous sera utile pour nous faire une idée de celles des collèges professionnels, qui en différaient pourtant. D'abord, elles étaient souvent situées sur un forum de la ville, comme à Ostie, à Bénévent, à Falerio à Préneste, à Pompeii, et comme celle des scribes et peut-être des flutistes, à Rome. Souvent elles se trouvaient dans un quartier où habitaient et travaillaient les membres du collège: ainsi les marchands de vin de Lyon, avaient bien leur local dans ces canabæ qui leur servaient d'entrepôts et qui se trouvaient dans la partie N.-O. de l'île actuelle du Tibre, entre le temple de Fors Fortuna et la porte Septimiana où étaient leur tanneries il était voisin de celui des ivoiriers et des ébénistes; en fin les tabernarii avaient leur schola au centre de la ville près du Pentheon d' Agrippa."

¹⁶⁴ An inscription is extant, Orell, 4088 n, cf. Vol. I., p. 360 n., of this work showing a school that was patronized by Livia and Augustus, who gave a sum of money to start it. It thrived. The members were carpenters who worked days for the emperor and met together to study evenings, and it stands among the very first regular schools for the working people in the world. This school in fact, may be regarded as the original of the modern college, having been an ordinary collegium or trade union such as existed in great numbers everywhere.

¹⁶⁵ R. Cagnat, *L'Armée Romaine d'Afrique* pp. 510-511. "Voilà ce qui les feuilles nous apprennent sur les scholæ. Les inscriptions qui mentionnent un grand nombre de ces lieux de réunion pourront compléter, dans une certaine mesure, ce qui précède," referring to his description too lengthy to be given here.

than eighteen feet square and only one story in height, the archaeologists are unanimous in classing these scholæ as temples. But they also partook of the character of the Prytanea of Greece and Asia. An author who has searched all the evidence at command, enumerates several functions at which they must have been engaged.¹⁶⁶ They had the common table where all partook the common meal; some even had the triclinium, a luxury discountenanced by the christians after conversion and absorption of their membership into the apostolic plan. Then there was an altar at which they held their religious devotions. Several inscriptions describe the furniture. Sometimes there was a portico adorned with paintings, for they were all mechanics and laborers, and many artists in oil painting were among the members. If any one of the best painters was without employment he could be occupied for a time in a way to make the abode pleasant to the eye, and if the light of day was excluded the oil lamp took its place. De Rossi cites the circular scholæ of the union of Sylvain, christianized at a very early date. It was furnished with oratories used by the christians. So deep down was it when found that it was but one grade above the catacombs. The circular shape is well relieved by several *absides* of a rectangular form, with three hemicycles. The exedra and the scholæ are similar. This find of the christian school of Sylvain has aroused a great deal of discussion and close study among the epigraphical students. Four trades are represented.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶ Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, 224-226, speaking of the prytanea that actually existed on a miniature scale in the scholæ, says: "Les détails épars que les inscriptions fournissent sur l'architecture des scholæ tendent même à prouver que souvent elles ne différaient en rien des temples." *CIL.*, V, 7906. This inscription reads: "In templo ex more epularentur." VI., 10234, show that Titus harbored the christians, a little later when the rage of Domitian had ceased; and allowed their schools to crawl out of their darkness. See also *CIL.*, X., 6483; "Ædes ut in ea semper epulentur." Thus it is constantly shown that the members always had the common table, and that their object was to furnish them economic means of life, as well as a decent burial.

¹⁶⁷ De Rossi, *Bull. Christ.*, 1864, pp. 25, 60; Lange, *Op.*, c., pp. 201-99. Huelsen, *Mith. de l'Inst.*, 1890, p. 291, assures us that those underground ancient lieux of pedagogy were early christian and he has discovered that the trade of the members of this particular school was that of the eborarii or ivory-workers. They had their banquets in the tetrastyle of the exedra. The architecture is after plans and explanations of Vitruvius, V., x., 4; *CI L.*, IX., 4112. Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, p. 222, says: "C'est là que les confrères se réunissaient, pendant leur loisir, pour se délasser, pour s'entretenir, pour discuter leurs intérêts, pour prendre part aux mêmes sacrifices et pour s'asseoir à la même table." Again, p. 229: "La salle à manger contenait naturellement les meubles et utensils nécessaires: tables, buffet, un armoire, lits de table, cratères, amphores, vases de toutes sortes,

The general trend of evidence leads to the suspicion that these associations of mutual aid in Rome and the municipal cities were afraid of being accused of having joined the christians. They found, by the spirit of persecution raging against them in the outside world that their new hope was correct; they found that unless they hid away from the sweeping decrees of Caligula and Claudius, nothing awaited them but extermination; they found these monarchs jealously imagining their august family name attacked, for nothing could conceal the christian principle that all, instead of an assuming few were created equal, had souls, a right to a foothold upon the earth hitherto denied, a right to marry whom they loved, and to esteem their children as legitimate. A search of the ancient laws discloses the awful fact that the freedman and the slave had no such rights. Sometimes, by force of mere contact, they met, formed acquaintance and joined themselves in marriage. The new christianity which they were adopting stimulated them and pronounced their children legitimate, and encouraged them to feel that they had souls. But the old Roman law still admitted no marriage for the slave and the freedmen. Thus they were drawn into the new dispensation of Jesus. Being already organized in colleges they had but to endorse the new doctrines through discussion at their scholæ which we have described, and once determined to accept them, they were led to things infinitely broader, more humane and less aristocratic. They became charmed with their new faith, and would grasp it with a lifelong energy.¹⁶⁸ What this early Sylvian union did, hundreds followed.

But we have many proofs in the inscriptions and ancient writings that these schools existed long before the arrival in the world of this new faith and hope. Under Augustus large numbers of scholæ were created by the trade unions, especially those who worked for the emperor, either in the general government works, the public works of Rome and the municipia, or in the

les uns pour conserver l'huile et le vin, les autres pour mesurer les rations, une balance pour peser celles-ci. On rencontre encore des bassins pour bains, des cadrans solaires, etc."

¹⁶⁸ De Rossi, *Roma Sott.*, I., p. 103, and note I, speaking of the stipem menstruum, refers to Orell., 4073, and Henzen, l. c. pp. 9, 10: "In Fano era un locus sepulturæ convictorium, qui una epulo vesci solent." De Rossi subjoins: "E l' epulo commune potrebbero essere i Cristiani, e l' epulo commune la sacra agape." From this it may turn out that no. 4073 of Orell. is christian. Orelli's 4073 is a collegium.

gynæcium of the Augustan family.¹⁶⁹ This accounts for the extremely early introduction of christianity into the provinces throughout proconsular Rome, even far-off Britian. Many authors show that in the British Isles christianity had been planted as early as during the life of Joseph of Arimathea. New finds prove it.¹⁷⁰ We shall bring them all out in our disquisition on this subject soon, under the rubric Nero, this chapter.¹⁷¹ But the extremely early planting appears to have had a literature which was laughed down by later ante-Nicine writers and these evidences perished. They were, however, seen and used in the works of other writers who are well known among the fathers.¹⁷² It is in this second-hand manner that a good deal of valuable knowledge has transcended to us.

There is a prevalent opinion among scholars interested in these discoveries that the earlier scholæ were used as places of repose, but that after the unions were christianized they became places of retreat; and this makes the assurances very secure that as soon as the persecutions broke out, they became hiding holes. Another thing was the fact that they were always attachments to the functions of the unions and construed to be legalized. Thus the school was in almost every case a part and parcel of the funeral or burial equipment of the union and as such considered as within the pale of the law, or *lex Julia*, the old addendum of the *lex collegia tenuiorum* which we have quoted in a note. Yet to exhibit all these material trappings would be too glaring a lie and they had to be somewhat covered even before the persecutions. Dr. Ramsay, whom we shall

¹⁶⁹ CIL., VIII., 2554, speaking of the school that is in the trade union. "Pro salute Augustorum optiones scholam suam cum statutis et imaginibus domus divinac, item diis conservatoribus eorum fecerant."

¹⁷⁰ Gould, *Free Masonry*, Vol. 1., pp. 37, 38, 54. some time ago asseverated that as early as the time of Christ, there was a *Collegium fabrorum* in England, a fact confirmed by Coote, *Romans of Britain*, Lond., 1878, pp. 38, 396, 440." This has since been positively confirmed by the new and wonderful discovery of the union of carpenters to whose expenses Paul's mention, II Timothy, iv., 21, contributed a sum of money. But this matter of so vast importance to our argument will be treated fully under the section, NERO.

¹⁷¹ See *index*, in verb. *Joseph of Arimathea*.

¹⁷² Chrysostom, *Homil.*, Tom. VI., p. 635 of ed. used by Lingard, *Hist. Anglo-Sax. Church*; Appendix, note A., 354, says: "Καὶ γὰρ αἱ Βρεττανικαὶ νῆσοι, αἱ τῆς θαλάττης ἐκτός κείμεναι ταύτης, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ οὔσαι τῷ ὕκεισθι τῆς δυναμῆος τοῦ ρήματος ἠσθοντο." καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνη ἐκκλησία καὶ θυσιαστήρια πεπηγασί. ' So again, Tertullian, *Adv. Judæos*, 189: 'Britannorum inaccessa Romanis christo vero subdita....Christi nomen regnat...Christi nomen et regnum colitur.'

quote in the proper place, has given several pages of explanation of the multitudinous and ingenious devices employed by the old unions of Phrygia, after becoming christianized, in artful escape from the military spies who shadowed them, and the police who constantly dogged them in obedience to this Roman law. But their laborious and indefatigable drudgery of descending sometimes seventy steps below the surface of the ground to build and establish themselves is amazing.¹⁷³

Who can wonder, knowing the untiring devotion to each other, amidst the awful persecutions they were forced to suffer under such pitiless creatures as Caligula and Claudius, that they gladly obeyed the new commandment of their crucified lord to love and care for one another.¹⁷⁴ Entombed in the earth and enwrapped in mutual love, struggling, teaching, plying their trades, nestling, dying together, here it was that the new emotion of human sympathy found its birthplace, its cradle, its common nourishment.¹⁷⁵ Escape from the relentless tigers of the law became an absorbing study which did not confine itself to Rome. It stretched out in every direction.¹⁷⁶ It took refuge in, and enormously pros-

¹⁷³ Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, I., p. 223: "Schola; lieu de repos et de délassement était son nom ordinaire." On the same page, in note 1, he cites the "Angustales corporati," at Puteoli, CIL., X., 1, 888; cannophori Ostienses, XIV., 285; centonarii, at Apulum, III., 1174; dendrophori at Cemenelum; the eborarii and citriarii in Rome; fabri or carpenters in many places; clog and wooden shoemakers; fabri tignarii, fontani; and in fact, they are found everywhere.

¹⁷⁴ De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, I., p. 177, has only reported what he saw: we give his cemeteries most of which are accompanied by the scholæ and all with altars: "Notitia portarum Viarum ecclesiarum circa Urbem Romanam;" taken from the *Work* of William of Malmesbury: 1st, Via Flaminia: "Secunda Porta Flaminia quæ modo appellata s. Valentini, et Flaminia Via et cum ad pontem Molbium pervenit vocatur Via Kavenna quia ad Ravennam ducit. Ibi in primo milliario foris s. Valentini in sua ecclesia requiescit — Via Salaria Vetus — Tertia porta Porticiana et Via eodem modo appellata... Ibi prope in eo loco qui dicitur Cucumeris, requiescunt martyres Festus, Johannis, Liberalis, Diogenes, Blastus, Lucina, et in uno sepulcro CCXL. Juxta Viam Salariam requiescunt, Hermas, Vasella et Protus Iacinctus, Maximilianus, Herculanus, Crispus, Panephilus, Quirinus." The last two are seventy steps below the surface.

¹⁷⁵ Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, II., p. 496. "The burial of different families in one grave was essentially opposed to the Phrygian conception, whereas it was in perfect accordance with the christian ideas of brotherhood and communion. Especially, the christians longed to be buried close to the grave of a martyr or saint." He then describes cases which are exactly the same as those given by Oehler and Gorius, concerning unions.

¹⁷⁶ Ramsay, *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, II., p. 501, based on inscriptions nos. 411, 412: "In pursuance of this policy the christians put nothing in public documents, such as their epitaphs, which could be quoted as evidence of christianity: Jewish festivals were legal, and their names could therefore be used. Benefit societies were allowed by law under certain restrictions and the communities of christians in the cities, were registered under suitable names, assimilated to those of trades or local guilds."

elyted in and built upon, the already organized secret unions at Rome, as early as Caligula, became a hive of these hiding, converted, economic unions, as shown in constantly increasing archaeological finds.¹⁷⁷

Having proved by unerring inscriptional evidence that the plan of salvation of the crucified carpenter was even during his life-time endorsed by the myriad economic trade unions of Rome, that they had all things common as recorded of the original organization for which Stephen lost his life, and admitting nothing as true unless credited to undeniable evidence, such as that of the penetrating Gibbon and contemporaneous chiselings of the brotherhoods themselves,¹⁷⁸ let us now proceed to give a few details of that remarkable plant.

There was a man named Clement who, immediately after the crucifixion had been converted at Rome by the eloquence of one of the seventy disciples. He was a noble Roman who lived at the time of the first diffusion of the new faith.¹⁷⁹ The disciple whose arguments converted him at Rome, was Barnabas.¹⁸⁰ Clement, because he was a real advocate of the pure, original economic recommendations of the carpenter, was ruled out of our canonical literature,¹⁸¹ although what he wrote was more valuable than even the matter which has transcended to us under censorship of the prelates, in that they could make no profit out of Clement and his Petrine doctrines of communistic distribution of all things. Clement, of Rome was an honest, able, consistent and unpurchasa-

¹⁷⁷ De Rossi, *Roma Sott.*, I., p. 106, quotes the following epitaph: "In memoriam eorum quorum corpora in hoc accubitorio sepulta sunt Alcimi caritatis Iulianæ et Rogatæ matri Victoris presbyteri qui hunc locum cunctis fratribus, feci." Every one of these names is registered with the early martyrs. Here the common table, the schola and the burial sarcophagus are one.

¹⁷⁸ Following such a policy to get at truth, we quote Gibbon as reliable. This historian who left nothing unscanned, and cleaned to the dregs every record, makes the following satisfactory statement: "Antiquity has left very few works of which the authenticity is so well established as that of the *Acts, of the Apostles*," and refers to Lardner's *Credibility of Gospel History*, Part II.

¹⁷⁹ For a succinct description of Clement and his conversion, see Neander, *Hist. Eccles.*, I., 32.

¹⁸⁰ Smith, *Bib. Did.*, in verb. *Barnabas*, p. 247: "The Clementine Homilies make him to have been a disciple of our Lord himself; and to have preached in Rome and Alexandria, and converted Clement of Rome. The *Clementine Recognitions* make him to have preached in Rome, even during the lifetime of our Lord." The Clementine literature that was ruled out, appears to be more truthful and realistic than the gospel itself.

¹⁸¹ Irenæus, *Origins of the Episcopate*, I., (*Hist. Eccles.*, III., Sect. 3, Irenæus when he says: "This man, as he had seen the Blessed Apostles and had been conversant with them, might be said to have the preaching of the Apostles still echoing in his heart.")

ble man. He was converted to the economic socialism of Jesus, and was persistent in the idea and the practice until his death. His celebrated endorsement of the common table and the communal code caused the speculators to rule him out of the economical gospels where his great Epistle to the Corinthians ought to be registered. Quite a number of the modern ecclesiastical critics are now complaining¹⁷² against his having been so shabbily treated. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries produced many capable scholars who have been outspoken in favor of reinstating the Petrine gospel.

The probable trouble with Clement was, that unlike the great precursor who spoke in parables and indirection, he came straight out and wrote plainly. Having read and studied the writings of Plato, he was ready to endorse and assist in any practical plan based on such ideas; for Plato never made any effort to organize a single brotherhood to practically carry out his ideas. Jesus, on the contrary, did not write, but laid out all the plans and specifications for the organization and world-wide propagation of the ideas.¹⁷³ Clement heartily believed that all should labor, and that the product should accrue to all.¹⁷⁴ He was a man of unusual education, powerful vigor, unswerving determination and fine address. The person at Rome who converted him, said to have been Barnabas, was holding an open-air discourse as early as during the life of Tiberius, and consequently in safety and freedom from molestation by the police, but in the slummy portions of the city; and Clement, a young man or perhaps mere boy passing from school, heard it. The nearest that can be ascertained from the circumstance is that he was converted

¹⁷² *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VIII., pp. 82-84. *Resignations of Clem.*, Common Table of the Brotherhoods. Clement was seeking mental relief when he met Barnabas. Barnabas converted him at Rome. He then went, in his mental agony to Caesarea, met Barnabas again, and Peter. Peter refused to invite him to the common meal, but himself ate, with the assembled brethren, of whose names are all chronicled. Peter, however, prayed: "May the Lord grant to thee to be made like to us, in all things that receiving baptism, thou mayest be able to meet with us at the same table."

¹⁷³ Clement, *Resignations*, as per *Tracts of Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. VIII., p. 91: "A certain man, the wisest among the Greeks, knowing that these things are so, says that friends should have all things common. He says also, that air and the sunshine cannot be divided, so neither ought other things to be divided which are given of the world to all, to be possessed in common, but should be as possessed."

¹⁷⁴ Quoting *Gen. IV. 3*: Clement of Rome, *First Epist. Cor.* iv. says: "So God rebuked him, saying: 'If thou offerest rightly, but dost not divide rightly, hast thou not sinned?' Here the double lesson is that the ancient sacrifice, always meant an economic contribution generally in kind as grain meat fruit, etc."

to socialism, and his lifework immediately opened up before him. Henceforth he was to believe and argue and teach all men that the existing competitive conditions with slaves at one end millionaires at the other were wrong. His subsequent voluminous writings, most of which have fortunately been preserved, all show it.¹⁸⁵ Clement was so impressed that he inquired into the meaning of such strange truths. To do this he had to descend into the abodes of the smutty unions so foul that they are characterized by M. Renan as wearing filthy gabardines, reeking with grime and smelling of an intolerable emanation of garlic and social putrescence. It is hard to believe that the highest, most correct and lasting principles, such as proved successful, anent the splendor of the directly opposite which gave way before them, should have had their birthplace and their cradle in such dens. Yet it is literally true. For the last two centuries, and most especially the last half of the nineteenth, the proofs of this have overwhelmed all opposition.¹⁸⁶ Even Gibbon admits it.¹⁸⁷

In following the literary career of Clement of Rome, we find all through that the twit of Tertullian and Jerome that his celebrated Apostolic Constitutions and his Recognitions were suited for this "Vilis plebecula" or low-rate trash from which the movement of our era originated, were based upon the truth. It is necessary all through, to accentuate the now appreciable but anciently nauseating fact that the economic means of ex-

¹⁸⁵ Clem., *Apostolic Constitutions*, Book II., chaps. 8 and 25: The eighth chapter opens: "Those that will not work must not eat." Again: "Let young persons of the congregation endeavor to minister diligently to all necessaries." All are enjoined to work. In chap. 26, he writes: "Distribute to all those in want, with justice; and yourselves use the things that belong to the Lord; and do not abuse the privilege by eating all by yourselves." Whether this lord (*κύριος*) here mentioned is the one who died on the cross, or simply the lord and president of the union, which in the Greek is *κύριος*, is a problem.

¹⁸⁶ Mosheim, *First Century*, Part I., chap. iv., § 8, says: "The causes must truly have been divine which could enable men destitute of all human aid, poor and friendless, neither eloquent nor learned, fishermen and publicans, and they too, Jews, or persons considered odious, in so short a time to persuade a great part of mankind to abandon the systems of their fathers."

¹⁸⁷ *Decline and Fall*, Vol. I., p. 57, Harpers: "The latter were those among whom the Gospel found its most numerous recruits." Gibbon read Martial who mentions Pudens and other Bible names, and as Martial wrote some scurrility he inveighs against the whole generation found in these dives where the faith was planted. Gibbon knows nothing about the Solonic law and its labor organizations, yet perceives the cardinal fact; and then leaves us to infer that the gospel was introduced into a loathsome species of lasciviousness. He says: "poor people" are brought under contribution as examples of the most exquisite abominations.

istence was, as it is now, the highest and even noblest aim, and that it has taken three thousand years of culture under close organization for this vilis plebecula to grind off the ancient curse of slavery, opening the valuable discovery to view, that economic salvation is holiest and most difficult of all tasks in the realm of social and political economy. Because Clement had a mind and set himself at work with energy to carry out the plan of salvation blocked out at Jerusalem, he was set upon by the prelates who crawled into control, and his name so handed down that it does not occur but once in the New Testament. Clement wrote for Peter the apostolic canons which are preserved; and although ruled out as canonical and Bible scripture, are in the *Corpus Juris Civilis* along with the *Pandects* of ancient law.¹⁸⁸

We now come to a recital of the manner in which these two men became acquainted. On conversion at Rome, Clement determined to see the apostles, the principal one of whom at that time was Peter. He had to sell the little he had and settle up his affairs in order to get the money to make the voyage. This accomplished, he arrived at Cæsarea where, as it happened, the twelve apostles were to meet, to confront the celebrated Simon Magus in a discussion.¹⁸⁹ It appears that they first met at Joppa, the seaport of Jerusalem, assembling at the house of Simon the tanner. We mention this circumstance because it leads to an insight into a long train of evidence proving that the apostles "met around" in the "houses" of the unions that had been converted. Simon, the tanner, was probably the *kurios* or president of a union of leather workers at Joppa. So Dr. Oehler thinks. There has been found at Joppa, an inscription of the tanners' unions of the same age, which, although it does not mention Simon, that being only the christian metonym, looks as if it might have been the same brotherhood of tanners which welcomed Peter and en-

¹⁸⁸ He wrote the *Canons of the Church*, for Peter at a much later date at Rome. He knew only the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, which is lost. His *Canon* have been disallowed by the later fathers. Two letters are also extant. Peter stipulates that certain Clementine *Praeceptions* in eight books belong to the *Bible*, and the rest held in mystery: "Praeceptiones quæ vobis episcopus per me Clementem in libris octo nuncupatæ sunt, quas omnibus publicare non oportet, ob quedam arcana quæ in se continent: et *Adiones nostras Apostolorum*."

¹⁸⁹ Clement, *Recognitions*. Book II., cc. 7, 8, 9, 10-18, as told by Aquila, his former pupil.

tertained him for many days.¹⁹⁰ This Simon, the tanner of Joppa, had become so strong an enthusiast in the new cause, and so helpful in the practical work, that he was appointed as the twelfth apostle in the place of Judas, who committed suicide.

In passing, it may be stated that during the life of Jesus, there are seen evidences that these disciples, wandering from place to place, without homes and without money, were frequently if not constantly entertained by secret brotherhoods who fed them at their common table and out of their common substance. That christianity was originally planted in these old and long-existing communes is made plain by a critical perusal of the Gospel itself.¹⁹¹

Clement, who came out strong and bold, was the mouthpiece of Peter in after years; and the reader of the history of the ancient poor cannot but be attracted by a fair and full statement of the facts connected with his initiation into the brotherhoods under Peter's guidance.

To begin with, Clement was right. Every development of practical experience and science since Jesus who first promulgated that organization, challenges disbelief in faith, as an economic or pathological cure. A practical workingman himself, this great kurios, was a member of the brotherhoods of much judgment and sense. He organized the poor for economical salvation. Whatever interpretation priestly influence may make, this is the impregnable buttress behind which future christianity will stand. Unless restored to the prim-

¹⁹⁰ Oehler, *Eran. Findob.*, p. 282. Here this archaeologist crowds many unions in a single mention, this of Simon the tanner among them: "Purpurfärbereien waren auch in Tyrus, dessen Purpur berühmt war, Strabo, XV., 2, s. 757; Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, V., 19. Die Sidonier werden von Strabo, XV., 2, s. 757, genannt πολυτεχνοι και καλλιτεχνοι, ihre Waffen waren berühmt und finden sich selbst in Sardinien; Plinius nennt Sidon, artifex vitri, *Nat. Hist.*, V., 19;—Gerber in Joppa erwähnt *Apostelg.*, x., 6." That Simon's tannery business was a union shines out in several mentions. Clement tells us this, and more. That Simon the tanner was the president, lord or κυριος of the Joppa κυριακος, is made plain by Clement's *Recognitions* when recounting in detail the story of his first acquaintance with Peter.

¹⁹¹ Luke viii., 3, calls forth an acknowledgment by Neander, *Planting*, Book I., chap. 11, Vol. 1., p. 26, 27, as follows: "Probably a union of this kind existed among the persons who attended the saviour, and ministered to his necessities." See Luke, viii., 3: "And Joanna, the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, and Suzanna and many others which ministered unto him of their substance." Here is a plain and straightforward statement that Joanna, a deaconess or stewardess, and a slave or other lowly servant of one of high degree, was the officer of a secret union under the old San-
onic dispensation, and that the membership, working out the hard economic problem of life, had endorsed the new plan of salvation

itive estate where Clement left it, it falls. It is in decadence now. He was a young man of sense and honesty. Seeing the unspeakable miseries of his enslaved and impoverished fellow men, he joined the good work of practically carrying it out. He joined the secret union of Peter, put his whole life into it, and wrote the valuable contributions. For doing this he was ignored a hundred and fifty years afterwards and his splendid manuscripts ruled out and nearly lost.

And Peter, the "lord;" what shall be said of this indefinable, strange friend of the Master, friend of Clement, of whom a by-word "the silence of Peter," went current for centuries? Mutilations, hitches, puzzles, quarrels with Paul, secrecy in preaching, constant sticking to baths and agapæ, loveliness of character amidst sternness of counsel, and final crucifixion head downward by Nero; these give the synopsis of this great fisherman's life. Of the silence of Peter, Origen and Tertullian assure us that like that still stranger man, Titus, nineteen years hidden away at Cæsarea, Peter was hidden at Rome for a generation, taking up the problem of salvation in what are now found to have been the Roman converted collegia; sometimes sallying forth as far as Babylon, Edessa, and back through Ephesus and Corinth to be again self-entombed among the stifling garlic and swine-eating human herd, effluvious in their clogs and gabardines, gulping in his glad tidings of great joy in the scholæ of the columbarium. The strange life-long friendship between Peter and Clement began in somewhat the following manner, if we may credit the Recognitions:

When Clement arrived in Judæa from Rome, bent on seeing the authors and founders of the plan of salvation, he was surprised to find Peter the lord almost inaccessible and as rigid against him and cold as stone. He was told to await outside and he might soon be vouchsafed an audience, expecting to see some grand, and august, monarchical personage attired in the trappings of lords. When ushered into Peter's presence he was amazed to behold a workman in plain clothes, with a face full of mildness and doubt. Though drawn together in conversation, yet Peter makes him remain outside the mystic veil; and he must not come in and eat with the brotherhood, but sends the young man to a

public eating house with the benediction that he speedily become qualified to take his meals with them.¹⁹² In the *Recognitions* it soon transpires that they have all things common.

Be it remembered that Peter and the eleven, Judas being dead, were for a special purpose there at Caesarea, from Jerusalem; and had just left the struggling, earliest brotherhood whose splendid organization had recently cost them the precious life of Stephen. Simon Magus from Samaria had come down from Tyre in a raging mood against Peter who had already called him to severe account.¹⁹³ They were to meet in a great discussion. Christianity was now born, and reason and feeling were henceforward to sway against the fallacious and moribund arbitrament of steel. Amid the preparations for this event, Clement had innocently arrived. But there is one important theory of this story yet unwound—that of Peter's call at Joppa on the way to Caesarea, and the curious occurrence at the house of Simon the tanner.

Here, in the word "House," we have enough to fill a volume; for it opens up a marvelous disclosure. In Greek, the language we get everything from, the word is *kuriakos* or *kurioikos*, which when found by the archaeologists engaged in deciphering numbers of inscriptions left by these unions, means a "house of the lord."¹⁹⁴ This lord and his responsibility to the economic union is defined in the *jus coeundi* of the Solonic law and *kurios* occurs once in the Roman ancient law of the Twelve Tables, which transcends to us in the Di-

¹⁹² *Recognitions*, Book II., c. 72. Peter informs Clement that he "cannot come with us who is not permitted to take food with anyone who has not been baptized." Book II., c. 1. shows that after seven days of waiting for Simon Magus to get ready for the discussion, he must have meantime been initiated, for we find them now partaking together, under the promise, II., c. 72, that "He who wishes soon to be baptized is separated but for a little time." Then they are found in the *Recognitions*, II., c. 72, "sleeping in the same apartment, thirteen of us in all, of whom, next to Peter, Zachæus was first, then Sophronius, Joseph and Machæus, Eliesdrus, Phineas, Lazarus, and Elisæus; after these, first, Clement and Nicodemus; then Niceta and Aquila, who had formerly been disciples of Simon," etc. Again, in same sentence, "As the evening light was still lasting we all sat down." Dr. Riddle, *Anti-Nicene Fath.*, VIII., p. 97, in commenting, suggests: "The variety and correspondence point to the use of a common basis."

¹⁹³ Cf. *Acts*, viii., 20, 21, 22, where it is clearly seen that it was all over money-getting; Simon craving for money to bribe the proselytes with. *Irenæus*, *Adv. Hær.*, I., xxii., 1, also tells the story.

¹⁹⁴ Webster, *Dict. Eng. Lang.*, in verb. *Church*: "Church: from Gr. *κυριακή, κυριακόν*, the Lord's house, from *κυριος*, concerning a master or lord, from *κυριος*, master, lord." A sentence later, Webster admits it to have been "even a heathen temple."

gest,¹⁹⁵ where it is quite definitely stated that *kurios* means power or responsible authority of control; for the organization would be invalid and illegal unless guaranteed before the world to be provided with a definite or responsible manager, and in this manner such *kurios*, the translation of which is *lord*, comes to us clothed in power to administer to the welfare of the union. The law did not know the union. That was veiled; it held its lord responsible only. We have already seen that in the Roman *collegia* he was the *quinquennalis*; for he could not be a lord unless he had served faithfully at least five years.¹⁹⁶ In short, he was the responsible president of the union. Peter, who had been a director since before the other lord found him at the fishing nets, was now the lord Peter, according to Clement, although still a humble workingman. So Simon the tanner was a lord or director of the tanners'¹⁹⁷ trade union at Joppa, placing implicit reliance upon the statement of Dr. Oehler in the *Eranos Vindobonensis* who, accepting, with Gibbon and Guizot, that the Acts of the Apostles be good history, announces this union among the *eranoi* of the ancients.

These associations were no uncommon thing in Judæa and Phœnicia at that time. A purely Phœnician inscription has been found bearing date of a pagan *eranos* existing at Tyre, a few miles to the north of Joppa dedicated to Baal, and showing that the membership which was large, had a colony at the Piræus, the seaport of Athens.¹⁹⁸ Peter, on his way to Cæsarea, was invited by this Simon the tanner at Joppa to sojourn at his "House," for a few days; and it appears that while there, as recorded in the Acts, he was shad-

¹⁹⁵ *Dig.*, XLVII., *tit.* xxii., 4; Gaius, 4 *Ad Legem duodecim Tabularum*: "ὅτι ἂν τούτων διαθῶνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους, κύριος εἶναι, εἰὰν μὴ ἀπαγορέωσθαι δημόσια γράμματα." For a full quotation of this law and an account of its history and translation from the original Greek law of Solon, see *supra*, p. 4.

¹⁹⁶ See *supra*, pp. 5, 6^{sq.} with notes. Cf. *Index*, for more.

¹⁹⁷ *Eranos Vindobonensis*, p. 282. Here Dr. Johann Oehler, in his dissertation on the unions of Asia, ranks in his list the tanners of Joppa who are mentioned in the Acts: "Gerber in Joppa erwähnt *Apostolog.*, x., 6, 17, 23, 32," this epigraphist having no doubt of its being one of the Solonic unions.

¹⁹⁸ Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, p. 103; *Archæol. Zeitung*, 1872, p. 21. It was found in an old temple, built of solid marble, almost imperishable, and consequently quite well preserved. Along with it are, a Jehovah, Saviour, another a Herines, which appears to be Greek or Hellenistic Asian. Foucart gives the inscription in his no. 26; and in his text, p. 103, he gives it as: "l' autel qu' a consacré Ben-chodesch, fils de Baaljathon, fils d' Abdeschmoun le suffète de Citium. Que son vœu soit béni par le puissant Sachoua."

owed and hounded by police from Jerusalem, bent on oversetting his plans. The cunning money rings had discovered that Simon the Magician who was evidently their tool, was being followed by Peter who had arraigned and challenged him on the money question. Simon had made money enough at his tricks to buy a slave whom he employed as a free man. He used this as an argument for his ideas, and boasted that money being the great and all important power, was needed, wherewith to emancipate all the slaves. Peter, who was ordered to travel and propagate the new salvation without money and without scrip defeated him on these very grounds, arguing like a true socialist, that Simon was an ambitious fakir, working in the interest of the money power centered at Jerusalem. Peter seems to have escaped arrest through some miraculous agency. In reality he had a powerful friend in the person of Cornelius, and another in the secret tanners' union, where he lodged for days, hidden away, and at last came out all right at Cæsarea. This accounts for Peter's suspicion and coldness to Clement, fearing that he might be another policeman on his track. The story is perfectly consistent all through, although a little romantic.

Wonderful things are now yearly springing to light to substantiate the truthfulness and the historical reliability of this whole scheme of the origins of socialism, and its plant of an ascendant civilization.

Socrates had been a member of a genuine thiasos, either at Athens or the Piræus. So likewise Clement, who imitated him, saw the cruelties which ground the slaves and other expatriated wretches whose majorities swarmed in the world, struggling, stifling, perishing everywhere without help or hope; and Socrates lived just at the moment when the eranos and its humane brotherhoods, exclusively made up of these despised sufferers themselves, was secretly lending means out of meagre dues and fees, to deal with the Pythian Apollo, a kindly god, almost identical with Dionysus, in buying here and there a slave into liberty.¹⁹⁹ The great and good Socrates taught against wrong and for all right by his invention of dialectic philosophy which culminated

¹⁹⁹ Foucart, *Affranchissement des Esclaves*. See *infra*, pp. 58^{sqq.}, notes 17-19, our description of the wonderful manner in which this used to be done under the Attic law.

in his martyrdom while it prepared the mind of his young friend Plato who stood by him at his dying hour. Socrates had been too bold and outspoken. Plato continued through subtleties of letters. These Clement and Jesus, and Justin read. Jesus saw the danger of open advocacy of the principles inherent in the erasos of Socrates and taught by parable and indirection but always to the same end.

We repeat that fresh historical and archæological evidence is at this age of scientific investigation flowing in, to verify the truthfulness of the story of the early plant, and to stultify the calumnious work of the prelates who have murdered christianity and built a sweltering hierarchy they call a church. In carrying out their plan it was necessary to burn, mutilate or rule out such evidence as that given the world through the writings of Clement, whom we have momentarily left with Peter and the Twelve just enumerated apostles. Here he tells of grimy workmen, of furnishing them constant employ, of sitting around a secret common table and learning the Kerugma Petrou which he is afterwards to write as the lost Gospel of Saint Peter.

We say fresh evidence. Yes and every year. Only now there comes a find, out of Egypt, the adopted land and home of Jesus, in shape of well-preserved sayings of this master, written in Greek upon the ancient imperishable papyrus and, except those ground away by time, in letters so plain that doubt is made impossible. These finds have been dug up at Behneseh, near the River Nile and are of the stamp of official science, being the hard-won results of archæologists, sent out from London, through the Egyptian Exploration fund about January, 1897. The press, of course, puts the date of these strange writings later than they could possibly be but more than one eminent commentator makes them earlier than A.D. 60.

Let us again look at the manner in which the Logia speak: one of them reads, as interpreted by the learned archæologists; as follows: "Jesus saith: 'wherein there are' (here occurs an illegible gap) 'alone I am with him. Raise the stone and there shalt thou find Me. Cleave the wood and there am I.'" Already this astonishing fraction of lost Gospel is calling forth a wrangling dis-

cussion. The simple meaning of this expression, covered so as to be incomprehensible to outsiders, since he speaks in enigmatical sentences to the outside world or the uninitiated, is, that he represents labor; he is the champion of the stonemason, the mason, the carpenter. Wherever these are found there he is to encourage and lift them in the hard struggles of life. Everything in those old times had a double meaning; one, the open, the epiphanious, the other beclouded and mysterious. The initiated membership understood; the uninitiated, such as spies, could not read or understand and do them harm.

Whoever travels in oriental regions to-day is surprised at the mysterious character of the architecture left in the ruins, especially of public buildings. Vast edifices, showing a superior workmanship, but mournful in dark and windowless walls; great colonnades surrounding crypts of awful, dungeon-like vaults; thick, rock-ribbed, high-climbing partitions enclosing uncanny pocket-gulfs that darkle with a dismal air of midnight—these freaks of architecture, highly technical and correct in skilled art but repellent and distasteful to the modern conception, are not the fault of workmen but simply the echoings of the genius of their age. They befitted the mysteries which formed the immemorial structure of belief. Huge gods lived upon the mountain peaks; gorgons, giants, centaurs, fates and dragons, never seen but always present, scared or exhilarated men and women, and winged immortals now angels, now monsters flapped in the air and surged in the rivers and seas, imparting mysterious mouthings inaudible except to the sacerdotal aruspex and religion-mongers who were political officers and could deceive best and make most in money and aggrandizement by keeping their doings in darkness. It explains the two-faced double-tonguing which we of a higher enlightenment cannot understand and to which Jesus, living in it, had to conform. The one audience to whom he addressed the Word or Logos was the world; the other the initiated members of his secret brotherhood.

Thus all the new discoveries are shedding light only on the evidence that the early acts of men like Clement and Peter strongly tended to solve the problem of eco-

nomical salvation of the ancient lowly; and in the case of Jesus and his evangelists, it was especially so.

A very strong evidence that the teachings of Peter and Clement were inspired from the occult habits and practices of the *collegia* is seen in their full indorsement of marriage. In the seventh chapter of Clement's epistle to James occur the duties of officers who were to preside over the brotherhoods. The words run thus: "Above all things let them join the young in marriage betimes, anticipating the entanglements of youthful passions. Neither let them neglect the marriage of those who are already old." The idea should be kept in view that Clement wrote for Peter in almost every case, and this epistle is no exception; so that it may be regarded almost as a long letter or message from Peter to James. They advised marriage while Paul discountenanced it. Now all through the list of inscriptions of the Solonic unions we find marriage. This was apparently, of all others, the dearest of rites to the poor workingman. He had no legal right to marry if a slave, and as a freedman he had none. This right to marry and have a family, which has been the foundation rock of civilization was, as we have already shown, denied the poor. The unions practiced marriage extensively as the multitude of epitaphs show, but they did it in spite of the outside official world which desired them to delve in slavery and degradation. Paul who did not want to run counter to the law, recommended celibacy. Peter and Clement came squarely out and encouraged the practice of marriage which certainly knitted the new plant into the old unions enormously.

It elevated woman to her high, sublime dignity as a human being. It cultivated her virtue so lax and susceptible under pagan institutions. It ushered her forth as an officer in the fraternities and she became highly competent and useful in managing the entertainments. Innumerable inscriptional records attest to the usefulness of woman as an excellent, methodical factor in the success of the trade unions of the ancient world. The epitaphs are rich in mention of the life-long love and honor in which she lived with her husband and children. We shall show this when we come to the Phrygian inscriptions. She found employment in the be-

hest of the great *jus coeundi* of the Solonic dispensation. She assumed this management of entertainments, and often, in underground cells, inapproachable to the hateful police, dared to convene and enjoy the innocent symposium which Xenophon graphically described; and it was the married ladies, assisted by their daughters, who planned the entertainments, worked out the scheme of pleasant, mutual enjoyment, made it an economical success, and otherwise enhanced the joys of conviviais.

Clement wrote the *Kerugma Petrou*, the lost gospel of St. Peter.²⁰⁰ This, as it is known was used by Heraclion, and by Clement of Alexandria. Hilgenfeld regards these chapters of the *Recognitions* touching on the *Kerugma Petrou*, as genuine history. Prof. Riddle admits as much, and declares that they are very old. De Rossi also contributes his newly discovered inscriptional proof of Peter.²⁰¹

Clement accompanied Peter in his travels, after the incidents in Joppa and Casarea which we have detailed, and continued to be his constant companion. They went to Asia and several important places in eastern Europe, and visited the islands of the sea. He wrote accounts of the adventures, portions of which are extremely romantic and thrilling in hair-breadth escapes. These diaries, jottings and reminiscences, having survived the wreck of time, are here to shed some future light upon the dark chapter of vandalism forthcoming to the eye of fairminded history and criticism.

But the most important of all the works of Clement if we perhaps except the *Kerugma Petrou*, or Gospel of Peter, which is lost, are the Apostolic Canons preserved in Latin,²⁰² and the actual basis of the rules of the

²⁰⁰ *Supernat. Rel.*, p. 384, speaking of the Clementine Homilies and the Petrine writings, says: "These works, however, which are generally admitted to have emanated from the Ebionitic party of the early church are supposed to be based upon older Petrine writings, such as the Preachings of Peter, called *κήρυγμα πέτρον*, and the *Travels of Peter*, *Περιοδοί Πέτρον*." And on p. 386: "There can be little doubt that the author was a representative of ebionitic Gnosticism which had once been the purest form of christianity." The author of this celebrated work, whoever he may be, knows nothing of the great inscriptional history of this matter, or of the Solonic unions, yet sees a long distance in the right direction.

²⁰¹ De Rossi, *Roma Sott.*, I. p. 155: "Ma ciò, che, più monta, concorde a questa osservazione e la notizia registrata nel libro pontificale della stessa scensione più antica intorno al monumento del principe degli apostoli. 'Anacletus. *Memoriam beati Petri* Construxit,' et loca ubi episcopi conderentur." *Lib., Pontifical, in Anacletus*, § ii.

²⁰² *Corpus Juris Civilis*. We use the work supervised by C. M. Gallisset, sub-titled *Corpus Juris Civilis, Academicum Parisiense*, 1839, and shall give pages as well as sections and numbers.

church to-day. These, although strongly impregnated with the same rules which governed the more ancient unions, and which we have elaborately set forth in the previous pages of this work, as gathered from the pre-christian *eranthiasos* and other pagan brotherhoods of the *jus coeundi* of Solon, are the basis of all that is of any practical value in christianity at this day.

Let us scan some of these canons in critical comparison with the law of the Twelve Tables of Rome.²⁰³ Canon forty ordains as a mandate that whosoever renders a service to another, that person shall return to him nourishment and means of life. Brothers recognized and received into the living rooms to enjoy the common advantages of union must be furnished with work since that is the source of their nourishment.

It was a crime punishable with expulsion, to commit self-mutilation, and Peter and the early church ranked it as a species of murder.²⁰⁴ Initiation into the new brotherhood is plainly spoken of, accompanied with the command to go forth and spread the light in the new way.²⁰⁵

We have stated in our descriptions of the pagan unions that sometimes in the initiations the candidates being admitted went into ecstasy tearing, and devouring the quivering flesh of the victims of the feast. As if the new church members were understood to be the same bodies of men and women and the same unions as we there described we find that Peter feared they might commit the same ancient ferocious barbarism in the new initiations; since he decrees against such brutalities in terse and cogent words.²⁰⁶ The lesson to the student is that this christianity was planted in these old barbarous unions; and this is precisely the truth. Overwhelming

²⁰³ *Canones Apostolorum*, 40, *fn.*: "Ordinavit enim lex dei, ut qui altari inserviunt, de altari nutriantur." This plainly tells us that all the brothers are to be nourished; for just above, the precept is: "Percipiat autem et ipse (si modo indiget) quantum ad necessarios suos, et hospitio exceptorum fratrum usus opus habet, ne quo modo ipse posteriore loco habeatur, quam cæteri.

²⁰⁴ *Canon. Apostolorum*, 22: "Si quis quum clericus esset, virilia sibi ipsi amputaverit, deponitur; homicida etenim sui ipsius est." "Si quis episcopus aut presbyter, in una initione non tres immersiones, sed unam duntaxat quæ in mortem Domini detur, peregerit: deponitur." Canon 49.

²⁰⁵ *Canon Apost.*, 49: "In una initiatione. . . . profecti, docite omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris, et Filii et Spiritus Sancti."

²⁰⁶ *Canon. Apost.*, 62: "Si quis episcopus, aut presbyter, aut diaconus, aut omnino quicumque ex sacerdotali consortio, comederit carnes in sanguine animæ ejus, aut a bestiis abreptum, aut suffocatum, deponitur; hoc enim lex prohibuit. Sin vero laicus fuerit, a communione excluditur."

evidence of the inscriptions is coming to light showing this, and the scholars have brought in their attestations.

Clement, of Alexandria, who lived a hundred years afterwards, in his hortatory address to the Greeks called the *Protrepticon*, confesses that he belonged to a secret union, known to have been one of the pagan guilds coming under the *jus coeundi* of Solon and protected by the law of the Twelve Tables.²⁰⁷ There can be hardly a doubt entertained but that this society into which the young, vigorous Clement was early in life initiated was one of the esseno-therapeutic unions existing at that time in Egypt and Asia in much force. We shall exhibit some newly found proof in inscriptions showing that they differed very little, if any, from the *eranothiasos*, having the economical idea of bread-winning in mind, and were ordinarily true labor associations.²⁰⁸

The *therapeutæ* are found in the inscriptions in close relation with *eranoi* and *hetæræ*, first worshipping the Isis, and then among the oldest christian inscriptions. There is a passage to this effect in Eusebius.²⁰⁹ The important question which we are now endeavoring to solve is, if the *therapeutæ* were the very early christians, whether they were among the trade and labor unions of the Solonic dispensation; for if so, and they so early joined with the christians, it must have been to better carry out their work of furnishing the members the means of life; and the greater has been the crime

²⁰⁷ Eusebius, *Præpar. Evan.*, II., 2, admits this, and that Clement backslid from the secret society, divulged, and joined the more humanized, christian union; but it looks as if the whole union became converted: "Τούτα δὲ Κλήμης ὁ θαναμάσιος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἑλλήνας Προτρεπτικῷ διαρρήθην ἑκκαλύπτει, πάντων μὲν διὰ πείρας ἐλθῶν ἀνὴρ, θάπτον γὰρ μὴν τῆς πλάνης ἀνανεύσας, ὡς ἂν πρὸς τοῦ Σωτηρίου λόγον καὶ διὰ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς διδασκαλίας τῶν κακῶν λελυτρωμένος."

²⁰⁸ Oehler, *MSS. to the author*: "Θεραπευταί." In Alexandrien finden wir den Antonius als Mitglied einer Gesellschaft aus 12 Mitgliedern die ein Wohlleben führten und sich als *συνόδος τῶν ἀμιμητοβίων*, der Brüder vom unnachahmlichen Lebenswandel bezeichnen, *Plutarch, Anton*, c. 28; diese gestaltete sich nach der Schlacht bei Actium neu als *συναποθανουμένων συνόδος*, c. 71; Vgl. Terent., *Adelphos*, 6 und 7: "Synapothnescontes Diphili Comædiast; eam commorientis Plautis fecit fabulam." This remarkable freakishness in the reckless direction plainly shows that more than once the *therapeutæ* indulged in extravagancies in things disreputable.

²⁰⁹ Oehler, *MSS.*: "In Kyzikos die Verehrung der Isis pflegte die *Therapeutai* u.s.w. wie an anderen Orten die *Ἰσαιοὶ* und *Σαρπισταί*, über das Verhältnis der beiden Bezeichnungen lässt sich nicht sagen, da wir dieselben nicht an einem und demselben Orte nebeneinander finden. Wendland meint die bei Eusebius genannten *θεραπευταί* im Aegypten seien ein jüdischer Verein gewesen, der sich nach Analogie der Cultgenossenschaften im Dienste der Aegyptischen Gottschule genannt hatte. Nach Kraus, *Real Cyclopadia der christlichen Alterthümer*, II., p. 860, fand Eusebius die ältesten Christen Alexandriens als *θεραπευταί* bezeichnet."

of depriving them of their economical object thus robbing christianity of its immediate and practically valuable function, leaving it as it appears now, in this age of growing physicisism, a mere skeleton of faith without works; a ghost with wan and ghastly fingers, one digit pointing to the clouds and the other to the prelate's wallet.

But we shall prove that they were economical.²¹⁰ In the rich collection of Dr. Oehler, of the Epigraphical Seminary at Vienna, which he has taken the pains to prepare and send us, we find that therapeutics wearing black were the same in object and time, with those known to Philo in Egypt. They were hard workers, dividing a day into three equal parts; eight hours for labor, eight hours for refreshment and improvement and eight hours for sleep. This was the doctrine of the Logos and of Philo.²¹¹ We give in the foot-notes several, with this learned doctor's suggestions.²¹² The melanchoroi who wore the black, the therapeutæ and the bag-carriers were all hard-working laborers who worked about the wharves, loaded and unloaded ships and boats and earned an existence as best they could in the ordinary ancient poverty and rags.²¹³

Gibbon speaks of these therapeutæ who inhabited the shores of the lake Mæoris near Alexandria,²¹⁴ and as much as admits that their work was that of loading and unloading ships. Dr. Oehler, who gave considerable

²¹⁰ Oehler, *MSS.*, cites: "Ein Verein von Aerzten in Ephesos, ist bezeichnet als οἱ ἐν Εφέσῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μουσίου ἰατροί. Der Verein hat ein Legat erhalten und ist mit der Aufsicht über ein Grabmal betraut. Wood, *Discov. at Ephesus; Inscr. from Tombs*, No. 7. Vergleichsweise führe ich an die Geniossenschaft (therapeutic) der Medici in Benevent., *CIL.*, IX., no. 1618; und Rom., *CIL.*, VI., 9566."

²¹¹ Hesiod, *Erga kai Hemera*, holds to this as the natural division of men's time, ordained by Jehovah. He is the first authority on ancient teogony, for the Eight-Hour day.

²¹² Oehler, *MSS.*, *Θεραπευτοί*: "Sehen wir wohl im Dienste welcher Gottheiten wir sie finden. Οἱ μελανηφόροι καὶ θεραπευταί in Delos erscheinen als Dedikanten einer Statue an Serapis, Isis, Anubis, Harpokratos, in zwei Inscriptions, *Bull. Hell.*, VII., 1882, p. 318, nr. 3; und Monuments grecs, 1879, p. 40, während *CIGr.*, 2295 uns eine Weihung der Priester der μελανηφόροι καὶ θεραπευταί für das Volk der Athener und der Römer an Isis, *δικαιοσύνη* nennt."

²¹³ Again, Oehler, *MSS.*: "ΜΕΛΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΙ' ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΤΑΙ'. Auch die μελανηφόροι erklären sich am besten, dass auch sie ein Cultverein, oder vielleicht eine besondere Gruppe der θεραπευταί waren nicht aber wie Lafaye will, eine Bruderschaft von Mönchen der Isis." What he means is that they were ordinary workers.

²¹⁴ Gibbon, *Decl. and Fall*, xv., and note 162: "The extensive commerce of Alexandria... gave an early entrance to the new religion. It was at first embraced by great numbers of therapeutæ, or essenes of the lake Mæoris or Moriotas, a Jewish sect which abated much of its reverence for the Mosaic ceremonies."

attention to this strange therapeutic branch of black wearers, brings under contribution more inscriptional evidence from the slabs.²¹⁶ Some very important mentions are adduced by him which now remind us that the therapeutæ were numerous at places planted into by Peter, John, Clement and perhaps Paul. They were in force at Ephesus, Antioch, Heraclea, Laodicea and other cities of the seven churches of Asia.²¹⁶ He has studied the consecrations at Christmas feasts and Greek terms found on inscriptions conveying this meaning, and although cautious about expressing an opinion, appears satisfied that the therapeuts and black clothes wearers so frequently found here must represent unions utilized by the evangelists.

But by far the most convincing specimen of these discoveries among the mossy stones which seem to be just now grinning a triumphant antithesis belying the religious idealists who want christianity not to be a growth but a miracle, is the astounding chiseling that the therapeutæ and thiasoi had apostles whom they sent out as evangelists, long before the Messiah of Judæa arrived.²¹⁷ These were strictly industrial societies, their chief object being the making of a living, but like all things ancient they assume more or less a religious phase. Having the self-same name they come down to us mixed up with our religion. They were obliged under the law to imitate the form of the political city; and as the ancient city was religious, its priests, sacrifices, sources of revenue and kuriakoi being imbued with religion, every priest, soothsayer, clerk of the oracle and army officer,

²¹⁶ Oehler, *MSS.*: "Θεραπευταὶ und μελανηφόροι. Ueber diese Cultgemeinde im Dienste der Ägyptischen Gottheiten und der Syrischen Ἄφροδίτε sind verschiedene Ansichten ausgesprochen worden. Vgl. Lüders, *Bulletino Archæol.*, 1874, p. 105; Schäffer, *De Deli Insulæ Rebus*, p. 191f; Lafaye, *Histoire du Culte des Divinités d'Alexandrie*, u.s.w.; Hauteville Regnault, im *Bull. Hell.*, VI., 1882, p. 479, etc.

²¹⁶ Oehler, *MSS.*: "Wir erfahren auch von Weihungen einzelner μελανηφόροι die deswegen interessant sind weil sie auch die Heimath der betreffenden Leute nennen, so kennen wir zwei Weihungen des Κτησιππος Κτησιππου, Χτος μελανηφόρος an Isis, CIGr. 2294, und an Horos, Ἀθήναον. IV., 1875, p. 460, nr. 11. Dann hat Θεόφιλος Θεόφιλου Ἀντοχείου μελανηφόρος bedeutende Arbeiten herstellen lassen an dem Heiligthume, als Weihung an Sarapis, Isis, Anubis und Harpokrates, CIGr. 2297."

²¹⁷ Oehler, *MSS.*: "Auser Delos finden wir θεραπευταὶ in Demetriais; Athen., *Mith.*, VII., 1882, p. 335, neben ἀπόστολοι, wohl des Sarapis, Kyzikos 2 Namenlisten der θεραπευταὶ. *Rev. Archéol.*, n. s., XXXVIII., 1879, p. 258, und Σύλλογος, VIII., p. 172; *Wiener Numismatische Zeitschrift*, XXII., 1889, p. 50^a. Die dabei genannte Isis ist die Isis Pelagia, die in Kyzikos verehrt wurde." He also mentions several more inscriptions found at Ephesus showing brotherhoods of the same who had apostles, and who consecrated to Diana, also two from Chios,

a paid political servant,²¹⁸ we cannot wonder that they pretended to adore their conscript gods and goddesses. They were always labor societies of the Solonic type, dissatisfied with their surroundings, and when the new faith presented itself they endorsed it and built up the future civilization.

But as the Solonic unions of which these Judaic and Egyptian therapeutæ²¹⁹ were a part, were closely secret, so also were the first christian brotherhoods secret, and no one but an initiate was allowed recourse to them. This is certified to by John Chrysostom in his history of the early times.²²⁰

We may be told that policy forbids, even at this late day, that we drag forth this fundamental fact, that christianity is the work of such hives of labor.²²¹ The reply is, that we are not writing a history of the ancient poor on any basis of policy. Whoever writes up the poor man must hold in contempt all allurements of policy and rise to the majesty of truth. Thus the two men, Peter and Clement, worked together, leading a secret life, and whenever they were traveling they were certainly welcomed and entertained in the mysterious "house of the lord," the inner facts of which have never before the writing of these pages been explained. Yet it is a pithy subject; and we should ourselves have remained in the dark but for the numerous disclosures coming to light through the inscriptions. There was a lord for Peter and Paul at every hand and wherever they went; and this lord of the "House" was a kurios or president of one or another of the secret trade and labor unions of Solon's *jus coeundi*, which at that time prove to have existed in great numbers all over the known world. We leave them at their evangelizing

²¹⁸ We have already given the law ordaining this and now give Mommson's quote from *Coll. et Sodal. Rom.*, p. 120. The law in the *Dig.*, lib. III., iv., § 1, reads: "Quibus permissum est corpus habere collegii, societatis sive cujusque alterius eorum nomine, proprium est ad exemplum reipublicæ habere res communes, arcam communem," etc.

²¹⁹ Gibbon, speaking of the essenes and therapeutæ, says that: "It still remains probable that they changed their names, preserved their manners, and adopted some new article of faith." *Decline and Fall*, Vol. I., p. 283, note 162.

²²⁰ Chrysostom, Folio edition of the Benedictines, Vol. X., p. 347, Latin: "Qui non erant initiati, ad omnia audiendi non admittebantur." Again, IX., p. 84, their habit of sitting at the common table: "Initiati tantum sacramentum tangere audebant." In Vol. VIII., p. 25, he disposes of their primitive methods: "Initiatorum pacta."

²²¹ Livy sneers down the vulgar workmen to express the then universal contempt: "Opificum vulgus et sellularii, minime militiæ idoneum genus." *Hist.*, VIII., 20, 4.

work and proceed to unveil some of the mysteries of the "House," so frequently mentioned in the Bible and yet so little understood.

During the reign of Claudius, there was a great persecution of the christians, not only at Rome but all over pro-consular Asia, of which very little is said by the historians. Gibbon passes it by without a mention, beginning his celebrated ten persecutions with that of Nero. One good ancient author, Suetonius, adorns his life of Claudius with but an exiguous proffer of three lines.²²² His announcement, however, being the first pagan historian of note, is valuable, as it contains the first historic mention of Jesus Christ, after that of Josephus. Dion Cassius talks of them but does not say the christians, blaming it all on the Jews.

Claudius fell upon struggling unions of Rome, many of which had long enjoyed the protection of Augustus and Tiberius and for years had been employed by these emperors in their gynæceia, becoming incorporated with the *Domus Augustalis*, as the special servants of the first Augustan monarchs. The first calamity they encountered was instituted by Caligula who indiscriminately murdered all in sight and bemoaned the neglect of nature in forgetting to combine all Romans into a single person so that one blow of his bloody axe might sever the heads of all at a single stroke. The delight at seeing the river of blood such as Caligula's atrocious spirit conceived, made him wild with truculent disappointment, since this imperial maniac had no higher vision than to behold a lurid stream of gore. They killed the monster to rescue Rome, and the wretched empire fell into the hands of another assassin.

Claudius assumed the imperial ermine A.D. 47, and immediately began his persecutions of the christians then treated as Jews, the word christianity being at that early date unknown. They were Nazarenes. This made the poor Hebrews answerable for all the hatred against christians at Rome. But we know from the meagre lines of Suetonius that Claudius expelled these

²²² Suet. *Claud.*, c. 25: speaking of the acts of that monarch, says: "Judæos, impulsore Christo, assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit." But Gibbon fails to understand that Claudius banished large numbers causing a great persecution, of which mention is made many times in the *New Testament*, and which accounts for some very curious things yet to be mentioned.

christians in great numbers from Rome. Probably he and his watchful police carried out the decree so far as to believe that the christians had all left Rome. Not at all. Many drooped down into the subterranean recesses of darkness and for ages lived in their communal scholæ, teaching, educating, struggling for a living, while partaking in common with one another according to plans of Jesus, carried out by Peter, Stephen and Clement, the Melancthon of Peter the lord.

We now come to the evidences of this history. Dr. Ramsay has recently explained some strange discoveries in far off Phrygia, showing a colony of these outcasts, who settled, with their industries, in Apameia. This we have fully given in the general history of Solon's unions. We now pay attention to their christianizing action. Imbued with the new tenets, they started up their old industries at Kelænæ, a suburb of Apameia, a Phrygian city already full of trade unions, and whose inhabitants were well acquainted with the harmless manners and useful employments of these people. At Kelainæ is a high eminence called in ancient times an acropolis. On the summit of this acropolis was an old temple of Jehovah, if we are allowed to call it after the Hebrew god, or Zeus, Jove, if Greek.

Just recently there have come to light two archæological points connected with our history, to wit: the discovery of an ancient industrial street down in the town which used to be called shoemakers' street, inhabited by, and the home and shop-ground of the members of numerous trade unions of that craft.

The fact now comes to light that the temple of the old god on the summit of the acropolis was the place of worship of the shoemakers of shoemakers' street. The numerous inscriptions attesting this have been carefully collected by Dr. Ramsay and published in his work on the Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia. The lesson conveyed by this important find is that the shoemakers, some of whom were the exiles driven from Rome by the edict of Claudius, and others, the original inhabitants of the city of Apameia and its suburbs, were early converts to the new christianity's faith, and that many of them were Jews. They attended the old temple of Jove, extended the double influence of members and

means, secured a refuge from persecution, in the old vaults of the pagan asylum and in course of time the whole institution became a *kuriakos* or church of the christian sect.

Claudius drove great numbers of Jews and christianized Jews out of Rome about A.D. 45. This is history. Among those driven away were Aquila and Priscilla well-known to us through the writings of Paul and the Acts of the Apostles. Hundreds of hitherto useful and faithful workers in the *domus Augustalis* under the emperor Tiberius and consequently known to be members of the Roman *collegia* were thus peremptorily ordered into banishment. Aquila and Priscilla went to Corinth where they labored with Paul. Others went to Phrygia and settled, some in Apameia, some in Ephesus and many in other cities and towns. The Greek name for their colonies or settlements was *ktesis*. This word frequently occurs in the inscriptions. It appears that the exiles first sought a refuge in the old temple of Zeus on the acropolis of Kelænæ, and probably at first did not speak Greek; for we find bi-lingual inscriptions half Latin, half Greek, and with bad grammar in both.²²³ Among the dozens of inscriptions of this group there occurs one which shows that at first these colonists were unwelcome to the people of the city and that the authorities were about to drive them away fearing that the rigor of the Claudian edict might also entangle them; but a compromise was reached whereby the refugees paid to the city a sum of money, which we suspect must have been furnished by the other *symbas* unions in secret sympathy. At any rate they remained there for ages and went down with their leather industry to the slums of shoemaker street, prospered and in course of time were able to contribute a good sum out of the common fund of their brotherhood to bear the expense of the monument.²²⁴ Dr. Ramsay thinks that in the shoe-

²²³ Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, II., p. 474, inscription, no. 329, is a specimen. It is one of their later epitaphs. The Latin paraphrase is in CIL., III., 367, no. 7056. The Greek runs as follows: "Ὁὐαλε-ριος Ἰουλιανὸς καὶ Κασσία Κουαρτεῖνα ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ζῶντες καὶ φρονούντες ἑαυτοῖς ἐποίησαν τὸ ἡρώων καὶ τὴν κατάγειον κωμαραὶ εἰς ἣν ἕτερος οὐ τεθήσεται. κ.τ.λ."

²²⁴ The epitaph which we quote in a previous note is not of the date A. D. 170, only in that the inscr. was chiseled then; for Valerius Juliaus the member announced, was driven to the Apameian *κτήσις* under refuge of the Kelænæ asylum by Claudius. Many years after, his successors in fond remembrance, erected the heroon to his memory, and chiseled the inscription. Ramsay himself admits in another place that this was common.

makers he has found ancient guilds. We do not think it worth while to quarrel about this designation, but they were not guilds such as were so numerous in the middle ages. Guilds were degenerate successors of the trade unions of earlier days, and were subservient creatures of petty lords, while the trade unions were self-sustaining, independent organizations, having no intercourse whatever with speculating bosses, and being owners of their own little all. Besides they had the manhood to be voting unions and were, to a certain extent, political, constantly on the lookout for the public work, not only in cities, but, as proved by abundant evidence afforded in their inscriptions which we constantly quote, they were all over the Roman empire engaged on a very considerable scale, in doing the national tasks of manufacturing arms, building public edifices, constructing military roads, furnishing music for entertainments, public banquets and other government work in great variety. For this work, then, they are known by many of their writings, especially at Pompeii, to have used a strong secret political ballot, not only for their own members, but men of the wealthier ranks, and by this means secured political friends at the head of such public service who promised to give them the jobs. It was probably in this manner that the Roman *collegia* got their strong foot-hold in the *Domus Augustalis* or palace of the Cæsars, which they were enjoying during the times of Tiberius. There were great numbers of them converted during the benign reign of this monarch, to christianity; but they came to grief soon after his assassination by the enemies which compassed the defeat of his movement to recognize Jesus as a divine and wise being, and his converts as worthy of protection.²²⁵

²²⁵ Dr. Ramsay, "Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia," II., pp. 459, 460, inscr., 290, contributes another interesting proof of the colonization of these outcasts, which we must mention. It bears date of A.D. 54-55, or persecution of Claudius. After this author, and Mommsen, have devoted two pages to it, we arrive at this conclusion: Lucius, third son of Lucius and Pampilia, Lucius Poplius, Marcus Viccius, son of Marcus, and P. Marcus Onesimus, the latter a freedman, and three others, illegitimate sons of Roman emperors, are driven from their *γερουσία*, or converted *collegium* at Rome, by Claudius. They settle in Phrygia, at the *Apameian κτήσις*—See no. 305, p. 468.—At home there is money among the brotherhoods escaping banishment by hiding in the under-ground schools we have described. The Apameians are terrorized because of their advent and refuge at the temple. Here we think we detect a slight mistake of the learned Doctor. Our respectful suggestion is that the five Romans mentioned are not *curatores conventus civium Romanorum* at all, but more probably, *quinquiales collegiorum*, who became by the mere change of place and language, each an *ἄρχων*, or

But we are not confined to the splendid work of Dr. Ramsay for this important information on the conversion of pagan *hetaeræ* and *eranoi* into economic brotherhoods of the early christians, and the mutual adoption and endorsement of the old socialism and life economies without change. Dr. Oehler has also recently contributed specimens of archæological evidence of the same character and at the same place.²²⁶ The Apameian discoveries are all very important because this city, then a large and flourishing commercial emporium of western Asia, was full of labor unions as early as B. C. 133, when Eunus who was undoubtedly a member of one of the Phrygian associations of Dionysan artists, and a member of the Great Gemeinde, was seized as a war prisoner and carried off in slavery to become one of Rome's most powerful, desperate and successful rebels as we have fully portrayed in the first volume of this work.

We here present the entire inscription in two columns as they appear on the stone.²²⁷ They speak of the altar being the result of the enterprise of the members' common fund and both contain the record that they were

ἀρχων or *ἐρανάρχος* *ἐταιρῶν* at the Apamelan *Κτήσις*. With secret aid bringing it from the mother college, they offer the Apamelians an *ἐπίσημον* "to gain the right of forming a corporate body." Many Greek-speaking shoemakers, coral workers, marble cutters and others joined, became converts, used the temple for a church, and in time, changed the old asylum on the acropolis from the temple of Jehovah or Zeus into a sanctuary of their own; "Eran. Vind.," 280, *Σκυτική Πλάτεια* in *Ἀπάμεια Κελαιναι* "Rev. Etud. g.," II., Le Bas, III., 656: "ἡ ἱερά φυλὴ τῶν σκυτέων."

²²⁶ Oehler, "MSS.," *Ἀπάμεια, Κιβωτες*. "Bull. Hell., VII., 1883, p. 207, no. 29, *ἐγχοριάρχη* *συμπουδασαντων κὲ τῶν συμβιωτων καθάλλων* —Maionia, *CI.G.* 3438: *ἱερά συμβιώσις* καὶ γεωτέρα, and refers to another, *CI.G.* 3304 *τῆ συμβιώσις τῶν Σνπιγάλων*, and mentions Wagener, "Rev. de l' Instruction Publique en Belgique," n. s. XI., 1869, p. 11, vermouthet *συμπλεαδεῖς* oder *Filzarbeiter*." These are all Christian trade-unions. Several more are mentioned.

²²⁷ Ramsay, "Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia," 294, 295. (R. 1887) Mommsen, "Eph. Ep.," VII., p. 437, Weber, p. 45.

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτείμησαν [ν Τ]ιβερῖον Κλαυδίου Τιβέριον Κλαυδίου Πείσωνος Μιθριδατιανοῦ υἱὸν Κυρνεῖα Γρανιανόν, γυμνασιαρχοῦντα διὰ ἀγοραίας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τῆ γλυκντά-
10 τη πατρίδι διχα τοῦ πόρου τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου διδομένου· τὴν ἀνάστασις ποιησαμένων ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τῶν ἐν τῇ
15 Σκυτικῇ Πλατείᾳ τεχνειτῶν

[Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτείμησαν] Τί. Κλαυδίου Τί. Κλαυδίου [Μιθριδατιανόν υἱὸν Κυρνεῖα Πείσωνα Μιθριδατιανόν, ἱερέα διὰ βίου Διὸς Κελαινέως, ἐφηβαρχησαντα καὶ γυμνασιαρχησαντα καὶ ἀγορομησαντα διὰ ἀγοραίας καὶ ὑπεσχημένον ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ Κλαυδίου
5 Γρανιανοῦ γυμνασιαρχίαν διὰ ἀγοραίας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων διχα πόρου τοῦ διδομένου ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου δηναρίων μυρίων πεντακ. χειλίων· τὴν ἀνάστασις ποιησαμένων
10 ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυτικῇ Πλατείᾳ τεχνειτῶν

Ἐπιμεληθέντων Παπίου Δεῖδα τοῦ Αἰδούχου καὶ Τυράννου μύτα καὶ Λουκίου Μουνατίου Ἄνθου καὶ Τρύφωνος Διογᾶ.

tradesmen of Shoemaker street in Kelænæ, a suburb of Apameia. We may venture to here note a running paragraph of this inscription for the convenience of the reader. An *cranos*, honors a workingman of this Shoemakers' street:

The council, meaning probably, council of the union, and neighbors herewith connected who are Romans, erect and dedicate a holy altar to the honor of Tiberius Claudius, son of Tiberius and Cyrena, daughter of Mithradates, for life, as a token of his faithful services. He was master of the gymnasium, and president of the board of public works in the beloved fatherland. They do this out of their own resources at an expense of 15,000 denaria. The reward and hope of resurrection springs from their own membership and from among themselves, being working people and artisans of Shoemakers' street, a suburb of Kelænæ, city of Apameia.²²⁸ Dr. Ramsay has mentioned this very early and important collection of some twenty or more inscriptions in and around Apameia in several places of his work on Phrygia.²²⁹

Apameia was, as it were, a hot-bed of these organizations and presents a rich field for our explorations, especially as many of the members appear to have been victims of the Claudian persecution. We have an inscription found recently which mentions a *gerousia*, a word much misunderstood until Dr. Oehler brought out its true relationship to the *thiasos* and other unions of trade and labor. He shows in various inscriptions the folly of placing the *gerousia* in any other category.²³⁰

²²⁸ Ramsay, "Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia, II., p. 513, note headed "Earlier Chr. Inscr.," It may be well to quote this excellent authority: "The ruined church of very early date, which perhaps, occupies the site of the temple of Keleneus, p. 462, on the acropolis of Kelainai, has been best described by Weber, pp. 34 ff. see also my paper in "Transactions Ecclesiol. Soc.," Aberdeen, 1880, pp. 2 ff. On one of the large blocks of which its walls are composed is engraved no. 397. Several crosses are incised in the walls. In view of probable excavation of this interesting church, a description of the ruins is unnecessary."

²²⁹ Ramsay, "id.," p. 492. "The Zeus of the ancient city of Kelainai, beside Apameia, is known from coins with the legend, ΖΕΥΣ ΚΕΑΕΝΕΥΣ. The early Christian church whose ruins are still seen on the summit of the citadel, has perhaps taken the place of the temple of Zeus." His various mentions of the Apameia find will be seen on pp. 417, 440, 461, 462, 613, and 538.

²³⁰ Ramsay, "Cit. Bish. Phryg.," II., pp. 469, 470: "Τὸ σεμνότερον συνέδριον τῶν γερόντων Τιβέριον Αἰλίον Σατούρνειον Μαρτυριανὸν τὸν ἴδιον κτιστὴν, ἑγγονοῖ ἀρχιερέων, καὶ ὑπατικῶν συγγενῶν. Ἐπιμεληθέντος τῆς ἀναστασεως Μάρκου Φορβιανοῦ ἀρχόντος τῶν γερόντων, Ramsay thinks this Aelius Saturninus Maritanianus was a Roman who had done some meritorious deed, favoring the *Gerousia*.

The number, three hundred and six, of Ramsay is another gerousia and Oehler testifies, after the close of his investigation, that it is certainly a trade union of Apameia and belongs to the same group with the shoemakers. Clearly it is a ktesis or settlement of the banished Romans, like the others, taking the name gerousia as a council of christian elders, but involved in an industry.

During those dark days of the Claudian persecution when thousands were being expelled under an accusation that they were tumultuous Jews led on by one Christ to introduce insufferable heresies, establishing in the Roman city the worship of a new divinity,²³¹ there were many who escaped by hiding themselves under the ægis of the goddess Diana who possessed a famous temple on the Aventine Hill. The spite of the official priesthood against her culminated in the reign of Nero which we shall soon picture in our history of the great conflagration. There came to Apameia another refugee who is shown by an inscription²³² to be a Roman, and brought or organized a christian union there, although it is not shown that the association was in Shoemakers' street. It adds another evidence, showing that the economical incentive, leading to the furnishing of members of the brotherhoods with work and food for life's subsistence, was an important and powerful, if not the principal one in those earlier days.

The occurrence of several Bible names in these inscriptions of Phrygia is causing a good deal of discussion. Apphia, a daughter of Papias and mother of Hesycheus, was the kuria or president of one of these unions which dedicated a monument with money taken from the common fund and earnings of the whole union of sixty-two people.²³³ In the body of Greek Inscrp-

²³¹ See supra, chapter on Martyrs.

²³² Ramsay, "Cit. Bish. Phr.," II., p. 470, inscr. no. 307: "Γαίον Ἀντίστιον Γαίαν υἱὸν Οὐτέρα τὸν ἐαυτῶν δικαιοτάτου πατρῶνα Μνησιφίλου Ἀτάλλου καὶ Φίλσκοσ καὶ Διοκλῆς Διοκλέους Μητροπολίται." Three natives of Metropolis placed the inscription in Apameia as the meeting place of the conventus. Pliny, V., 106, to a Roman official. Consuls C. Antistius Vetus are known in B.C. 30, 36, A.D. 23, 50, 96, and L. Antistius Vetus, A.D. 55." The inscription is thus as early as Claudius.

²³³ Ramsay, "Cit. Bish. Phryg.," II., p. 470, no. 309: "Ἀφῖα Παπίου μήτηρ Ἡσύχη ἐμποριάρχῃ τέκνω καὶ αἰαντῇ ἐποίησε τὸ ἤρων ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, σπονδασάντων καὶ τῶν συμβιωσῶν καὶ ἄλλων." Ἡρως χρηστὴ χαίρει. It is a christian mechanical *συνβιώσις* or economic brotherhood. Apphia the emporiarch built and dedicated this sarcophagus out of the union's funds. Paul speaks of Apphia in connection with Phillip.

tions there are recorded a good many names, which have been closely investigated by modern archæologists, quite a number of which are fully ascertained to have been the same persons spoken of in the writings of Paul; and as these paleographic mentions are good history we shall give space to their presentation in the proper place.

Let us now look briefly at the coral workers and the masons of Thermal street, situated not far from Shoemaker street in the Apameian suburb, Kelænae, and see them using the same old temple of Jove and its ancient asylum of refuge along with the shoemakers themselves. Several inscriptions of the coral workers appear.²⁵⁴ The epigraphists, innocent of the labor element pervading these curious chiselings, have not conceived the true meaning of the word which in Greek expresses workers in coral. Again, a *t* has been cut instead of an *l*, or more probably age and the erosions of weather have obscured the original enough to make it resemble a *t*; so that the word coral was not comprehended. Dr. Oehler in his lists published in the *Eranos Vindobonensis* and elsewhere,²⁵⁵ speaks of these coral workers in Magnesia, and we gather from him that they were image makers who made a business of manufacturing fashionable objects out of the red coral obtained from the seas.

These coral workers appear to have had their union quarters in a street where there was a thermal spring. Whether there is still a hot spring in this suburb of

²⁵⁴ Ramsay, *Cit. Bish. Phr.*, II., p. 462, no. 296. We print 297 in note 227. The two are similar to 291, 295, or the shoemakers' street guild. But the insers. are in the under part of the epistyle and once ornamented a stoa. They talk of *κουράτορας*, changing *λ* to *τ*, and must have certainly been coral workers, such as Dr. Oehler finds at Laodicea and Hierapolis. They had their seat and industry in the Thermal street, *Θερμαία Πλατεία*. Like 304-5, they paid the expenses of the monument here commemorated, *ἐκ τῶν οἰῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Θερμαία Πλατεία τεχνειῶν*. This last word is not in 306-7, but is in 301-5 and working people are in both cases clearly meant. There is little doubt but that they were all allied to the great *Gemeinde* of the Dionysan artists. Though they were in all probability illegitimate offspring of the Roman Tiberii and Claudii, as their names indicate, yet they were loved and honored long after their colonization in the Phrygian home.

²⁵⁵ *Eran. Vindob.*, p. 277-278: "Κοραλλιοπλάσται" nach Blümer und den Lexicis; die kleine Bilder aus Korallen machen; nach Hüchenschütz. Arbeiter welche korallen aus dem Steine coralliticus nachahmten: *Magnesia ad Sipylum*; CIG. 308." Again, *id.*, p. 279: παρόντων καὶ τῶν κοραλλιοπλαστῶν καθ' ὅ εἰς ἐκόμισεν βυβλίον διὰ Σωκρατον ἐπὶ Τ. Ἀτ. Εὐνυχιατοῦ ταμιου." And also p. 282: Die Κοραλλιοπλάσται in Magnesia... beantragen für die σύνοδος. Liebenam in his work, p. 113, thinks that the coral-workers, κοραλλιοπλάσται were constituted an association of workmen who carved beautiful objects out of red coral and sold them as jewelry. Κοραλλιον καὶ πλαῶν. They made and sold great quantities of red-coral bijous, mostly popular pagan religious ornaments.

Apameia we are not informed. Similarly to the Shoemaker street unions, the coral workers had their residences in Hot Spring street, but worshiped in the chapel all together on the mount. Dr. Ramsay thinks these guilds were a Lydian institution, which probably arises from the well-known scripture of Lydia, the woman converted by Paul, who was an officer in the sales department of a great trade union of dyers at Laodicea on the Lycus river, of which we shall treat in the proper place.

It is enough here to say that the beautiful honesty of christianity was gladly accepted by these guilds of Shoemakers' street and Warm Springs street, and that for centuries they worked for one another, partook of each others' bounties, ate in companies of many at their common table, and sang together, to the glee of the children and the joy of the communal family the hymns, some of which may in the disclosures of an inquisitive future, be found to resemble our old Methodist melodies of age untraceable, that have come down in traditional form to us from the ancient working people. So far as we are able to penetrate by the use of inscrip-tional evidence, the character of those unions was that of our modern Methodists who sometimes repair to the woody retreats in the mountains among the springs and the chirping birds, and sing their praises in a high key, reveling in music and in oratory, to the praise of the same Lord, and with rapturous love for the same Saviour. These joys which were later suppressed by the great massacre of Diocletian and the prelates at the council of Laodicea, did not die out. They continue to this day, imparting to the children of men a wholesome status of morals and a happy life, though in the desperate greed for individual distinction and property they have lost the fraternal common table and the ancient economic brotherhood which once made them supremely delightful.

Let us now turn our attention to the celebrated "House of the lord." In ancient days there was always a building belonging to each so-called guild which was used in common by the membership. This building, originally a temple was destined to become the typical church. The house of the lord receives a large share of

mention by the apostles of the primitive church; and it now leaks out through inscriptions that it was the original temple of the converted unions, and used as an asylum or secret retreat from persecutions, and a meeting house for the propaganda.

It has been erroneously argued by many opposed to the modern christianity because it fails to bring into the world the conditions it promised and has proved a blank disappointment especially to the lowly and poor, that there is no adequate evidence extant that christianity ever had a foothold, and some defy us to prove that there ever was such a personage as Jesus Christ. Not only have great orators appeared and careered, holding these views, but such is the disappointment at the dereliction of this culture, that, among the masses countless numbers are found prone to believe it; and in the absence of a plan less disappointing, are but too willing to sink humanity back into the old pagan state.

We are not writing this work in defense of religion. Nor do we chase gossamers in quest of a solution for the problem of labor. We shall only present facts such as substantiate the authenticity of history. Unbelievers deny that this personage is a factor in history. Here only are we going to set up our protest, for the reason that persons who deny the author of the promulgation of the cult which originated socialism and mutual love and care as opposed to the paganism based on competitive antagonisms and survival of the fittest, are perfectly willing to introduce among historical personages every one else if he, or she, be honored with a record among respectable historians.

Those reading the recent archaeology and topography of Phrygia; those learned enough to comprehend the new disclosures of the commander De Rossi on the diggings of under-ground Rome; those capable to read his hundred inscriptional mentions of new-found Scripture names; those fortunate enough to possess the printed and pictured labors of Le Blant in Gaul, of Foucart, Lüders, Oehler, Wagner and a dozen others in Asia Minor, Greece and Macedon, will, on their perusal, be willing to deny a paltry empiricism and except as true the seven mentions of the crucified carpenter by Josephus, the two by Suetonius, the important one by Tacit-

tus, the nine by the early writers of the Augustan history, the innumerable references from Lucian, Celsus, and sharp hints by Dion Cassius, Philo and Galen, also the large number of plain mentions in letters by Trajan, Hadrian, Mark Aurelius emperors, and their appointed governors over sections of the Roman empire, like Pliny who, with Trajan's answers, early mentioned Christ and christians more than a hundred times.

But whoever is diligent and honest enough to investigate these extant records, will soon find himself convinced of the profound secrecy which the authors of this culture endured and the absolute terror which for ages palsied the growth and stifled the knowledge of mankind regarding it.²³⁶ For our own part, we have collected the evidences of ancient hatred against the masses who were compelled to labor, and found that whether as slaves or freedmen they were under scathing contempt on every hand, and if they attempted to raise themselves by organization to a condition even of self-respect, it had to be done with the greatest secrecy. Unorganized, the workman was but a foot-ball to be kicked about in the most horrible manner conceivable, and he was without a law. But laws for his abuse were plentiful. He could be beheaded for making a slight mistake in his work.²³⁷ If it was so easy to inflict deadly punishment upon the lowly workingman as late as the fourth century, what should be expected if he were caught organizing as vast a system as christianity in opposition to the prevailing scheme of contempt and cruelty, contained in the ancient paganism, in the days of Caligula and Claudius? And can the modern opponents of that vast scheme with any reason wonder why it did not set the world ablaze with literature of its own or draw upon the popular sycophants who as now cur-

²³⁶ Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, II., p. 739, devotes nearly a page of unintelligible figures and monograms, which he calls the signs by which chr. inscs. used to be designated, by the initiated, varying only slightly from inscs. of the outside pagan literature. These slight differences thwarted the police for generations. On pp. 489, 490, 491, 492, he gives types of these signs which long deceived the Roman authorities. Not only in Asia Minor but also all over Gaul these deceptions were practiced in order to avoid persecution. Le Blant, *Inscrs. de la Gaul* I., p. 76^{sq.}. See also pp. 149, 158, 402. Ramsay, II., p. 505, says: "We are therefore forced to look for meanings hidden beneath the surface in the early christian epitaphs."

²³⁷ Levasseur, *Hist. Classes Ouv.*, I., p. 39: "La négligence était punie des peines les plus sévères; les teinturiers qui brûlaient ou tâchaient une étoffe étaient décapités. *Cod. Just.*, lib. X., tit. xxii., lex, 4, *Vel si contra hoc fecerint gladio feriuntur.*"

ried favor with monarchs and high-blooded boasters of grace and power? The trouble with these modern free-thinkers who justly detest the failure of that ancient scheme to carry out its plan of salvation is, that they are ignorant of comparative history and cannot see the work of the property power or the pestilent power of ambition in men who early sidetracked the pure and splendid scheme of those ancient socialists. In blind ravings they eschew the overwhelming evidence that it had its authorship in strictly historical characters. We proceed to disentangle some of the mazy web and to bring to the light of civilization truth such as will stanch forever the tongues of our unripe orators.

We now propose to follow the evidence of anaglyphic science in proof that the christians planted and thrived during the first century, into the old trade unions; and select three well-known Biblical characters whom we have found to have been members of the ancient guilds, namely; Priscilla, Aquila and Lydia.

Saul or Paul, whom we left at the lynching of Stephen by the maddened Jews because his system of supplying the common table of the large membership of the Petrine brotherhood and the communal code, purchasing direct and at wholesale, spoiled the profit system of the provision ring, became converted to the new doctrine, and being a man of excellent education and large conscience metamorphosed and became a zealous advocate of the very thing which in comparative boyhood he had sought to destroy. In his travels and multitudinous exhortations through Asia Minor and Macedonia, and after making a celebrated speech on the Athenian Acropolis, he arrived at Corinth. Here in this great mart, the most populous of all cities except Rome, the seat of the abominations of the goddess Cotytto, who swayed at Philippi and had whipped him for daring to enter there with a higher code of morals, we find him preaching in a dubious association, invited thither by a certain Justus. Denied access to the Jewish synagogues of Corinth we shall prove that he descended into the Solonic brotherhoods, one of which had its temple and house of its lord located very near the synagogue. This man Justus was whipped and terribly abused for his kindness to Paul. Justus was not his true name; it was Titus.

But we now find two important characters coming to the front in behalf of Paul. Aquila and Priscilla, man and wife, tent-makers like him by trade, and also exiles from Rome, having been driven by the same decree of Claudius the emperor banishing Jews from Italy. They had settled at Corinth. To all appearances, like Lydia, whom we shall mention, they were members, influential officers if not sales agents of the Dionysan union of tent and scene makers, selling goods at Corinth for the histrionic profession and aiding in the musical and theatrical entertainments of this celebrated city of profligate delirium and pleasure. They had already been converted by Apollos to the new faith and turned their kind attentions to Paul. What were Aquila and Priscilla doing before their banishment from Rome? A mass of new evidence is being gathered showing that they were safely stationed in the imperial domestic establishments of Tiberius and Caligula in days of safety, and we know nothing of any positive persecution, until the edict of Claudius. But we have inklings of swarming nests of unions in the valley of the Tiber. One most valuable notice is from the great Philo, who at that very time was on a mission to this emperor on behalf of Jews or perhaps christians at the time he met Peter,²³⁸ or the time he was on the legation to assist his fellow countrymen some of whom were massacred on account of the calumnies of Apion, which was in the time of Caligula. Aquila and Priscilla were in Rome at that time and were expelled by Claudius in the year 52. They had gone to Corinth and were in charge of some house connected with their trade of tent-making when Paul arrived.²³⁹ The apostle first on his arrival, began teaching in a Jewish synagogue, but the doctrine of the new culture being the same which had a few years before created such an upheaval and revolt ending with the crucifixion at Jerusalem because advocated in the temple, had the same effect at Corinth, and he was soon

²³⁸ Philo. *Legal. ad Caium*, § 23: "Τὴν πέραν τοῦ Τιβέρεως ποταμοῦ μεγάλην τῆς Ῥώμης ἀποτόμην καταχομένην καὶ οἰκουμένην πρὸς Ἰουδαίων." Philo on being bitterly snubbed by the emperor, slunk into the quarter he thus describes, and inasmuch as he met and became acquainted with Peter, we know that these Jews whom he mentions as inhabiting this riverside, were christians. Baur, *Tübinger Zeitschrift, für Theol.*, 1836, Pt. III., S. 110, admits that Rome at that time had many christians, who, with the Jews, made a disturbance.

²³⁹ *Acts*, xviii., 2, 3, and 7.

forced to leave this sanctuary and seek more congenial quarters. And here comes the interest in our history of the ancient worker. Whither did he go? It is Bible that he went to the house of one Justus, or Titus the Just.²⁴⁰ One would suppose, who reads the Greek of it, that he went there to board or live. But we are not told that he had such a residence in the synagogue. The facts are that he went over to an old *kurioikos* of the tent-makers' union presided over by a lord named Titus the Just, who, being president, and having become convinced, caused the entire brotherhood whose common affairs he conducted, to consent to allow Paul to talk to them and to the people, in their own meeting rooms at their own house of the lord.²⁴¹

The honest and critical researcher Neander, in getting an analysis of the house of the lord so frequently mentioned in the Testament, suspected something but could not explain. He certainly mistrusted, and went so far as to admit that this house represented some association, but without the inscriptions could not quite get down to the abodes of labor and see that every trade organization under the *jus cocundi* of Solon, was obliged to have a responsible lord, and as a necessary corollary, a "house" of the lord; else it was not respectable; it was not even legal and might be suppressed by the police. Even as it was, they must, after the conquests, be exceedingly secret and humble.²⁴² But Smith, in his Bible Dictionary goes still farther than Neander.

²⁴⁰ *Acts*, xviii., 7: After Paul had been driven from the Corinthian synagogue, says: And he departed thence, and entered into a certain man's house, named Justus, one that worshiped God, whose house joined hard to the synagogue. The revised translation makes him "Titus the Just."

²⁴¹ *I Cor.*, xvi., 19; Paul confirms this in his Epistle as above, where in A. D. 54, according to Lardner, and while in Ephesus, having left Justus at the House in Corinth, and taken Aquila and Priscilla along, says, writing to that same brotherhood: Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord, with the church that is in their House, showing that they all belonged to one brotherhood, and had all worked for at least eighteen months there at their trade together. This house, like numbers we shall presently see in the inscriptions, was an important part of the business concern of the union.

²⁴² *Digest*, XLVII., xxii., 4. See our quotation and full explanations, *supra*, p. 48. Neander, *Planting*, Book III., chap. v., note 1, says: "Thus it may be explained how Aquila and Priscilla, while they sojourned at Rome, Corinth or Ephesus, might have such a small society 'in their own house.' The additional evidence adduced from their own inscriptions is that 'their own house' was in all these cases a *κυριακή*, and that they themselves were 'not very rich persons,' as accurately supposed by Smith, *Bib. Dict.*, art. *Paul*; Ramsay, *Cit. Bish. Phryg.*, passim; Neander and Mosheim. Like Jesus, himself, they were poor workmen, who by their industry and faithfulness, had been elevated to be responsible business officers in the *eranoi* in which they belonged. They were these responsible and substantial officers who in the *collegia* were known as *quinquennales* and in the *eranoi* as *κύριοι*, having become lords and receiving certain immunities."

In speaking of her husband's exercise under article Priscilla, this excellent cyclopedia of Biblical literature has the remark that it was in conjunction with "home duties:" "Such female ministration was of essential importance in a state of society in the midst of which the early christian communities were formed," and then refers to the American edition which considers her a deaconess. If a deaconess, she must have been one who waited on the partakers at the common table doing exactly the work which Stephen and the other six had been appointed to perform; for in the language of the Acts, in the history of Stephen, this was a necessary part of the ministrations. But every evidence whether from Clement of Rome or from the inscriptions, goes against the ministrations being charity. The members belonged to a brotherhood and it was a part of its regular business to supply them work, that they might earn a full equivalent of what they consumed; so that charity in the light of alms-giving was not allowed at that early date. Neander, in the same place says as much as this, that "Paul, if we examine his language closely, says no more than this: that every one should lay by in his own house on the first day of the week whatever he was able to save; which means that every one should bring with him the sum he had saved, to the meeting of the brotherhood, so that the individual contributions might be collected together." Of course this was for the common meals of the congregation for the week to come. This is exactly the same thing which was at that time being done by regular assessments from each, on an enormous scale.²⁴³ As long as they did this there could be no charity about it. It was the purely economic feature of the early church which Gibbon admits but hastens to say was discontinued, taking pains to cast a slur upon it as he speaks.²⁴⁴ There is some reason for imagining, if we admit that these founders were at all acquainted with Greek literature, that Peter, John, Aquila, Ignatius and such others endorsed the views of Plato, while Paul took the views of Aristotle.²⁴⁵

²⁴³ See *supra*, in the four chapters elaborately explaining this for the pre-christian unions.

²⁴⁴ Gibbon, *Decl. and Fall*, in *Hist. Christianity*, ch. ii., note 128 "The community of goods which so agreeably amused the imagination of Plato, and which subsisted, in some degree, among the austere sect of essenians, was adopted for a short time in the primitive church."

²⁴⁵ Some hints touching this very interesting and important subject of the common meal in the early plant, may be had from the *Epistle of Barnabas*. The *Clementines* are especially rich in them.

The point we are substantiating is that the early church, exactly like the unions which it converted and planted into, had as its most important function the common table and the communal code of Solon,²⁴⁶ and was economic, a function which it has been robbed of by speculators and the ambitious for self aggrandizement, and that this is why it has failed to solve the problem of salvation of the human race. Thus we leave Aquila and Priscilla at their work, promising in the section of this chapter on Domitian to recall them and show the reader exactly where their ashes lie in the deep subterraneous cemeteries of Rome.

We now proceed to show the strange discoveries about Lydia. According to Renan, the ancient purple was red and the garb worn by Jesus at his crucifixion was not purple but red. The red dye workers were enormously organized in western Asia. As there was at that time a large trade in stuffs dyed in these beautiful, brilliant colors, we find the purple dyers in full force and closely organized at the time of Caligula and Claudius. Dr. Oehler has contributed the supposition that Lydia,²⁴⁷ the dealer in dyes belonged to the guild of purple dyers of Thyatira though Paul saw and converted her at, or near Philippi in Macedonia. But there now exists complete acknowledgment that she with the consent of the brotherhood, turned her "House" to his account, being one of the purple dyers' union at Thyatira. They were running a prosperous business and among the agents whom they sent out to work up sales of these goods was this Lydia who had quite a business center, including rooms and employees, stationed on the Strymon river near the city of Philippi.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁶ This is admitted by Neander, *Hist. Church*, I., p. 255. *trans.*, Bost., where he says of Tertullian's *aliena domus*: "The care of providing for the support and maintenance of strangers, of the poor, the sick, the old, of widows and orphans, and of those in prisons on account of their faith, devolved on the whole church." He further hints that the house of the stranger is the cold, outside world; not the warm brotherhood of initiated members.

²⁴⁷ Oehl., *Eran. Vindobonensis*, p. 282: "Eine Uebersicht über die Städte zeigt dass Thyateira nicht weniger als neun Genossenschaften aufweist. Ihr Purpurhandel war ausgedehnt: eine Purpurhändlerin aus Thyateira wird vom Apostel Paulus zu Philippi bekehrt; *Apostelg.*, XVI., v. 14. Berühmt sind die Färbereien von Laodicea ad Lycum gewesen. Strabo, XV., 2, § 757.

²⁴⁸ Smith, *Bib. Dict.*, Bost., p. 3241, in verb., *Thyatira*: Speaking of the unions of labor there, says: "With this guild there can be no doubt that Lydia the vender of purple stuffs, *πορφυροπώλις*, from whom St. Paul met with the favorable reception at Philippi, *Acts*, xvi., 14, was connected."

No knowledge of any church existing as early as this at Philippi is even pretended. Nevertheless we have the true statement of Neander that Paul found a whole household and converted brotherhood²⁴⁹ under charge of Lydia, of the Laodicean dyers, and this house of Lydia was capacious enough to entertain the whole group of brethren, including Paul and Silas. Now we are prepared to show that many unions or guilds of these purple dyers existed in the region of Asia Minor coursed by the river Meander and its branch, the Lycus, where were the industrial cities of Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossæ. At Ephesus also, not far away upon the sea-coast, many trade unions, the dyers among the rest, had thriving industries operated exclusively by brotherhoods firmly and powerfully organized under the ancient provisions of the Solonic dispensation. No unorganized industry could have sent out a traveling agent to dispose of dye wares, as in the case of Lydia. Such individualist factories did not exist at that time. A good sum of money appropriated and engineered by the mother guild at Laodicea to erect or rent buildings for storage, transportation,²⁵⁰ a "House" of the lord who in this exceptional case was a female, had been appropriated, and they were doing a thriving business; for they must have been the principal contributors to the relief of Paul's distress soon afterwards. The same cyclopedia of Biblical literature just quoted in our note, continues by saying: "The community at Philippi distinguished itself in liberality. On the apostle's first visit, he was hospitably entertained by Lydia, and when he afterwards went to Thessalonica by the sea, the Philippians sent him supplies more than once."²⁵¹ Perhaps of

²⁴⁹ *Acts*, xvi., 40: And they went out of the prison and entered into the House of Lydia; and when they had seen the brethren, they comforted them and departed. What brethren? Who else could these already organized brothers be than regular members of Lydia's union of this Macedonian branch of the Laodicean πορφυροβάφοι? Again, in the 14th and 15th verses of this chapter, she had constrained them to "come into my house and abide there."

²⁵⁰ Smith, *Bib. Dict.*, p. 2490: "Lydia had an establishment in Philippi, for the reception of dyed goods which were imported from Thyatira and the neighboring towns of Asia, and were dispersed by means of pack animals among the mountain clans of Hæmus and Pangæus, the agents being doubtless in many instances her own co-religionists." This must of course be taken to mean her own confraternity, for what use would she have of religion in running her factory?

²⁵¹ *Phil.*, iv., 15; Οἴδατε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς, Φιλιππησιοὶ, ὅτι ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὅτι ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, οὐδεμία μοι ἐκκλησία ἐκοινωνήσεν εἰς λόγον, δόσεως καὶ λήψεως, εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς μόνοι· ὅτι καὶ ἐν Θεσσαλονικῆ καὶ ἀπαξ καὶ δις εἰς τὴν χρεῖαν μοι ἐπέμψατε."

all the trade unions of ancient times, the dyers were the most powerfully organized. They were known in inscriptions, in Scripture and in history as porphyrobaphoi²⁵² and this tenement they occupied was found by Boeckh, who conducted the first compilation of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*, to possess the general name of *oikos*.²⁵³

Besides Lydia, thus acknowledged to have been an agent of the dyers union, we have Gaius of about the same period, also mentioned in the inscriptions of Asiatic trade unions. The *Smith Cyclopædia of Biblical Knowledge*, under this rubric, enumerates four men of this name, all in the apostolic age, and speaks of them as different persons. In our mode of considering the apostolic plant, however, they are all one and the same. Gaius, like Lydia, Aquila, Priscilla and many others, was the manager of a guild, and the apostles converted him, thus getting access to a "House" or *kuriakos* where he built up a church. Many instances of this character crop out in the sacred writ and many not thus mentioned are coming to light through tell-tale ideographs they have fortunately left.²⁵⁴

²⁵² Oehler, *MSS.*: Πορφυροβάφοι, ΘΥΑΤΕΙΡΑ, contributes seven *συνέδρια* of these industries, several of which were represented in the inscriptions of Thyatira. Ramsay, II., p. 548, comments on the *συνέδριον τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου* in Ignatius as though the order of πορφυροβάφοι was meant, and declares that in Phrygia they were christian societies; Oehler, *MSS.*, has an invaluable one found very recently at Mt. Athol, Thessalonica right where Paul planted with Lydia's aid; Oehler, *Eran. Findob.*, p. 277, in the list of trade unions, CIG., 3496 Thyateira, 3924, Hierapolis; Le Bas, III., 1867, and *American Journal of Archaeology*, III., p. 348, Laodicea; again, *id.*, p. 279: *συνέδρια τῶν πορφυροβάφων* in Hieropolis, and other dyers unions at Ephesus; again, p. 282, at Tyre, mentioned by Strabo, 757, and Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, V., 19. So again, herewith connected: Oehler, *MS.*: "Θίασος—THESSALONICA—ΘΥΑΤΕΙΡΑ. Interessant ist auch die Inschrift aus Thessalonika: Duchesne Bayet, *Mémoire sur une Mission au Mont Athol*, p. 52, nr. 83: die *συνέδρια τῶν πορφυροβάφων* hat dem Menippos aus Thyateira ein Grabmal errichtet. Es liegt nahe anzunehmen dass auch dieser Mennippos ein πορφυροβάφος gewesen sei und zu vergleichen die Purpurhändlerin Lydia aus Thyateira welche in Philippi vom Apostel Paulus getauft wurde, *Act. Apost.*, xvi., 14."

²⁵³ Boeckh, *P. E.*, I, 328, 2, note 199. *Οἶκος*, according to Boeckh whose word on the *Ἐράνος* is authority, is the temple or lord's house of the *Ἐράνος*. Liddell, *Greek Dict.*, in verb, *Ἐράνος*, says *οἶκος* was often a house, a cave, den, place for the poor, also a place, *αὐδης* for some god. The chr. "believers dwelt *κατὰ τοὺς οἶκους*." The daring suggestion has been published, since the revelations made through the inscriptional contributions, that these *οἶκοι* or *κυριακοὶ* of the ancient *Ἐράνος* were the holes of the poor into which the christians planted and maintained their institution until it was able to stand alone, and the still more blasphemous and bolder hint has been held forth that the House or cave, or seclusion in which Paul was met by Jesus, accused, bedazzled and converted, was the secret *οἶκος* of the *Ἐράνος*.

²⁵⁴ Ramsay, *Cit. Bish. Phryg.*, II., p. 630, note 2, speaking of the *Hymnodoi*, a musical union of the Bosphorus and in Phrygia, says: "The existence of secret societies like these made it easier for the christians to organize themselves in similar societies." Without knowing the great secret he here hits it closely.

Another of the proselytes encountered by this evangelist was Demetrius, the president or kurios of the union of image makers of Ephesus. This large manufacturing and commercial city of Phrygia possessed many trade unions of various kinds. There were tent makers of the Dionysan artists who furnished the scenes, tents and other paraphernalia of the theaters in the world of amusement; the dyers, of which we have spoken, goldsmiths, leatherers of many sorts, and not the least among all these many were the image makers who manufactured out of gold, silver, pearl, amber, coral, gems and several other precious materials, goodly quantities of images in great variety, little and large, for the ladies and for the temples of the pagan gods. Sacred bracelets, combs, beads, palladiums and golden vincula were among the saleable bijoux of their manufacture. These artists, closely organized and enjoying their profits in the usual method of community enterprise, succeeded in making a good living at Ephesus. It was, of course, for their direct advantage, in order to secure good sales and a good living, to brook no innovation of the new christian doctrine brought to Ephesus by Paul and the other evangelists which discountenanced the popularity of these ancient fads and fashions on which their existence depended. To them it was business without sentiment.

But the business of image making and selling was classed with idolatry; for all these objects they were producing were idols of the pagan divinities. There was at Ephesus a very prominent trade union character named Demetrius who was kurios, or principal in charge of the unions of image makers. The broadcast preaching of Paul, which certainly had a powerful effect, was directly against the old idolatry of the pagan worship.²⁵ Not understanding this we are told that a great quarrel existed between the propagators of the new salvation.

To students of the true situation and to practical thinkers this will soon appear as a far-etched conclusion. Christianity has already been stamped by the su-

²⁵ Paul seems to have had a similar encounter with a man named Diotrophes, mentioned in the third Epistle of John, unfavorably. A close study of Diotrophes reveals that he was guardian of a union, like Demetrius, and would not tolerate any interference of the new missionaries, urging their doctrines into the old brotherhoods, so long as such preaching was deleterious to the business which it was their function to defend.

pervening Tübingen school as a grotesque if not comical deal in futures; for judging from the coaxing career of competition and its lordly overstriding of the originally socialistic foundation, stamping out its vitals and leaving but a skeleton, the world must at length show cause why it should not awaken from an indoctrinated superstition. Indeed it is already beginning to cry aloud with disappointment.

We have repeatedly said that it is not our province here to write up specious views. We leave this to the wranglers of gnosticism and the men of pulpit and chancel who reverberate more the mock of a hollow salary than the glow of love for their fellow men. We are groping after history; searching and unearthing the story of something called christianity; dragging forth as a result of our labors among scraps and bones and cinerary relics, a vast evidence, which warrants us in a hope that Neander's prediction is coming true.²⁵⁶

The imaginary split-away originating in the accredited trouble between Paul on the one hand and John and Peter and the immediate companions of Jesus on the other, was the self-same labor question and labor movement which we have to-day. As a matter of fact, there was no lasting quarrel, for they came to an understanding. There was a vast practical labor movement, legalized by the statute we have described, but driven into secrecy by the Roman conquests; and the immediate followers of Jesus, faithful to his teachings, pursued with consistency the tenets prescribed. Paul, a good man at heart, but a born aristocrat, at first abjured the economic factor and cast his whole life in the cause of faith, thinking only of the life beyond and believing with an intense assurance that things pertaining to the world were of little concern compared with the æons of bliss which he believed to await the denizens of earth who followed the Jesus as a post earthly God.

John and Peter, on the other hand were workingmen. They looked upon mankind as it really was; a mass of

²⁵⁶ This remarkable prediction of a modern converted Hebrew philosopher, has been translated and reads to this effect: "We stand," said Neander, "on the line between the old world and a new, about to be called into being by the ever-fresh energy of the gospel. For a fourth time an epoch in the life of our race is in preparation by means of christianity." Schafl, *Hist. Apostolic Church*. See Lippincott, *Biog. Dict.*, art. *Neander*.

suffering humanity overcome by the sword of tyrants; ground to atoms by laws against conspiracy; reduced to a hideous slavery; bleeding with blows; intellect stifled; wives and children weeping in squalid starvation; subject at the least excuse to be hung on the awful gibbet of the crucifix and denied the right of family or the exercise of natural and honorable affections.

Which was right? Paul was a good man. We shall show in our history of his fight against the abominations that his life-work rid the world of many a den of sexual license, elevating mankind above the exuberant laxity of Cotytto and heading off the freedom of Carpocrates. But did he overreach his functions as a reformer when he ranked this iconoclasm among the abominations which he attacked?

It is here that the true labor problem comes in. Demetrius, who like the others we have mentioned, was a *kurios* or *quinquennialis* of the union of image makers of Ephesus and in appearance already converted by John, was in the act of faithfully carrying out his instructions and functions as protector and president of his union. It was a fact that Paul, in his preaching, inveighed against the worship of idols with such power that the manufacture of these images, shrines and paldiums was sensibly cut off, leaving the laboring people, members of these image makers' unions thousands in number, out of employment, to be turned out as tramps and making of Paul's christianity a sort of labor-stifling machine, like these of to-day which are intercepting human muscle and driving our artisans by millions into the roads to tramp, starve and die. John sprang at him like a tiger. Diotrophes another New Testament character apparently a director of a union similarly threatened, likewise vehemently attacked Paul.

It was a serious question. Demetrius and his unions got word from other quarters that this proto-iconoclast had worked the same arguments among them. There can be no doubt of his influence over the membership of similar unions making shrines and receiving their bread from this labor.²⁵⁷ Thus the business of a multitude favored by coming under the *jus coeundi*, ancient, and sacredly unchangeable, held as an heirloom of anti-

²⁵⁷ *Acts*, xix., 26. Moreover ye see and hear that not alone at Ephesus but almost throughout all Asia this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people, saying that they be no gods, which are made with hands.

quity,²⁵⁸ was all at once attacked by a Jewish reformer, a craftsman of the tentmakers and a man of no higher rights than their own Demetrius.

Another matter of utmost importance recently coming to light through inscriptional history but never before known since the days of their suppression, is that these unions of image makers defended on that memorable day by Demetrius, were actually manufacturing articles for the government.²⁵⁹ We are told by the cyclopaedia of Biblical literature that Demetrius was a maker of silver shrines of Artemis at Ephesus, and the *naoi argurioi* niches for models of the great temple of the Ephesian Artemis or Diana, near her statue; and that Demetrius and his fellow craftsmen, in fear of losing their trade, raised a tumult, showing in his speech before a vast out-of-door crowd how the new sect threatened to endanger their business and means of life. This is admitted by all, even Calvin.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁸ Mommsen, *De Coll. et Sodal., Rom.*, p. 40, § 6, *in initio*, speaking of the stability of the collegium, under the jus coeundi of Solon, says: "Cum rerum ordo apud Romanos immutaretur et libera rei publicae forma in regnum sensim abiret, Romæ quoque malorum hominum consociationes illæ, quæ turbas civiles et sequi et incitare rursus solent, sæpissime febant." Thus the privilege got to be exceedingly dangerous, for allusion is made to Livy's *Solitudo Magistratum*. cf. *supra*, ch. i. Again, the traditional song so beloved by the poorer people grated against the pride of the patrician class, but this laxity, and sometimes perhaps, wantonness, were fortified in the traditional habits which did not keep pace with the splendor of urban growth. They for centuries sang their traditional songs and in Phrygia exhibited their fair ones at the Callipygian games. It is stated by Thirwell that less progress was made in 1,000 years than is being made in modern times in a hundred. In music, change was especially slow. The *Hula hula*, or, "Oh that funny feeling," is a tune believed by some to reach back into the pre-Christian days. There are races now, among which no change, either of law, of fashion, or of habit and belief, transpires, and the Africans, Mongolians, Malays and Indians are some of them; whereas the true Caucasian race is exceedingly changeful.

²⁵⁹ Neander, *Planting*, Book III., chap. viii., quotes *Acts*, xix., 24^{sqq.}, and distinctly says, that "The silver shrines for Diana brought no small gains unto the craftsmen." Again, *id.*, viii.: "Small models, in gold and silver, of the proud temple of Artemis used to be made, which, being sent to distant parts as an object of devotion, brought great gains to the city." But Neander cannot see that the makers belonged to a union of silversmiths. Dr. Oehler, in his *MSS.*, sent to us, speaking of Jewish unions at Ephesus, and referring to *Acts*, xix., 24, *ie.*, the trouble with Paul and Demetrius, seems to assure us that the union had the burial attachment, *Anc. Gr. Inscr.*, IV., no. 676: "Κηδόνται οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι;" 679, "Ταύτης τῆς σόρου κηδόνται οἱ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ Ἰουδαῖοι." We expect inscriptions will yet be found proving more. Oehler, *Eran. Vandob.*, p. 281, brings this fact to mind referring to *Acts*, xix., 24, ^{sqq.} to show the, "einflussreiche Stellung der Genossenschaften im staatlichen Leben; dass sie einen grossen Einfluss auf die Masse des Volkes hatten zieht der Aufstand, den die Silberarbeiter in Ephesos gegen den Apostel Paulus erregten: *Apostolog.* xix., 24^{f.} This makes him a director of a regular union.

²⁶⁰ Calvin, *In Acta Apostol.*, xix., 23^{sqq.}, makes it plain that this trouble was entirely over the problem of bread for the workmen: "Res ipsa clamat, non tam pro aris ipsos quam pro focis pugnare, ut scilicet culinam habeant bene calentem."

Now it has not yet been explained that this Demetrius was the same man converted by John, and mentioned by him, nor that he is the Demas of the gospels, being a member of the early christian brotherhoods. Neither has it been explained that it was over him and this very trouble that the great schism occurred between Peter, John, James and Paul. This phenomenal sequestering of a great subject for nearly two thousand years will develop itself little by little as enquiry proceeds.

Let us now turn our attention to the subject of government of these people on strike. In the first place, it is well recorded that their manufacture of images, models, shrines and priestly paraphernalia was a part of the pagan worship of Diana. Next to this comes the important but well-known fact that this sort of property was largely official. The state or city owned the temple, and we are told that the sale of such things brought great gains to the city, meaning that it was public business. Without doubt the priests, who in ancient times were regular public officers, used to procure of the unions of jewelers large numbers of shrines, models and other salable trinkets, and sell them at a much higher price to the ladies of wealth, who visited the famous place, from not only the city itself but the country round about and even from the distant villages and towns. This traffic, then, with the unions, for the purchase of sacred objects, was a government function, and in the way we have described must have brought gains to the city, although it afforded the unions a sure and lucrative means of existence. The union could contract for so and so many shrines, and being paid by the city, the commerce was political and this would instigate the political incentives causing the members to organize and at the elections work and vote for the agoranomos who was willing to pledge that he would award to them the jobs rather than to any outside enterprise. As we have shown, this was done to an enormous extent at Pompeii and in many places of Asia Minor. It was in this indirect manner that the ancient unions constantly received employment, and the shrine makers of Ephesus were no exception.

Few people of our day have any idea of the importance of the temple of Diana. "Great is Diana of the

Ephesians," is Bible history. It appears to have been in a good state of preservation at the time covered by our story. Few people comprehend its magnificence or its enormous proportions. The Parthenon on the Acropolis of Athens, grand as it was, sank in comparison with the size of this renowned temple of Diana. It was more than four times greater than the Parthenon, and its crumbling ruins still mark the spot where it stood for a dozen centuries, the wonder of the architectural world. Its roof was cedar and the massive entablature of marble supporting it had one hundred and twenty-eight columns sixty feet high. It was four hundred and twenty-five feet in length and two hundred and twenty feet in breadth; and in its center supported on a high pedestal stood the wonderful statue of Diana, done in costly pearls bedecked with gold to the value of millions; goddess of the moon and sister to Apollo god of the sun. She protected labor, presided over the unions of hunters and fishermen and ruled the destinies of virginity, marriage and honor. This great temple founded by the Amazons and Leleges in prehistoric antiquity, having been once destroyed by the conflagration of Erostratus, three hundred and seventy years before, and rebuilt in a splendor commensurate with the improvements of architecture, was known as one of the seven wonders of the world; the others being the colossus at Rhodes, Pyramids of Egypt, Hanging Gardens of Babylon, Statue of Jupiter at Olympus, the Pharos at Alexandria and the Mausoleum at Halicarnassas.

Of course such a vast edifice as this could not have been erected and owned by any one denominational branch of religion. It was national property. It is probable that for the most part of the twelve-hundred years it is known to have stood, it was claimed by the municipality of Ephesus. But it was government property. The very divinities, with all the scores of priests and priestesses were creatures of official religion. Piety was an official duty under the government control. Priests were paid employees of the government. The individual had no right or control over the incomes from sacrifices,²⁶¹ which as proved by the Pliny correspond-

²⁶¹ Gibbon, chap. xvi., with note 60 and elsewhere, recognized that non-attendance at the sacrifices was equivalent to non-payment of tribute to Rome basing this view on Pliny's letters, and says: "As the payment of tribute was inflexibly refused... the consideration which they, the christians, ex-

ence with the emperor Trajan, about unions converted to christianity, was the same at that time in all parts of proconsular Rome. Not only did the unions do the work of the official religion, but the members were forced under the penalty of death, to attend the sacrifices, buy the animals the farmers brought to the temples, and thus put money into the treasury of government. How fallacious then, to suppose that the artists in shrines and images manufactured by an organization presided over by Demetrius, were not indirectly working for the government.

It is equally erroneous to suppose that this great number of silversmiths and goldsmiths of Ephesus were not thoroughly organized. No wealth or good fortune or food above an exiguous pittance could be earned by an unorganized workingman at that time. Nor did Demetrius own and operate a great shrine factory, as Neander supposes.²⁶² It is Granier de Cassagnac who is correct regarding ancient manufacture. A rich man in those days might own slaves, and place over them a good manager, always a slave, or a freedman and thus carry on a manufactory; but this was extremely rare. Demosthenes had two factories in Athens, one for making cutlery and another for producing bedsteads. They were manned by fifty-two slaves all his own property, and his superintendent was murdered by them. He also manufactured for the state. But Demetrius did not own slaves. Those men he pleaded for were free; and the institution they subserved was a well organized union or guild, such as Ephesus abounded in. These unions were doing business under the *jus coeundi* of Solon, and they had to have a *kurios* or president of eminent ability. This officer was Demetrius. He had a keen eye to the good of his brotherhood; hence his strong influence over the town clerk, the governor and the whole people of Ephesus. Nor was he opposed to the introduction of the reforms which had previously been brought hither by John and Peter because they did not

perenced from the Roman magistrates, will serve to explain how far these speculations are justified in facts, and will lead us to discover the true causes of the persecutions." We shall soon bring to light all that is known of the Pliny letters.

²⁶² Neander, *Planting*, Book III., chap. vii.: "A man named Demetrius, who had a large manufactory of such models, and a great number of workmen, began to fear, since the gospel had spread with such success.... that the gains in his trade would soon be lost."

denounce the manufacture of images nor do anything to injure the happiness of the working people. They were not iconoclasts; for however correct the statement that the true God was not made with hands, they were wise enough to keep still and economical enough to let well enough alone. They were the direct apostles and companions of the great ebionite and Nazarene who had come and worked as a workingman and advocate of labor, and paid his passage to immortality through the ignominious cross. The misfortune, if it can be called a misfortune, is that Paul should have been such an aristocrat that he cared not whether the poor workmen were starved to death or not by his innovation which interdicted the manufacture of idols for the salvation of the living, so long as he gained his point for the salvation of the dead. Paul thus became the enemy of the economical factor which Jesus had upheld in his primitive brotherhood and Peter, Apollos, James and John were still struggling for, in their itinerancy. He sought to kill the practical and now re-ascendant half of the thing known as christianity. Priestcraft saw the bait and snapped it up and the church is a whited sepulchre. The great economic factor is ruled out.

But Dr. Lightfoot had penetration enough to see the bottom of the schism. Demas, who is mentioned time and again in the New Testament, proves to be Demetrius.²⁶³ "Demetrius is no other than Demas," says Dr. Lightfoot, especially in his²⁶⁴ Introduction to the Epistle to the Thessalonians. If so, he is mentioned at least four times over and above the full history given of the great strike-tumult at Ephesus in the Acts, where his name occurs twice. No word of sympathy is expressed in the Acts of the Apostles for the working people engaged in this trouble. The original writings, including those of Clement, the Protevangelium of James, Barnabas, the gospel of Peter, celebrated with Greeks as the Kerugma Petrou, and many other original contributions

²⁶³ III John, 12; Col., iv., 14; II Tim., iv., 10; Philemon, 24. The Oxford Univ. Ed., *index* Proper Names, says, Demas is contracted from Demetrius.

²⁶⁴ II Tim., iv., 10; but particularly Col., iv., 14. In II. Tim., iv., 10, ii., Demetrius completely forsakes Paul, "Ἀλλῃ γὰρ με ἐγκατέλιπεν, ἀγαπήσας τὸν νῦν εἰδίονα, καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς Θεσσαλονικίαν, Κρησκήν εἰς Γαλατίαν, Τίτος εἰς Δαλματίαν, Λουκᾶς ἔστι μόνος μετ' ἐμοῦ." This shows the schism: and it plainly began in the quarrel at Ephesus over the economic problem of the workingmen.

including the mysteriously lost Gospel of the Hebrews, all of which are known to have gone current during the first and much of the second centuries, were ruled out and much which we have has been interpolated in their places. Great men and scholars, too numerous to mention, pronounce the early writings genuine, and admit that the reason why they were excluded is that they all advocated the plan of economics which inculcates the socialism that was being practically and uniformly carried out by the brotherhoods.

Demetrius, then, was the first open, original exponent of the purely economic plan in Asia. Stephen had tried it in Palestine and lost his life. The laborer must receive the equivalents of the products of his work, and Demetrius, John and James said Paul's condemnation of idolatry should not be allowed to interfere against it. We do not set up a disclaimer against the methods of Paul. He was not the first to protest against rushing too rapidly²⁶⁵ against dangers. There are coming to

²⁶⁵ GIBBON, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xxxvii., including note 26, who seems to understand the ancient philosophy of the usefulness of lies, says: "But the operation of these religious motives, was variously determined by the temper and situation of mankind. Reason might subdue, or passion suspend their influence; but they acted more forcibly in the infirm minds of children and females."

LUKE, who was speaking to initiates behind the veil, says, viii., 10: "Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὑμῖν δεδοται γνώμαι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ἐν παραβολαῖς ἵνα βλέποντες καὶ ἀκούοντες μὴ συνιώσιν."

ARISTOTLE, *Metaphys.* x., 8: "Religion has been handed down in mythical form from the earliest times, to posterity, that there are gods; and that things divine compass nature entire. All over and above this has been added, according to the mythical style, for the purpose of persuading the multitude, and in favor of the laws, and the good of the state. Thus men have given to the gods human forms, and have even represented them under the figure of other beings, in whose train fictions of many other things followed. But if we separate from all this the original principle, and consider that alone, we shall find that this has been divinely done; since philosophy and art have been several times found and lost, yet such doctrines or essences are preserved to us as remains of ancient wisdom."

POLYBIUS, *Histories*, VI., cap. 56, strongly hints that superstition or the inculcation among the masses of those too weak to comprehend the full truth accomplishes its realization surer and swifter than a straight attempt to teach the truth.

STRABO, *Geog.* I., 2; "The multitude of women and the entire mass of the common people cannot be led to religion by the doctrines of philosophy; for this purpose superstition is also necessary, which must call in the aid of the myths and fables of wonder. . . . Such things the founders of states used as bugbears to awe childish people. These myths are wanted not only for children, but for all the ignorant, who are no better than children."

HERMAS, *Vision*, Book II., c. 3, makes a prayer in accordance probably with the above: "O Lord, I never spoke a true word in my life, but have lived in dissimulation, lying to all men, and was never contradicted. All gave credit to my words." Yet Hermes comes down to us as a man of modesty, truthfulness and wisdom.

LACTANTIUS, *Div. Inst.*, II., c. 3, says that Cicero, like Aristotle believed that good things must be taught through lies: Cicero was well aware

light strong evidences which show that Paul was wise. If our argument is true that early christianity was the original economic socialism it is believed by us to have been, he certainly was right; not in taking food from the workers but in stanching the too rapid boldness of an open advocacy into hitherto secret places. Did this man Paul not stand by and see the ghastly lynching of Stephen? Did he not stand afar and with his own eyes behold Jesus nailed to the cross? This same Paul had been an eye witness to many horrors. He had with his own eyes seen and known Jesus²⁶⁶ personally and, becoming, like a good and really honest man, a convert through pure conscientiousness, he turns in their favor, and gives his life up for them.

Thus it cannot be said of this man, that he was against the Ebionitic doctrines which had as its primitive basis the salvation of man from the awful qualms of pagan slavery and the humiliation of labor from which the patrician himself drew every ounce of his sustenance. Paul saw all this, and being humbly converted to socialism, put his whole life into the cause. If, then, he varied a little from Peter, John and James, as to the details of this business, we can see no reason for condemning him at wholesale and pronouncing empty anathemas against his views. We cannot find, honestly looking at the so-called Pauline quarrel, that this man varied very materially from Peter, John and James. He was intensely and conscientiously religious. Peter and John

that the deities men worshiped were false. He wanted men not to discuss things much, lest this discussion extinguish accepted doctrines which are supposed true. As a matter of fact, Aristotle, Plato, Polybius, Cicero, Strabo, Plutarch, Dion Chrysostom, for the early thinkers, and hundreds of the ante-Nicene prelates, advocated, that lies were useful, however hateful and nauseating such prevarications may now seem.

Solon, "Digest," XLVII., xx., 4, does as much in his "jus coundi," for the much contested clause "ἐπιλιαν οἰκόμενοι," actually gives robbers of the sea, that is, pirates, freebooters, corsairs, the right to carry on their business as legitimate. This is worse than superstitious falsehoods.

Am Rhyn, "Mysteria," Eng. "trans.," p. 5: "Here we have men using a twofold manner of speech; for the people, they gave out communications different from those which were extended to the initiates of their secret associations."

This seemingly villainous logic of the so-called pre-christians, which was copied by later advocates, Paul not excepted, gave rise to the aphorism: The end justifies the means; and as the pagan gods universally favored lies of this sort as useful, the christians were early led away from the rigid truthfulness adhered to in the unions, and finally became worse liars than their ancestors.

²⁶⁶ "II Corinth.," v., 16, reads: "But if I knew Christ personally as indeed I did know him according to the flesh—κατὰ σάρκα, in his bodily, earthly appearance, yet, now I know him so no more.

were as intensely and conscientiously practical. Paul, like the christians of to-day, had only the life beyond in view. He even had no promise for the slave. Peter and John had the hereafter not only but also the life of the living to do with; and they conscientiously preached salvation on these lines. Could they have been blamed if they instigated their powerful comrade, Demetrius, or Demas, to rebel with the large union of silversmiths, whose bread was threatened by Paul's doctrine? What had this converted union to do for or against the idol-buying customs of the official temple? We fail to see that either Demas or the artisans whose interests he controlled had anything for or against the worship of shrines in the making of which they earned a living. They simply did the work offered and got their money. Very naturally they followed the custom in this pressing emergency, like Peter who thrice denied. If they cried aloud, along with the great throng: "Great is Diana of the Ephesians," it was quite human and natural, and perhaps they did do so, but this does not accuse them.

Another matter of moment is that we commit no anachronism in these reflections. It may be asked if this incident of the strike of the image makers at Ephesus was not before John and others of the Twelve, or of the seventy, had planted at Ephesus. To this, we answer that the christian plant had been made several years before.²⁶⁷ But we find a remarkably startling mention in Dr. Lightfoot's Colossian Heresy regarding Paul at Ephesus in contact with strolling wanderers, whom he imagines to be Jews because Josephus in his Jewish wars speaks of them as wandering exorcists who cast out evil spirits,²⁶⁸ and brought the dead to life. Again,

²⁶⁷ *Amer. Cyclopædia*, in art. *Paul*: "Struck with temporary blindness by this vision, he (Saul) was brought to Damascus, where, after three days sojourn he received his sight at the hands of a disciple named Ananias." Does this not prove that the work had been begun even before Saul's conversion? Again, *id.*, "Meanwhile, a new centre of christian influence had established itself at Antioch, the capital of Syria, and thither Paul now went at the solicitation of Barnabas." Here is acknowledgment that both Ananias and Barnabas had planted before Paul. But the accepted belief now is that John, the evangelist, had been in Asia, even before either of them. He was known in the cities of the Lycus and in Ephesus. Paul had the same trouble with Diotrephes.

²⁶⁸ Josephus, *De Bell. Jud.*, I. c. § 7: "Ὅρκους αὐτοῖς ὀνομασι φρικωδέως ἢ μὴτε κρῖναι τι τοῖς αἰρετιστάς μὴτε ἑτέροις αὐτῶν τι μνησκεῖν καὶ ἀνμεχρὶ ἡνάταν τις βιάξῃται. Πρὸς τοῦτοις ὀνομάσκει μὴδὲ μὲν μεταδοῖναι τῶν δαγμάτων ἐστρωσὴ ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς μετελαβὲν ἀφεξέσθαι δε ληστείας καὶ συντηρησέω μοιῶς τα τε τῆς αἰρετικῶς αὐτῶν βιβλία καὶ τα τῶν ἀγγελῶν ὀνοματα."

Lightfoot²⁶⁹ speaks of essenic and similar unions on the Lycus, in Phrygia not many miles from Ephesus and almost describes the guilds.²⁷⁰ And well he might; for the workmen in the tumult against Paul were a multitude belonging to the union of shrine makers. The strolling Jews casting out devils are none other than the celebrated fakirs or Metragyrtes we have described.²⁷¹ They all belonged to the Dionysan artists. They constituted one of the most perfect trade organizations which received the benefits of, and were particularly mentioned by, the Solonic law in words that are unmistakable. This enormous, roving body is searchingly studied by the archæologists, and their numerous inscriptions compared with the descriptions of Lucian, Celsus, Julian, Porphyry and Clement of Alexandria.²⁷² Celsus himself, declares that the christians had a foothold in the organization of these Dionysan artists, and it is this which Dr. Lightfoot imperfectly sees and imagines to be the wandering essenians. It was very early.

Dr. Lightfoot finds that "There was an entire dislocation and discontinuity in the history of christianity in Asia Minor at a certain epoch; that the Apostle of the Gentiles was ignored and his teaching repudiated if not anathematized; and that on its ruins was created the standard of Judaism around which, with marvelous

²⁶⁹ Lightfoot, *Coloss. Heresy*, p. 93, admits that he sees evidences of what he seems to think is essenism at Colossæ and other cities in the Lycus and even in Ephesus. He must then as a matter of course, admit that they were industrial organizations; for Foucart, Lüders and especially Oehler have found the therapeutæ which are proved to be close trade unions, involved in the bread-winning work of their trade, cf. *videz* to this Vol. in verb. Therapeutæ.

²⁷⁰ Lightfoot, *Coloss.*, p. 93: "Where Paul visits Ephesus, he comes in contact with certain strolling Jews, exorcists, who attempt to cast out evil spirits: *Acts*, xix., 13: 'Ἐπεχείρησαν δὲ τινες ἀπὸ τῶν περιερχομένων Ἰουδαίων ἐξορκιστῶν ὀνομάζειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας τὰ πνεύματα τὸ ποτηρὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, λέγοντες ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὃν ὁ Παῦλος κηρύσσει.

²⁷¹ Lüders, *Dionys. Künstl.* Οἱ διάσσοι τῶν περὶ τὸν Διονύσου τεχνιτῶν. The particular clause which secured these roving, half-mendicant, half-preditory bands of brothers, as also the sea-rovers, or corsairs, under the *jus œcundæ*, was as follows: ἢ ἐπὶ λαῶν οἰχομένοι, *Dig.*, XLVII., xx., 4.

²⁷² Lucian, *De Mortē Peregrinī*, 11 πμ. We quote Middleton's paraphrase. Works, I., 19: "Lucian, who flourished during the second century, tells us that whenever any crafty juggler, an expert in his trade, who knew how to make a right use of things, went over to the christians, he was sure to grow rich immediately by making a prey of their simplicity." Again, "Celsus," in Origen, *Contra Celsum*, Book I., represents all the christian wonderworkers as mere vagabonds and common cheats, who rambled about to play their tricks at fairs and markets; not in the circles of the wiser and better sort, for among such, they never ventured to appear, but wherever they observed a set of raw young fellows—slaves, or fools, there they took care to obtrude themselves, and there they displayed all their arts."

unanimity deserters from the Pauline Gospel rallied. Of this retrograde faith St. Paul is supposed to have been the great champion, and Papias a typical and important representative.²⁷³ The Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature of Smith is silly and aristocratic enough to say that John, the workingman, christian and bosom friend of Jesus, "was mistaken, with the others of the Twelve, in his idea of the temporal mission of the Messiah." This is a good specimen of the emissaries of wealth and property to-day, in their advocacy and their cringing subserviency to prelate and craft setting in so early against the determined battle of Jesus to sweep the robber from the face of the earth.²⁷⁴ Neander, as we here show his words in our note, boldly admits that the Pauline controversy and trouble was settled by his promising to "continue to relieve the temporal wants of the poor." Nothing can be more definite. The members of the image makers' unions were of course, the poor, for they, like all who labor, had only their hands to secure them means of life. Paul had undertaken to head this off. It being their only possible means of existence, a great tumult resulted, which the governor and the town clerk wisely and correctly pronounced to be a matter not of the public but between themselves, when he dismissed the multitude. Truly nothing can be plainer or clearer than that the whole difficulty, so tersely recorded in the nineteenth chapter of The Acts was a question of labor, and that the labor unions of Ephesus were involved. The address of Demetrius was clearly a New Testament-quoted labor speech.

This same contest against allowing christian unions to manufacture idols for heathen use, came up, long afterwards and was fought to a finish, ending in the sup-

²⁷³ Lightfoot. *Coloss.*, 50, in addition to this strong recognition, the theory of the Tübingen school of Bauer, *Christliche Kirche der Ersten Dreihundertere*, and Schwegler's *Nachapostolisches Zeitalter*.

²⁷⁴ Neander. *Planting*, Book III., ix., *intt.*, says: "While in this manner, christianity spread itself from Antioch, the parent church of the Gentile world a division threatened to break out between the two parent churches. It was the great crisis in the history of the church and of mankind. The question was, in fact, whether the gospel would succeed, not only then but through all future ages." Neander sees this but in his darkness attributes it all to the "spiritual fault of blessedness without circumcision," and adds to the history of Paul's journey to Jerusalem to get the matter arranged with Peter, James and John, and planning conciliation, whereby a publishing of the Gospel might go on. They did not disagree: "They agreed that Paul should continue to labor independently among the heathen making only one stipulation, namely, that as heretofore the Gentile churches should continue to relieve the temporal wants of the poor."

pression of the splendid unions by the monstrous edict of Laodicea.

Thus we have attempted to prove that this model workingman was a character in history and have shown his actual character, even so far as is known in credible and legendary record, his human side, not fearing to show his features, form and gait.²⁷⁵ But all this sinks in insignificance compared with the great life-work he carried though suppressed nearly two thousand years, and now surging to the front afresh with a roar and a rush, to frighten the devotees of greed and make joyful the myriads of toil. That work was the uplifting of the secret microcosm into the majestic state.²⁷⁶

As we desire to present positive evidence on origins of socialism developed in the ancient microcosm, such as we have been able to dig up from the epitaphs and other inscriptions, we have avoided all moribund thau-matolatry possible including miracles and wonderworking, since it was these more than is supposed which created the wranglings of later periods. We have searched and recorded only that which promises to be accepted as permanent history.

Having explained all that is known regarding the turmoil at Ephesus instigated by Demas or Demetrius, Diotrophes and the artisans working in gold and silver jewelry for the goddess Diana, and having seen that no possible doubt can exist that they were a powerful branch of the Solonic organization, it is in order to fol-

²⁷⁵ For something more on the *Appearance* of Jesus, see Myer's *Konv. Lex.*, in verb., *Christusbilder*: "Darnach schildert Johannes Damascenus im 8. Jahrh. das Bild Christi, womit der im 11. Jahrh. bekannt gewordene Bericht des Lentulus und die byzantinischen C. harmoniren, z. B. die in Ravenna und Rom, welche Christus mit kurzem, gespaltenem Bart, langem, in der Mitte gescheiteltem Haar, und edlen Züge darstellen. Die C. in den Katakomben des Pontians und Calixtus stammen aus dieser Zeit. So bleibt der Typus in den Mosaiken auf dem Smaragdbildnis."

²⁷⁶ Mr. Reber, *Enigmas*, p. 80, might add the name of Oxyrhynchus finds, the Bryennian κρηρύνα πετρού, the tell-tale points of the Clementine *Recognitions*, the Pliny *Letters*, and above all the newly-deciphered *Inscriptions*, to his list when he says: "The sacred writings of the therapeutæ, the Hebrew version of Matthew, the Epistle of James and the first of Peter, furnish the principles and doctrines which now form the life of christianity. So with equal prevision does Smith, *Biblical Dictionary*, 453, say: "The day of Pentecost is the birth-day." Every encyclopedia confirms it. Neander, *Planting*, I., c. 1, *Inti.*, has it, where he says: "The Pentecost which, the disciples celebrated, soon after the crucifixion, is of great importance as marking the commencement of the Apostolic church; for here it first publicly displayed its essential character." Neander, then, knew very well that it was here that the membership was swollen from 120 to 3,000 and that they had all things common. And it all confesses that this "dis-plan." was the opening of the long-latent microcosm and its first outlet into a vast future economic movement for temporal salvation.

low further this work of planting christianity among these and similar labor organizations existing at that auspicious moment in uncounted numbers, and in deep secrecy in all parts of Asia Minor. Our purpose is to show that the apostles used these unions as a welcome and genial home.²⁷⁷

The history of the early plant is involved in mystery. No one has ever explained why Peter, Titus, Thaddeus, Joseph of Arimathea and others of the companions of Jesus disappeared from view, nor whither they went. We lose track of them many years, when they reappear by some letter or quarrel, to sink back again into the recesses of obscurity, perhaps never to be seen or heard of again. These mysterious companions of Jesus are nearly all down in the Breviary of Martyriology, as having suffered death in the persecutions. One is struck with the overshadowing mystery which enshrouds Peter and his co-workers in Asia Minor, Titus in his nineteen years' hiding in Tyre and Casarea, John in his immense labors building up the celebrated seven churches of Asia. Into what secret dens did they creep all during those lost, untraceable years? Yet we know their time was not frittered away; for the fruits of their labor in secret cropped out all along the line in forms of splendid churches, and it was thus that the seven celebrated churches came into being.

Paul alone came out openly. But even he encountered trouble whenever he rushed himself into spheres of visible life. The truth is, Peter, Titus, John, Thaddeus and others of the original companions sequestered themselves among the unions.

These innumerable hives of labor cannot be compared with the trade unions which we have to-day. There was a vein of loving fraternity for each other, foreign from anything existing at the present time. According to the official outside world the poor who labored for a livelihood were without souls; they had no right under the law to marry and raise a family; unless covered with the legalizing veil of a burial attachment they and

²⁷⁷ Cagnat, *Vie Contemp.*, Jan. 15, 1896, admits this: "C'est pourtant, en partie grâce au droit d'association, et à l'insu du pouvoir que s'accomplit, à Rome et dans les provinces, la grande révolution morale et religieuse qui transforma le monde; sans lui (meaning trade-unionism), le christianisme aurait éprouvé les plus grandes difficultés non point tant à s'établir qu'à prospérer."

their unions were outlaws; for from the conquests, a Claudius, a Cæsar and a Cicero had crippled the hated *jus coeundi* of Solon and made their unions precarious. They lived at their endeared common table, a veritable institution, now so completely outgrown that it is unknown at the present age, yet was the source of their principal economy and especially delightful to them as a medium of conversation, acquaintance, sympathies and entertainments. So far as can be gleaned from literary references, generally contemptuous, and from inscriptional evidence, these meals at the common table were taken in the *kuriakos* of the microcosmic family, each member a worker who paid an assessment every month into a common fund. The deacon and the president bought provisions for the entire brotherhood with this money, procuring purchases at wholesale. None were allowed at the common table who did not pay the regular assessments, unless disabled by being out of work, by sickness, old age, infancy or some other good excuse. When afterwards the christians knocked and were admitted, persecution, banishment in mines and dungeons served as an excuse. No humiliating charity, no phase of the later eleemosynary system, no beggary were ever known in these organizations. It was the law of Solon, as brought to Athens from Amasis Pharaoh of Egypt, and set up at the *Prytaneum*, that everyone should be able to give an honest and satisfactory account of how he or she made a living and the Solonic unions followed the law down to the suppression by the prelates in A.D. 363.

Their system of common meals was therefore no new thing. It was Pythagorean; and among aristocrats had been held in contempt as an abomination of the poor, since the abuse of it at Sybaris ages before.²⁷⁸

As shown by their anaglyphs, and especially those of the scholæ in subterranean Rome, they were allowed to believe they were gifted with a soul; a great comfort acting both ways, in inspiring both to hope and manhood. In these secret recesses, they taught themselves

²⁷⁸ Chrysostom, *Works*, I., pp. 316, 697, 1034, 1040; V., 278, 654; X., 654, "Sybaritica mensa;" Vide notam, X., 654. Sybaris in Magna Græcia was sneered in antiquity, as being the city where was practiced all the wanton ease of the Pythagorean system. The meals were partaken in common, as in the Solonic unions; baths, after the idea of the licentious rich. But this was under the Pythagorean system of optimates and must by no means be confounded with the common table ceremonies of the labor unions.

to read, write, speak in public, sing, compose, forgive, and love one-another, believe in immortality, secure each other employment, and the true art of convivial enjoyment. Each union acted both socially and politically; socially, because it cultivated mutual assistance, respect, honor and love; politically, because, under the law the union itself was obliged to be framed after, and imitate the democratic city. The rules were so stringent that punishment was inflicted after death for suicide, by denying the offender the right of burial.²¹⁹ If a lazy-bones undertook to play the part of a sponge and failed to pay his monthly assessments, for the first offense he was fined and told to work, the employment being furnished him by the union; for the third offense he was expelled and the disgrace indelibly recorded against him by being inscribed upon a stone slab as minutes of the judgment before whose tribunal the sentence was pronounced.²²⁰ It is understood that the orator Dion Chrysostom refers to these eranic rules as they were applied to the very early christians who are known to have shielded their brothers and their faith in this deep seclusion for safety, and also to have been as strict against laziness as the unions themselves of which they now formed a part.²²¹ There are even inscriptions discovered showing the decrees or charters on which these societies were founded, and the stipulations itemizing the various uses to which the moneys²²² of the unions

²¹⁹ Momms., *De Col. et Social. Inscr. Lanuviana, ad fin.: Lex Collegii*; "Item placuit, quisquis ex quacunque causa mortem sibi adsciverit, ejus ratio funeris non habebitur." Cf. *supra*, Vol. I., p. 355.

²²⁰ Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, pp. 40, 41, 42. Fining of itself was considered a disgrace, but a severe concomitant was the exclusion or disbarring of a member from the right to vote. This severity has been discovered in three inscriptions: "Μη μετῃστω αὐτῶ τῶν κοινῶν." One other rule was severe against immorality; "Si quelqu' un excite des batailles ou des tumultes, qu' il soit chassé de l' érane." In Asia Minor, Italy, and Greece, it was the same, Mauri, *I Cittadini Lavatori*, pp. 50-1, Ἀρχίας νόμος. "Τῆς ἀρχίας αἰτιμαίστω τὸ τιμημα, εἰ τις τις ἀλώῃ.—Ἐάν δέ τις ἀλώ ἀπαξ, ζημιούσθαι δραχμας ἐκατόν." Id est: "La pena dell' ozio sia il disonore per chi vien tre volte convinto reo." Telfy, *Op. Cit.*, 1194; Pollux *Onomasticon*, VIII., 42. This Cyprian, *Epist.*, V., 2, confirms and declares that the agitators, even Paul, Peter, and all the others had a trade at which they labored, under the laws of the unions which forbade any person from getting something for nothing.

²²¹ Dion Chrysostom, *Essay on Virtue, trans.* of Gilbert Wakefield, Lond., 1800, pp., 151-160. Conversation between Diogenes and Sinapis. Here Dio gives the shirks a severe handling. This was during the lifetime of the men whose works we are now treating.

²²² Lüdgers, *Dion. Künstl.*, p. 115: "In dem grossen Korkyräischen Decret über die Stiftung der Dionysien wird ausdrücklich der Fall verzeichnet, wie mit dem Gelde zu machen sein werde. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ εἰ τις ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγῶνα τῶν τεχνιτῶν, ἐγδαρίζεσθω καὶ τὸ λεϊψθεῖ ἀργηρίῳ καὶ ὑπαρξέτω εἰς τὰς τοῦν τεχνιτῶν μισθῶσαι."

should be put. The Twelve Tables demanded it.²⁸³ The unions when allowed to career unmolested were always the recipients of another boon. They were exempt from military duties. Dr. Gorius discovered these exemptions of the Roman *collegia*, as proved by important inscriptions in the Columbarium near the Appian Way, and to which we have already made reference. The scenic erantists were completely exempted in Asia Minor.²⁸⁴

Nor could the unions under the law dispose of or in any manner alienate their property which they held in common. By a far-sighted and wise jurisprudence the Solonic dispensation a thousand years before had completely recognized the gap which yawns between individual and social property, and arranged that when men combined together under its provisions, they were to be a microcosm of a perfect government, enlarged from the family, and in imitation of the ideal political government. Thus the ideal grew out of the perfect socialism which always exists in every well regulated family. This was enough. The conception was grand. It proved too sage to stand the blasts of human ambition and cupidity. Socrates gave an influential life and a pre-Christian martyrdom for it; Plato, his true friend and devotee, succeeded him with his immortal Republic and Laws; Jesus came and went, like the rest, a martyred victim to this beautiful idea of social ownership, and the working millions, robbed of the possession of what their hands created, found themselves blessed with a Solonic dispensation which guaranteed them privilege and security to convert their units into mutual goods. Man in the brotherhood stands out as a family, a unit in society; common owner of the products all create. It was thus through the great Solonic dispensation, that

²⁸³ Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, p. 64, speaking of the ancient Roman unions, says: "Ils (étaient compris parmi les associations à qui les XII Tables garantirent une complète autonomie intérieure."

²⁸⁴ Foucart, *De Scenicis Artificibus*, p. 41, quotes and translates from CIG. 3067, lines 14-16, as follows: "Artifices omnino immunes esse militia, quum maritima tum pedestri." And he refers us to Livy, vii., 2, and Diodorus, iv., 5, showing that theatrical people working at this trade or profession, were exempt throughout Rome, even from paying stipends. "Apud Romanos quoque provisum erat ne histriones stipendia facerent." In a former chapter we have dwelt upon the subject at length, chap. vi., *India*, giving Strabo's valuable confirmation of these immunities enjoyed among the brotherhoods of India under a great king Sandracottas.

the common property of these unions became inalienable.²⁸⁵

A profound wonder went abroad among the uninitiated, at an early date, regarding the spread of the christian culture. Writers, whose books are not lost, expressed astonishment that it could have been impregnated so early into the heathen jungles. Arnobius admires the rapidity with which the Word reached the Indians in the East and found the Britons in the North, or as he terms it, the West.²⁸⁶ An astonishing sequel to his words has within recent years reached us in form of a tell-tale inscription found in the ruins of their church, built early in the apostolic age and by the men sent out. Joseph of Arimathea is a wonderful, newly discovered subject. He planted perhaps, at Glastonbury. Who else? The inscriptions recently found there, record a trade union of the carpenters, and a gift of some land for the members to erect their kuriakos, donated by Pudens, the friend of Paul, who secured permission of a British king named Cogidubnus who legalized the transaction. Pudens, who was later in Rome, lived among the Solonic collegia, married Claudia, a christian woman also mentioned in Paul's epistles, became the warm friend of the poet Martial, who was mentioned in scripture, died a martyr, and his ashes are now dug up from the under-ground cells of a collegium with a burial attachment, containing his inscription and remains of his cinerary urn. This strange find proves that the cause of the mysteriously rapid growth of the Word was none other than the secret unions existing in all

²⁸⁵ These laws against disposal of common property, held good down to Valentinian and Valens. In touching upon them, we quote Granier de Cassagnac, *Hist. Class. Ouv.*, p. 349: "Leurs propriétés étaient inaliénables, ainsi que l'ont toujours été d'aillieurs les biens de toute corporation industrielle, municipale ou religieuse, en vertu des principes que nous avons établis dans le chapitre x. de cet ouvrage. L'inaliénabilité des biens des jurandes est constatée par un grand nombre de lois, entre autres, par une loi de Valentinien et de Valens: 'Patrimonia naviculariorum, quæ quo-libet genere, in extraneorum dominia demigrarant, in corporis sui jus proprietatemque remeant.'" *Cod. Theod.*, lb. XIII., tit. vi., leg. 2, and *Cod. Theod.*, XIII., tit. vi., leg. 6: 'Functi omnes, ad naviculariorum dominium pertinentes, et ad aliorum jura transliti... reddantur dominis.' The dominus is in the same manner president or kurios which we have abundantly described, viz. the responsible individual recognized by the society, before the law. See *Digest*, XLVII., xx., p. 4.

²⁸⁶ Arnob. *In Ps.*, cxlvii.: "Tam velociter currit sermo ejus, ut, cum per tot millia annorum in sola Judæa motus fuerit Deus, nunc intra paucos annos nec ipsos Indos lateat a parte Orientis, nec ipsos Brittanos a parte Occidentis."

known and accessible parts of the earth.²⁸⁷ Another thing, deeply withdrawn but observed by Dr. Mauri, is that the eranos as typical for all Solonic brotherhoods, was of a dual nature, one side, the *eranikai dikai* being somewhat visible in political dealings with the state.²⁸⁸ We have shown this political tendency of the eranos in its habit of loaning money to slaves desiring to buy themselves free, but we are not altogether informed whether such transactions were carried out in the mysteries with the usual secrecy or not.

We now proceed to set forth that it was these myriad occult unions of labor which were made use of during the earlier planting of the Word. The personal companions of Jesus seem to have disappeared. Nevertheless their work was most thoroughly done. When all the vast labors of this planting were accomplished there came a long period of leavening, accompanied by a fierce melee of contentions; and according to the theory of the authorities we have quoted it did nothing very bad by the two centuries of wranglings. On the whole, if we be allowed to count progressive steps by æons instead of years it worked well; for although the votaries of egoism got control of the economic half of the great original plan of salvation actually for the first century carried out in miniature, such as the microcosm copying and enlarging the family, they succeeded at last in utterly ruining it, establishing the faith of Paul in a life to come while dethroning the demands of

²⁸⁷ Lüd., *Dionys. Kunst.*, begins his learned work with a description of them and an analysis of their name, as though the term *ἐπάρος* should be typical for all the rest. He explains that they always ate at a common table "durch gemeinschaftlichen Cult, in eigenem Tempel *κρυπτικός*, sowie durch gemeinschaftliche Mahlzeiten ihre Verwandtschaft in der Verehrung Heroen oder des Stammengottes *θεὸς Πατρόος* pflegten." He quotes *Etym.*, M. 628. 23. on definition, among others also, Bekker, *Anek.*, p. 286, Harpocration, *Lex.*, Photius, and Hesych., *Lex.*, all of which define them as of a secret character, holding before christianity, sacrifices; but, all acknowledging the difficulty of getting their full record on account of their inapproachable presence.

²⁸⁸ Mauri, *I Cit. Lav.*, p. 62, after instancing the contentions of Wescher, Böckh, Van Holst, Reinach, and others, says: "Gli studii più recenti tenderebbero ad assecondare l'inesistenza del carattere di mutualità negli *ἐπαρος*, distinguendo bene i due istituti giuridicamente ed economicamente diversi, l'*ἐπαρος* associazione e l'*ἐπαρος* prestito, che parecchi scrittori con troppa facilità confusero insieme. Qualunque sia la vera delle due versioni, è certo però che le *ἐπαραικὶ δίκαι* di fronte al diritto pubblico rientra o semplicemente nel campo comune delle obbligazioni civili, senza essere tutelate da speciali disposizioni da parte dei pubblici poteri." As the *ἐπαραικὶ δίκαι*, was an action arising out of the affairs of the eranos, it was often a matter referred to the civil law; but somewhat political in the emancipation of slaves through sale to a divinity.

James²⁸⁹ and John that there is no salvation without works; and we have to-day the mocking skeleton of a Constantinian church instead of the warm, loving inter-mutual Christianity of Jesus.

We find it impossible, in fact useless, to follow these disseminators of the Word consecutively, either topographically or chronologically; but shall for the present endeavor, so far as is known of their mysterious career, to keep within the period embracing the reigns of Caligula and Claudius, and shall notice evidences that they used to an enormous extent the kuriakoi, or houses, of these lords, who were presidents of the secret unions.

The Roman conquests were at an end. With Julius Cæsar, Cicero and the lex Julia, the Solonic unions were far from being exterminated as had been hoped by the senatorial power of the optimates. Augustus and Tiberius had lived upon the first actual imperial throne and had been too wise and prudent to molest them. Jesus, their first kurios of the "Word"²⁹⁰ or Logos had come, offered a Lamb's sacrifice and gone, leaving the world his primitive diasporic brotherhood patterned exactly from the existing thousands with which pro-consular Rome more than ever teemed and had appointed trained missionaries, giving them scope to the uttermost ends of the earth. And what was that Word?²⁹¹ It was labor, work, performance of citizen duty.

Fitting these fundamental physical proofs to our work and arguing that they, with the so-called spiritual, were prominent as economic factors of their scheme,²⁹²

²⁸⁹ *Epist. James*, v., 4. 'Ἰδοὺ, ὁ μισθὸς τῶν ἐργατῶν τῶν ἀμηνῶν τὰς χῶρας ὑμῶν, ὁ ἀπιστερημένος ἀφ' ὑμῶν, κρῖσει. καὶ αἱ βοαὶ τῶν θέρσαντων εἰς τὰ ὕδα κενεῖον σαβαὼθ εἰσεληλυθασαν. Again, *John*, xv., 13: Greater love hath no man than this; that a man lay down his life for his friends.

²⁹⁰ Neander, *Plant.*, Book V., Vol., 1., says of John: "As Christ represents his Word or Words (his λόγος, his ῥήματα, his φωνή) as the Word of God Himself, that thereby alone God reveals Himself to man the fountain of life, the word of life; so John might thereby be induced to distinguish Him or the Word which is God." This is getting very near Philo's Construction of the Logos.

²⁹¹ Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, has sanctified labor with a mass of proofs never yet refuted that labor is divine power; in being the sole basis of all we have; and that which nourishes, fills us with health and spirit. lies at the bottom of home comforts, weans us away from temptation and wrong and creates plenty and abundant treasures for family and commonwealth, is sacred. Adam Smith tells us that: "Labor is the only universal as well as accurate measure of value, or the only standard of which we may compare the values of different commodities at all times and in all places."

²⁹² Jerome, *Letters, Malchus, the Captive*, cap. 7, *fin.*: "I began to . . . long to initiate those ants and their doings, where work is for the community and common whole; and as nothing belongs to any one, all things belong to all."

we find modern commentators, who have had more than ordinary insight, expressing surprise; sometimes almost agog, always hesitating before they speak but too conscientious to deceive. Such were Mosheim, Gibbon and Neander. This latter scholar and researcher carefully, honestly and boldly prying into the origins, finds deacons, presbyters and other officers now familiar to archæologists engaged on a research of the unions, all busy in the organization which is plainly ready-made and older than the christian church. He quotes honest Mosheim, father of Ecclesiastical research, who finds the same unaccountable thing. We recommend the reader who may be in doubt, to read Neander's dissertation on the Planting, and follow this with a perusal of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History. It is true that Neander, like Mommsen is too haughty and aristocratic in his inner soul to come down to the sublime Word of Jesus, who with ineffable humiliation and self abnegation was willing for a great and true cause, whose realization he knew to be afar off, to impersonate the truest form of the common workingman; but this only intensifies the fundamental truth that he came to save that long down-trodden factor of useful humanity. If then, he was inspired, as claimed, so much the holier and more richly inspired is the movement of labor to-day. So much the greater is the blaspheming which the modern church has committed all along the christian lines, in turning an arrogant front against the disfranchised millions on whom, like maggots and privileged paupers, it fastens and sucks and feeds, and whose solid substance its men thanklessly sap for every ounce of food and every delicious beverage without exception, that fattens them.

The Word was to be scattered to the ends of the earth. A miraculous power was bestowed upon a select few with which to accomplish it. Each and all the original companions of Jesus known to have disappeared, returned and again sequestered themselves, thus alternating between darkness and light and their lapses from the visible to the occult sometimes covered years of time and when they emerged, a new congregation always appeared.

It is known that Peter and Clement worked faithfully and harmoniously together, and that Clement wrote the last *Kerugma Petrou* or sermons. They were in exist-

ence when Clement of Alexandria lived, for he used them. Hegesippus the first historian of the church had Peter's Gospel. Now it is recorded that Peter, before going to Rome, traveled as far eastward as the Euphrates, taking in Constantinople and Chalcedony and was supposed to have had a copy of his teachings. But everything regarding this great journey rests in profoundest mystery. It is certain that he built up the church at Byzantium; and this fact brings us to our important inquiry.

On what principles did Peter found the Byzantine church? Regarding this we have some inscriptions and recent finds. In the year 1873, Philotheus Bryennius, head master to the higher Greek school at Constantinople, but now the ordained metropolitan of Nicomedia, discovered in the library of Jerusalem and monastery of the Most Holy Sepulchre at Constantinople, the veritable manuscript used by Peter on that journey. Peter was teaching in the far off cities, such as Byzantium and Chalcedony, and the evidence is that he must have had some assistance from secret unions who had already been located there. The MSS. found by Bryennius, we took the pains to visit and inspect in our final voyage in 1896.²⁹³

The theory spread itself abroad that the "Teachings" were originally written for a community of converts in some obscure locality.²⁹⁴ Without the least doubt a great secret agitation was carried on among the hetaerae

²⁹³ This discovery revealed the long lost *Διδάχη Πέτρου*. It is none other than the celebrated teaching of Peter which was copied many times in the early ages, and was current in 1056 when this copy was taken. It is now called the "*Corez*," and was the original of Peter's *Teachings*, going current by the name "*Τῶν Ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι Διδάχαι*." By Rufinus, it is called "*The Judgment of Peter*." It is acknowledged to be of the early first century. See Dr. Riddle, *Ante-Nicene Fath.*, Vol. VII., pp. 372-382. In Chalcedony directly over-against Constantinople, and in plain view, there has been found an inscription of a secret union, which was that of the Twelve; Oehler, *MSS.*; "*Nachtrag: διασώται* in Kalkedon bezeichnet auch als *κοινόν χρέιον* in einer Inschrift über das Preisterthum der *δώδεκα ἁγίου*. Collitz, *Dialektinschriften*, nr. 3051. It is a *κοινόν τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων*, i.e. union of the Twelve Apostles.

²⁹⁴ *I. Cor.*, iv., 17, sending the brotherhoods a teacher; xi., 34: *Ἐί τις πεινᾷ ἐν οἴκῳ ἐσθιέτω ἵνα μὴ εἰς κρίμα συνερχοσθε. κ τ λ.* The words "at home" in the *trans.* are not the true rendering for *οἴκῳ*. That they endorsed the common table and the communal code, is shown by the otherwise incomprehensible slur cast by Paul. *Gal.*, iv., 9 twitting their old custom of being "weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire to be in bondage." It is now thought by some students of the eranos of Bithymia especially those with which Pliny, a few years later had so severely to deal, that Paul refers to their custom of the common meal, as weak and beggarly.

of the old unions in the immediate neighborhood where this document was found, and several important inscriptions have been recently found there. But the perfect proof afforded in the official letters which were exchanged between Pliny and the emperor Trajan not fifty years after the labors of Peter there, are extremely interesting since they mention Christ and the christians time and again showing the propagandism of Peter to be the christianizing improvements upon a cult already existing among a large number of unions which had the common table of the Solonic dispensation. We shall produce these valuable evidences, a little later in our chapter on Trajan.

The Bryennian *Didachæ Petrou* or Teachings of Peter come squarely out in many places showing that this itinerant ambassador used the unions. In one place it speaks of "making churches, *kuriakæ* in the secret societies."²⁹⁵ In another place the brothers were taught to love one another and the injunction is repeated verbatim: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself;" and at the close of this chapter is an indiscriminate commandment against charity other than so far as that word covers its original signification which is the moral and humane and not the economic; and warning us to kindness and sympathy for our fellow men.²⁹⁶ Peter's code of teachings likewise required the distribution of the first fruits, another requirement of the older unions, ingrafted into the *Corpus Juris Civilis* to this day.²⁹⁷ The second chapter of the *Didachæ* enjoins against the heathenisms, which as charged by Clement of Alexandria and abundantly shown in the inscriptions, were often an abomination in the old unions, especially those worshipping the divinities Cybele of Phrygia, Cotytto of Ma-

²⁹⁵ *Ante-Nicene Fath.*, Vol. VII., pp. 380-1; Euseb., *D. Princip. Pref.*, § 8, *Incl. of Peter*. Jerome found it in the gospel according to the Hebrews; and it is a part of the first and original of our Matthew, which was written in Hebrew, and garbled a century later for our use. It is known to have contained directions upon the complete economic methods, now lost and ruled out of our thus cheated christianity. The reading is "Ποιῶν εἰς μυστηρίων κοσμηκὸν ἐκκλησίας" i.e. making churches in the outside or worldly secret societies. It is in the *Διδαχαὶ τῶν Ἀποστόλων*, cap. xi.

²⁹⁶ These are the positive demands which we have quoted from the pre-christian unions, vide *supra* in chapter on Customs and Habits, and are father to the christian doctrine, being in the laws and regulations of the unions 300 years before Christ, and recorded in many inscriptions, as one of the qualifications of membership which candidates must submit to before admission to the *κυρίακος*.

²⁹⁷ *Διδαχαὶ Πετροῦ, τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων*, cap. i., ii. Against the commission of abominations, cap. iii.

cedonia and Anubis of Egypt. These outrageous initiations, often obscene to the last degree, followed the usages of the stricter and more secret initiations of the official Eleusinian mysteries, which, so far as we can penetrate are now shown to have mixed lasciviousness with hideous cruelties and in more than one case actual cannibalism.²⁹⁸ Paul fought them; and we shall explain hereby, great mistakes that are made in supposing he was fighting Peter, John and others of the personal companions of Jesus. On the contrary he was only fighting against outrageous practices which lay in the way of this higher and refined system of Jesus, which admitted all that was good, and repudiated the bad that was in them. This discovery, so long believed to be irretrievably lost, is of inestimable worth to our argument that christianity could not have succeeded had it not had the already more than half christian Word in thousands of secret unions with their arms stretched open to receive and protect them. It was the substance, economical and spiritual, in that blessed document which actually constituted the old original evangelic school.²⁹⁹ Another clause of the same newly discovered document of St. Peter³⁰⁰ is so valuable that we give it in the text without quoting the Greek. It deals with the labor question and shows a perfect agreement with the inscriptions already quoted: "Reception of our brethren" into the eranos: "But let every one that cometh in the name of the kurios or lord be received and afterwards ye shall prove and know him; for ye shall have understanding right and left. If he who cometh is a wayfarer, assist him as far as ye are able; but he shall not remain with you except for two or three days, if needy. But if he willeth to abide with you, being a

²⁹⁸ *Canon. Apost.*, 62: "Si quis episcopus, aut presbyter, aut diaconus, aut omnino quicumque ex sacerdotali consortio, cumederit carnes in sanguine animæ ejus, aut a bestiis abreptum aut suffocatum, deponitor; Hoc eum lex prohibuit." For deeds of cannibalism, see *index*, in verb. *Abominations*. For the phallic cult, Clement of Alex. *Protrept.*, p. 76, c. 2: Ταύτης τῆς πελαγίας ἡδονῆς τεκμήριον τῆς γονῆς, ἀλῶν χυδῆρος καὶ φάλλος τοῖς μνουμένοις τὴν τέχνην τὴν μοιχικὴν ἐπιδιδόταί· νόμισμα δὲ εἰσφέρουσιν αὐτῇ οἱ μνουμένοι ὡς ἑταῖρα ἑρασταί.

²⁹⁹ Origen, *Ad Matth.*, xiii., 54-6, in like manner makes allusion to this Gospel of Peter. It was a part of this Doctrine. It went by the name of *Κηρυγμα τοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένου κατὰ Πέτρου εὐαγγελίου*, and agreed with the notions of the Jews. We refer to auxiliary evidence in Theodorus, *Hæret. Fuh.* II., 2, who declares it was ebionitic in being the salvation of the proletarians, who otherwise had nothing. This Father calls it *Εὐαγγελίου κατ' Ἐβραίους*.

³⁰⁰ *Διδαχαὶ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων*, cap. xii., *Comp. II Thess.*, iii., 10.

tradesman, let him work and eat: and if he hath no trade according to your understanding, see to it that as a christian, he shall not live with you idle. But if he willeth not to work, he is a christmonger." Now this regulation which outlines the character of candidates for initiation into the secret society, greatly resembles many described on stone slabs where sometimes elaborate details are given. We have already explained them.³⁰¹ The fifth chapter of this document is especially interesting, as it contains a list of things and persons to be avoided. Special provision is made against admitting the wandering tramps, fakirs and deceivers who as Celsus tells us, and Lucian confirms, wandered like vagabonds over the country in quest of opportunity to crawl into the unions and sponge.

Another scripture of Peter's teachings, is: "Let no one who is at variance with his fellow, come together with you until reconciled."³⁰² It appears as though the *hagios, eusebes, agathos*, of the ancient unions were, in the pre-christian stage, for all the members of the *koinon*, direct and without an intercessor; and that in order to conform to the original wisdom they were bound to love one another, from an economic point of view if no other, that in so doing they furnish the common table, and each other with employment. But the introduction of the post-messianic period shirked the original direct self-help principle on another, viz Christ. This intermediary is Neander's buttress of hope.

Not unfrequently we come in contact with inscriptions which speak of the ex-apostles.³⁰³ They appear to be of the purely pagan class, and a closer inspection of their remains by the archæologists reveals the fact that exapostoloi or evangelists attached to their mithraic cult were a common thing. We are only led by their tempting inscriptions into a world of wonder, and

³⁰¹ See *index* in verb. *Charity*.

³⁰² Here again, we find perfect conformity to the more ancient Solonic rule.

³⁰³ Oehler, *MSS.*: "Κοινων τῶν ἑξαποστόλων," another college of the Twelve. Again: "Κοινων τῶν ἑξαποστόλων gefundene Inschrift. Reisen auf den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres, p. 65, führt nach den Τῆροις ἀν τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν τεχνιτῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησποντου." This is another college of the Twelve, yet in the pagan stage. Dr. Oehler refers to innumerable inscriptions, found in the towns of the ancient Hellespont and the Bosphorus, as well as in the islands of these seas: "Κοκκίρα, Reinarch. *Mss.*, XVII., 1863, p. 548, nr. 21: ἱερατείας τῶ κοινῷ τῆς συνέδου ἀνέθηκε, Mantinea, *Athen. Mitth.*, IV., 1879, p. 116-117^c: τῆ συνέδου, Pantakapeum, Lutyschew, II., nr. 60-4; Μουσ. κ βιβλ., II², 1876-78, p. 51, nr. 119.

must wait for more light to dawn through them upon some perhaps astonishing trait of the history of christianity. Certain it is, that the old mithraic unions, long before the Advent, used to send out evangelizing apostles, as propagators of their cult which is known by many inscriptional and as many collateral evidences to have more than any other, resembled christianity.

Whiston and many other critical and honest writers, declared that the Doctrines of Peter "were the most sacred of the canonical books of the New Testament" and they appear to be verbatim, or as may have been believed, inspired copies of the exact language of Jesus, delivered at Jerusalem and Mount Zion, to the eleven apostles assembled there, after the resurrection. They embraced the common table, and made a demand that all labor and assist one-another as in a perfect family. They entered into the Apostolic Constitutions along with the eighty-four Petrine laws called canons of St. Peter, practically suppressed but still extant in the Latin, and used by us, as preserved in the Benedictine copies of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*.³⁰⁴ Mr. Gibbon was in doubt whether Peter took them from some apocryphal book or an unwritten tradition; but this latter would be about equivalent to our suggestion that he committed them to memory simply by hearing them pronounced, as persons sometimes have the memory to do. Peter, it is known, spoke Greek fluently and wrote it so well that Dr. Smith declares his grammar and composition compared well with Paul's. But the ordinary reader can scarcely imagine the short distance which separates Galilee from Syria in southern Asia Minor, or the large commercial traffic from the North.

There occur many strange expressions recorded in different early writings, like the *Protevangelium* of James, all pointing to the universal habit of the poorer people, of eating at a common table, practicing strictly the marriage or highly virtuous social relations, instead

³⁰⁴ *Canon. Apost.*, 40: "Præcipimus, ut episcopus res ecclesiæ in potestate habeat. Nam si prætiosæ hominum animæ fidei ejus committendæ sunt, multo utique magis oportuerit, et de pecuniis mandatum dare ut illius arbitratu dispenserent, neque non cum timore Dei, summaque sollicitudine per presbyteros ac diaconos erogentur in pauperes. Percipiat autem et ipse si modo indiget quantum ad necessarios suos, et hospitio exceptorum fratrum usus opus habet, ne quo modo ipse posteriore loco habeatur, quam cæteri. Ordinavit enim lex Dei, ut qui altari inserviunt de altari nutriantur: quando nec milites unquam suis stipendiis arma hostibus inferant."

of the lax and dissolute condition prevailing everywhere at that time.³⁰⁵ Something was done over and beyond the merely spiritual, such as Paul is known to have exclusively taught and held to. Peter, John, James and the other personal companions of Jesus and even Jesus himself, all gave out instructions, regarding the necessity of saving the body. On this, we have many powerful passages in the writings of the earliest fathers of the movement,³⁰⁶ and several strong references to the same sentiment which certainly prevailed to such a large extent that it was considered in the early organization the economical factor in christianity and indispensably necessary to the success of the spiritual.³⁰⁷

The life, adventures and martyrdom of Paul are now, after an immense adverse criticism under the Tübingen school, considered good history. But still more recent than Dr. Baur, and the literary critics, are the inscriptions of the strictly scientific age, and we are at last in possession of the archæological monuments which record the names of persons Paul used; and especially of those, who were entrusted to carry his celebrated epistles from place to place, such as Tychicus. Peter, and the other immediate companions of Jesus notably Thaddeus, Joseph of Arimathea who it is now believed went northward and planted in Britain, Philipp who hid for nineteen years in Cæsarea; all preached among and under the friendly ægis of the secret unions who endorsed, loved and protected them. This explains the phenomenal success of ancient christianity. It was economical

³⁰⁵ *Protev.*, cap. xiii., 3: "And I (Joseph, spouse of Mary), looked down toward the earth and saw a table spread, and working people sitting around it," etc.,. It was this James who was the celebrated κύριος of the ebionitic poor-manism which was the foundation of the whole Solonic system of unions, although they assumed perhaps nearly a hundred names.

³⁰⁶ Ignatius: "Εγώ γάρ και μετά την ανάστασιν εν σάρκι αυτόν οίδα και πιστεύω έντα, και ότε προς τους πέτρον ήλθεν, έφη αυτός, λαβετε, ψυλοφσατέ με, και ιδετε ότε ουκ' είμι δαίμονιον άσωμάτων' και εύθως αυτόν ήψαντο, και επιστευσαν."

³⁰⁷ The *Apostolic Constitutions* are full of the care-taking spirit of the early church organizations. They show that members had to work, earn and pay their tithes. The entire sixth Book is economic and based on absolute communism. In this they resemble the *Διδάχαι Πετρού*. The *gospel of Works: Epistle of James*, i., 22; "Be ye doers;" i., 25; ii., 17, 20, 26; "Faith without works is dead." This, see 15, 16, had reference to the *economic* question. "If there come unto your assembly," etc., ii., 2, shows that the assembly must have been an *eranos*. "Go to, now, ye rich men. Weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you," v., 1. Again, v., 5, "Behold the hire of the labourers." Again, v., 14: "Is any sick among you, let him call for the elders." The same original ideas of economy as superior to everything is also seen in Irenæus, *Contra Hæc.*, V., c., 2, and elsewhere, although in other places one is constrained to think he was a treacherous hireling of the enemy.

and planted among the lowly, prospered and thrived down to the disastrous days when, beautiful in musical and industrial genius, it fell a suffering victim.

In consequence we find that the lesser mysteries, those initiating the proletarian class into the thousands of self-help societies, were prone to imitate the greater or official initiations. So far as they knew and dared, they imitated the secret ceremonies of the Eleusinian rites, and we are told that it maddened the Athenians, who took affront at their presumption. A raging persecution followed the adoption of a law against the introduction into Athens of stranger divinities and the corruption of morals of the youth, under which Socrates, Ninus and Theoris suffered death and many others were persecuted.³⁰⁸ But were the Athenians alone in this? After the Roman conquests and even before, it was found that large amounts of money could be made out of the gullible superstitions of the poorer classes who would pay high assessments as initiation fees, so great was their desire to become members of the unions, and to entice and wheedle them into these payments the state religion or its priests no doubt, entered into collusions with the priesthood of the lesser mysteries, as in the case of Paulina and Mundus reported by Josephus, and obtained sums of booty both for themselves and their altars, which was equivalent to the public coffers. The intrigue entered into between the man Mundus and the priests of Anubis, Egyptian dog-headed patron of the hunting-grounds, and male divinity for Diana, having at Rome his temple on the Aventine Hill in neighborhood with that of Diana, was one of the most remarkable. Josephus has told it but we refrain. Suffice it to record that the emperor Tiberius, when the scandal got out, had the priests and probably also the priestesses publicly crucified, while the two principles, Paulina the victim of the trick, and Mundus the briber, who enjoyed her, escaped because of their nobler station. The reader must be here reminded that the penalty of crucifixion was confined to the lowly classes and to their representatives. Jesus was crucified because he was a workingman and his enemies recognized no aristocratic or patrician blood in him. The

³⁰⁸ See *supra*, in chap. xv., pp. 347-396.

reputed million of slaves punished during the servile wars just ended, including the two thousand after the defeat of Spartacus, were all crucified. A little honor or even Roman citizenship, if proved, always saved the condemned one from the ignominious cross. Thus, Paul could be beheaded, while Peter, because a low-born fisherman, was hanged to the terrible cross. So the priests of Anubis were crucified. This, under the law, proves that they, with their temple on the Aventine Hill which was afterwards burned, were representatives of the same bread-winners' organizations as the inscriptions teach us, as hunters, to supply the fierce gladiatorial games.

Solon, in his law organizing the various trades, had prescribed an especial clause for the hunters and fishermen and those out in the cold, seeking a precarious living.³⁰⁹ Anubis, Artemis, Diana, Isis, Sarapis and Sabazios are all related, their names and sex varying in the different countries and languages. They all represented the initiations of the lesser mysteries and had temples and altars especially for them. Besides this, they are quoted as being the protectors of laborers, artists, agriculturists and hunters, fishers and all those engaged in the work of forging a living, being the "ennoblers of mankind and the givers of joys," like Dionysus, another relation.³¹⁰

³⁰⁹ Cf. Vol. I., p. 393; also *index*, pointing to pages where we have given inscs. of the hunters' unions. But Ramsay, *Cit. Bish. Phryg.*, II., pp. 535, 549, Apameia, under the law of the coll. *teniorum*, with the funeral attachment: *συμβίωσις, κοινόν, συνέδρια, κ.τ.λ.* On account of the danger of publicity they are vague, but the epitaphs of the *διασωταί των κυνηγών* are numerous. Ramsay, II., no. 389, quotes the epitaph, still existing, of one, cited by Cumont, 213, which is puzzling the archaeologists, who do not know whether the hunters are real or whether it is not a reference to the hunters and fishers of men, as a christian sign: "Αυρήλιος Αυζάνων δις ἐπισησα τὸ ἥρῳον ἐμαυτῷ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου Δωσιτύχη δῶρον χάριν σὺν τῇ γυναίκα αὐτοῦ εἰς ὄϊερος οὐ τεθήσεται· εἰ τις δὲ ἕτερος ἐπιτηδούσει, ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν· χεῖρατέ μοι φιλόθεοι καὶ καλοὶ νεόθηροι." Another similar, presents the same puzzle as to what the members are hunting: Dumont, no. 46. Dr. Oehler furnishes us with a number of valuable inscs. of the ancient hunters, and fishermen: "Jäger—*κυνηγοί*. In Haliartos bestand eine *σύνδοδος των κυνηγών*, *Inscr. Gr.*, 9858. In Philippopolis eine *κυνηγών κοινόν*. Dumont, *Mél d' Archéol.*, p. 33, 42. Aus Steirie ist eine Wehinschrift erhalten mit *οὐ κυνηγοί*. Le Bas, II., 988. Artemis, in Kition auf Kypros: *κυνηγοί*, CIG., 2614, In Pantopolis Egypten, *κυνηγοί*." The latter worked for the state and furnished the royal menageries with wild beasts.

³¹⁰ Oehler, *MSS.*, presents a number of therapeutie who had Anubis for their tutelary divinity, engrossed in various trades, all *βάνται*. Lobeck *Aglaoph.*, p. 1039. Their worship was *Κοτύττω*. They were regular unions. "In den vier erst-geannten Inschriften, erscheinen die *θεραπευταί* als Corporation, neben dem Volke der Athener und der Römer, *Bull. Hell.*, VI., 1884, p. 501, nr. 24." Here it is seen that the Roman unions were frequently therapeutie and had Isis, Anubis, Dionysos and Sabazios for their protecting powers. Hebrew unions of the same kind are also mentioned for Alexandria and Rome.

The cause of Paulina's confidence in the priests was the reputed holiness and the unspeakable reverence for Anubis. She yielded to the latter's requirements because she really believed it was a heavenly mission and had no doubt that it was an awful solemnity. She bowed to an unspeakable honor, firmly believing, as it were, that she heard the trump of Gabriel; for in the ancient belief of immaculate conceptions, angels had access to the fairest of the mortals, and no one dared to divulge an oath of initiation or question the divine sacredness of the epoptic couch.³¹¹ On the contrary, her own husband actually consented. The date of this scandal, which threw Rome into a turmoil, was about one year after the crucifixion; for Josephus brings it in after his memorable mention of Jesus Christ; indeed, in the next paragraph, plainly telling us that it was about that time. The intermediary person who succeeded in consummating the bribe and deception was Ide or Ida, a freedwoman of Mundus, the man in love with Paulina. The amount she paid the priests of Isis for accomplishing the intrigue was fifty thousand Greek drachmæ or francs; more than ten thousand dollars.

Now looking this scandal all over we find that the temple of Isis, supposed to be on the hill of the Campus Martius, was in reality in the Tiber valley, but a short distance from where now stands the church of St. Peter, and that already great numbers of christians had settled from the East among the hives of collegia and thiasoi which covered that very territory. Here were the clustering houses of the communia mimorum, Dionysan trade guilds which existed in Italy in great numbers, the identical collegia licita sub imperatoribus,³¹² out of which Mommsen thinks the ordo August-

³¹¹ Herodot., *Enterpe*, 61: left much of the mysteries untold because, though an initiate he dared not divulge: "Ἐν δὲ βουσίρι πολλὴ ὡς ἀνάλοισι τῇ Ἴσι τὴν ὀρθὴν, εἴρηται πρότερον μοι: τύπτονται μὲν γὰρ δὴ μετὰ τὴν θυσίην παντες καὶ πάσαι, μυριάδες κάρτα πολλὰ ἀνθρώπων. Τὸν δὲ τύπτονται, οὐ μοι ἄστιον ἐστὶ λεγειν." κ.τ.λ.

³¹² Mommsen, *De Cobl. et Sodal., Rom.*, p. 83, note 6; "Ita in communia mimorum theatri Bovillensis, Orell., 2625, commemoratur L. Acilius Eutycheb omnibus corporibus ad scenam honoratus, ut in decreto colegii Serapis C1. 120: ἐπαίεσαι αὐτοὺς καὶ στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ ἐν Σαραπίῳ. Ἡὲ λαυδatio et coronatio modo semel facta modo in tempus vitæ modo periretva frequentissima est in collegiis Græcis C1., 109, 110, 2220, 2525 b, 3065, 3066. Communia mimorum multa inveniuntur; C1., 349: ἡ ἱερὰ Ἀδριανῆ Ἀντωνεῖνη θυμηλικὴ περιπολιτικὴ μεγάλῃ σύνοδος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περίτον Διονύσου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα—Ἀδριανον—νέον Διονύσον τεχνιτῶν; ibique Böckh. C1., 2931, Trallibus: ἡ Ὀλυμπικὴ σύνοδος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς κορυμμένης ἱεροεικελῶν καὶ στεφαναιτῶν. C1. 2820, 9932, 3068 c; præsertim τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διονύσον τεχνιτῶν τῶν ἐπ' Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου. Strabo, 643; C1., 2983, 3067-3072."

talis was derived. We have the best of evidence from early authors outside of the inscriptional history which is daily augmenting with the new discoveries at Rome, that the movement of the Word was rapidly spreading, at as early a date as Tiberius,³¹³ and what is more surprising is the frequent statements that it occupied as its most fruitful field these places of abominable practices, planting into them, says John Chrysostom, and making churches of meretricious dens.³¹⁴ These darkling, tawdry snuggeries of the Roman mine-colony from the great Gemeinde at Teos, were haunts of Osirian and Isian cult.³¹⁵ Here in the valley of the Tiber is the richest field in the world for stone monuments and epitaphs and other carvings of the early christians. We shall show much more on this subject as we proceed. It is here that Philo hid away among the therapeutic abodes to escape danger when Claudius turned him down. It was here that Peter crept when he came to preach, and in these home-stalls that Clement was converted by Barnabas in the earliest dawn of the propaganda. Later it was here that Claudius made his truculent lunge upon the Jews and christians, driving thousands into banishment. When Nero came to power he threw his most malignant spite directly upon this spot, and burned this whole region of Rome including the temple of Diana, because she befriended the poor who clustered around her temple and often sought refuge in the crypts of her asylum. This has been fully proved by the recent discovery of the phenomenal scholæ, reclining couches and sepulchral paraphernalia which sank yards underground during the persecutions that followed, and there denuded and preached and suffered with the result to

³¹³ Chrisost., I., p. 635: "Ecclesiis brevi tempore repletus orbis." Plutarch *Symp. ga.*, VII., 3, shows that after the time of Menander, B.C. 342-291, comedies by these communia mimorum, played in Latin at Rome, and the municipia were sacred to the Διονύσιος Καθηγέμων, or forerunner of a Saviour. Their hives and dens consequently offered an extremely mellow soil for converted Jews, who are well known to have been initiates in large numbers, and to have emigrated to Rome as early as Tiberius. This accounts for their persecution and exile at an early time.

³¹⁴ Chryost., III., p. 403: "Ecclesia virgo quæ prius erat meretrix." And in another place, V., p. 202, he talks of the results of the plant into this fruitful soil, mellowed by music, brotherly love, and mutual care; and for centuries hoping for the promised Saviour, in this strain: "Ecclesia olim sterilis, nunc mater est filium innummerabilem."

³¹⁵ It was this culture which Hadrian found in A.D. 122, at Alexandria, causing him to write his remarkable letter to Servianus, in which he calls them christians differing in nothing from the mithraists, and berates them all together as tricksters and frauds. See *index in verb. Hadrian's Letter*, pointing to where the whole letter is quoted.

bring into the world the organized Word of this era's faith.

Now the lesson of this episode of the scandal of Paulina and the priests of Isis and Anubis is, that good can sometimes come from bad. Paul and the apostles planted among the festering abominations the higher creed and the nobler thoughts, because the humanity to be saved by the new socialism lived and smothered in these lairs. Indeed, it was written that it should be so. There is a large literature left us showing this. The advocates of the new religion boasted for nearly two hundred years that they were poor, ignorant fishermen and workmen of other trades and professions, just as was their crucified Saviour. Hundreds of documents attest this, beginning with the ancient teachings of Peter and running down to the time of Lactantius with comments of Gibbon, Mosheim and Neander; and when there came an era of wealth and pride which whetted up an unholy shame, the good men like John Chrysostom, Augustine and Jerome mourned for the return of the lost happiness, virtue and simplicity.³¹⁶

³¹⁶ *Anc. Syriac Doc. Teachings of St. Peter*: "Moreover, because we were catchers of fish, and not skilled in books, therefore did he also say to us: 'I will send unto you the spirit,'" etc.; *I Corinth.*, 29: Διά τοῦ το παρέδωκεν αὐτοῦς ὁ θεός εἰς πάθη ἀτιμίας· αἱ γὰρ θήλειαι αὐτῶν περιήλλαξεν τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν εἰς τὴν παρὰ φύσιν· ὁμοίως τε καὶ οἱ ἀρῆτες ἀβέντες τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν τῆς θελείας ἐξανανθήσαι ἐν τῇ ὀρεξει αὐτῶν, κ.τ.λ.; Neander, *Planting*, III., vi.: "The greater number indeed, of the persons with whom Paul came in contact at Corinth, were not, as at Athens, people of cultivated minds, but belonging to the lower class, who were destitute of the higher sentiments; Gibbon, chap. xv., over note 184: "...that the new sect of the christians was almost entirely composed of the dregs of the populace; of peasants and mechanics, of boys and women, of beggars and slaves, the last of whom might introduce the missionaries into the rich and noble families, in which they belonged." See Minucius Felix, c. viii.; Celsus ap. Origen, III., pp. 133, 144; Julian *ap.* Cyril, vi., p. 206; Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.*, I., First Century, Pt III., chap. 2, § 21, 22; Hermes, *On Spurious Writers*: "Celestial spirits talk more insidiously than our scavengers and porters." Again, 22: "For that a large part of the human race should have been converted by illiterate and imbecile men;" Later, after priest power set in and seized the honors, Lactantius, *Div. Inst.*, I., c. 18, complains that "smiths, potters, weavers, and all such are disallowed honors and dignity which were given by Minerva, patroness of the artificers." Lactantius further says, *id.*: "People of the lower classes were those who had hitherto been given up to the lusts that prevailed in this sink of moral corruption;" Neand., *Plant.*, Book III., ch. vii.; "a class of persons so far below themselves in numbers, respectability and political influence," etc. Tert., *Apol.*, 46, declares that a christian mechanic could readily answer such questions as had perplexed the wisest of Grecian sages." Tert., *De Anima*: "Stand forth, O soul, and give thy witness. But I call thee not as when, fashioned in schools, trained in libraries, fed in Attic Academies and porticos, thou belchest egoism. I address thee simple, rude, uncultivated, untaught, such as want thee who have thee only;—thing of the road, the street, the workshop. I want thine experience," etc. Plutarch, *Traitor on Epicureanism*, c. 22, says of them sneeringly: "...and when they make offerings, they only contemplate that part of the priest's duty, which represents the slaughtering cook." Again, *De*

Probably the most remarkable and beneficent matter connected with the planting among the so-called abominations of the "vilis plebicula" of Phrygia, Macedonia, and Rome was the eventual lifting of woman up into a sphere of equality with man. It did this, and it was a thing never done before. All through antiquity we hear nothing but sneers for women. Only the one mother, the mater familias, under the great ancient law of primogeniture, could be honored and ennobled.³¹⁷ All the rest were stamped down to be used by men as mere things without dignity or honor.

The direct and immediate result of the Solonic dispensation was to furnish immense numbers of places and positions, the climbing upward into which was very similar to the modern methods of the civil employments under governments. Another lift upwards for women was marriage. The two worked together. It is mostly among the inscriptions that we find this history; and as in every case, they, or their unions for them, wrote these epitaphs, monograms and protocols, one readily sees that we have our evidence from an unquestionable source.

It was by no means unnatural that the unions of trades and labor following the original law requiring that the jus coeundi could not go outside the municipal organizations,³¹⁸ should be full of customs and habits distasteful to the refined life mapped out by the original companions of Jesus. Paul had agreed to carry out the plans of the first association organized at Jerusalem and baptized before his own eyes in the blood of the martyred Stephen. It was a solemn thing for him. He found men and women of high abilities struggling to raise from the Dionysan and Cotyttian grovelings and saw his noble mission. Now was the time to lift down-

Stoicis. Repugnantibus, c. 15: they are no better than old women, frightening children. Τὸν περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ θεοῦ κολάσειν λόγον, ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέροντα τῆς Ἰακκοῦς καὶ τῆς Ἀλφίτους, δὲ ὦν τὰ παιδεία τοῦ κακοσχολεῖν αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνεύρονσιν," and warns us that the long beard of the priest of Isis stands for little; Ramsay, *Cit. Btsh. Phryg.*, II., p. 511: "Complaint of Aristidus about 'the shocking Greek used by the christians.'"

³¹⁷ See Vol. I., pp. 50-53; 72; 78, note 30, where this ancient law of the pater familias is discussed, and the cause of marriage traced to the transmission of the paternity to the first born son.

³¹⁸ *Digest*, III., iv., § 1: "Quibus autem permissum est corpus habere collegii sociativis sive ejusque alterius eorum nominis, proprium est ad exemplum republica: habere res communes, arcam communem et actorum sive syndicum, per quem tanquam in republica, quod communiter agi fierique oporteat, agatur fiat."

trodden women out of these abominable practices. The men, steeped in the service of their lascivious goddess, objected and refused to be reformed. Do we hear of the women turning a deaf ear to the innovation? We have searched a thousand inscriptions and can find nothing but a tendency of higher purity. In the exercise of the *jus coeundi* woman in the lowly unions is known to have enormously braced and bolstered the faltering men. These unions, whether the *collegia*, the *cranoi* or the *Dionysan Gemeinde*, always treated her, not as a menial of the patricians, but as an equal. Once initiated, she owned her common share. She prepared the common meal, managed the frequent banquets and symposiums, held a noble and dignified standing, married and reared lovely children, and the countless epitaphs tell us in most delightful words that her grave was decorated with wreaths and flowers, and that her ebbing life was wept and mourned by more even than is now the case in our boasted aggrandizement.³¹⁹ Ours perish, but the slabs which were chiseled in sad lettering on her heroon is here, legible and imperishable to-day. Dr. Foucart has done their history a service, where he makes his important admission, speaking of the enormous influence of the societies in those times. He explains that woman had a powerful influence among the secret communes,³²⁰ and shows that in the microcosmic centers of the future socialistic state, women had the grand and humanizing boon of the ballot, and was at par with the men. He further exhibits the fact that she had no such power outside the secret unions in the Athenian or any other public assemblies. Woman was at home only in the secret unions.³²¹ She had much to do with the feasts and barbecues, such as to-day are given on the occasion of political victories.

³¹⁹ Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, p. 6: "Les femmes jouaient un rôle important dans les thiasos de Sabazios et d'Isodaitès. Plusieurs sont nommées dans un thiaso de Salamine.... Ou trouve plusieurs exemples du même fait dans les sociétés de l'île de Rhodes et des côtes voisines. Quelquefois même, la société était uniquement composée de femmes, comme le *κοινὸν ἑραριστριῶν* de Salamine où elles formaient une section distincte, comme les *θιαστίδες*.... dans les cérémonies du culte, une part considérable était accordée ou réservée aux femmes."

³²⁰ Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, pp. 181, 182 sq.

³²¹ Lamprid., *In Hellogab.*, 6, *Aug. Hist.*, 7: *Matris Deum Sacra accepit et tauroboliatu est.*" The taurobolium or barbecue, cooking in state before a grand assemblage, as is done to-day, was performed at the feast of Cybele. It is likewise spoken of in the *inscr.*, vide Orelli, 2351, 2326, 1899, 2327, 2323, 2328, 2303, 6147, and many others, as 2352, 2332.

The power of woman in those ancient communes was unspeakable and the rise of her influence in the world caused by this ennobling jus coeundi is seen to be very great and important. She is henceforward called the androgyne divinity.³²² It was in primitive days very different from our riper practical times in which such things are considered silly. If woman assumed dignities commensurate with her practical value in the world she was considered androgyne. In our later times she is called a crank.³²³ The ancient is somewhat more respectful.

M. Foucart's valuable notice of a slab, speaking of the unions of scenic artists whom we have all along denominated the "great Gemeinde" to distinguish them from a multitude of other unions and guilds, assures us that woman was never admitted to appear on the stage of their organization. He makes one solitary exception.³²⁴ It is a grave problem whether these higher feelings innate in woman's breast were not at the bottom of Paul's protest against the ancient abominations. But women are known to have formed an important part of the membership. In Rome and many parts of Italy there were sodalicia of young women numerous enough to offer excellent, ready-made centers for the christians to plant in.³²⁵ Freedwomen and female slaves abounded in the thiasoi and collegia of the common trade union type, whereas only freeborns are found in the scenic unions.³²⁶ This is somewhat accounted for by the fact

³²² *Ass. Rel.*, p. 107: "La conception d'une divinité androgyne était familière aux religions asiatiques, témoin de mythe d'Agdistes en Phrygie et la Vénus barbata de Cypre; Mais elle répugnait vivement aux Grecs."

³²³ Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, nos. 21, 23, 29, woman is shown endowed with much dignity. She belongs to the *θίασῶται* in the order of the Serapiastes. She was *πρωρανίστρια* (nos. 21, 23, 29). These were female officers of considerable responsibility. She played an important rôle there in the several unions. Women are sometimes called *θιαστίτιδες*. At Salamis they belonged to the *κοινὸν τῶν ἐρανιστῶν*, a great dignity.

³²⁴ Foucart, *De Scen. Artif.*, 58, taking it from slab of Le Bas and Wadd., *Inscr. Asie Mineure*, 257: She is the only one thus far found... "duo choragi per tres dies exhibuerunt in theatro mulierem *χοροψαλτρίαν*, id est, quæ simul levem citharam pulsabat et saltabat, nullo alio adhuc exemplo feminæ ingenue in theatro saltantis, quam con collegiî scenici participem sed incolum lasensem, artem privatim meditantem fuisse certum est."

³²⁵ Orell, 4098, Rome, date not given but early; and as these were the sodalicia, the words of Dr. Foucart, *De Scen. Artif.*, pp. 29, 30, speaking of the relative functions there, of women and men, are instructive: "Primum enim in thiasis par est mulierum et virorum ratio, sæpe etiam major mulierum, quæ aliquando sodalitatîs sacerdotio funguntur; at contra scenici collegiî feminam nullam participem fuisse vidimus."

³²⁶ *Ibid.*: "Insuper libertis atque etiam servis thiasi patuerunt, quum inter scenicos artifices nullum nisi ingenuum civem receptum fuisse ostendimus."

that the scenic professions required that most of their members should appear in public before aristocratic audiences; and such was the taint of slavery and of all sorts of freed labor that those not having the mark of social standing as high at least as freeborn life were to be hissed off the stage.

There is no page of history perhaps in all the world's literature on which woman so frequently or prominently appears as in the Acts of the Apostles. This history has been put to the test of a fiery crucible within the last two centuries, and might have been abandoned for imposture but for the collateral and corroborating evidence of inscriptions, more than twenty of which have been found within that time, confirming its truth. We have brought all these under contribution to prove our position. Defended by her own epitaphs, woman, who is immortalized in that document, stands forth in all her sweetness and glory. The epistle to the Romans mentions a dozen of the ancient fair, to whose truthfulness the inscriptions all stand as new and incontestable witnesses. All this proves that the reason why woman is so prominent and frequent a character in this history is because she was a noble and valuable constituent in the unions used by the christians who sought and obtained her powerful influence and practical aid in accomplishing their plant into the highly moral activities of christian unions of which she furnished an honorable moiety of the membership. De Rossi, in his excavations in under-ground Rome which are still going on, has unearthed sepulchres and other monuments containing inscriptions of a large number of their names familiar to New Testament readers and Sunday School scholars, with dates and other signs indicating beyond cavil that these inscribed urns, sarcophagi and mausoleums speak of the same Priscilla, the same Chloe, the same Domitilla and Claudia, whom Paul salutes as his co-workers in the plant.

Aside from Corinth and Philippi where the obscene goddess Cotytto held the charm and swayed the demoralization which festered among the simple-minded proletaries, Paul is known to have had trouble with his churches in Phrygia and Galatia. These people, together with the Carians, were laughing-stocks to the

Romans.³²⁷ It is among them that we have so many absurdities and ridiculous practices. The celebrated callipygian dances were seen among the susceptible maidens of Phrygia and Caria,³²⁸ but if they were organized into the order of the artists there are no evidences of it at our command. Women of unworthy character were employed by the kings and nobility to perform, not artistically, but by an alluring exposure.³²⁹ Although it probably is true, as the learned Dr. Foucart informs us, that such practices were never known in the unions of the great Gemeinde, yet there were not only at Rome but throughout pro-consular Rome, unions of lupercalian fetichs against which Cicero railed when combating Clodius who, B.C. 58, caused the repeal of a conspiracy law thus giving the workmen the right to organize their unions.³³⁰ He compared the innocent but voting unions to the lupercalia in order to intensify and heighten the oratorical effect of his sneer. These unions also came under the Solonic dispensation and were afterwards planted into and utilized by the christians, having the common table and the communal code.

The apostles were accused of introducing asceticism, which circumscribed the little of pleasure and liberty the unions enjoyed.³³¹ A long period of wrangling followed the protest of St. Paul against these practices, heightened by his other protest against the manufacture of idols by the unions as a means of earning a living. In this last he appears to have preached the doctrines of a confirmed bigot. The two protests set abroad a vast and tiresome wrangling which assumed a disrupting gnosticism and caused great splits in the whole system.

³²⁷ Cicero, *Pro. Flacc.*, 27: "Utrum igitur nostrum est an vestrum hoc proverbium; Phrygem plagis fieri solere meliorem? Quid de tota Caria? Nonne hoc vestra voce vulgatum est; si quid cum periculo experiri velis, in Care id potissimum esse faciendum? Quid porro in Græco sermone tam tritum est, quam si quis despiciatui ducitur, ut Mysorum ultimus esse dicatur."

³²⁸ Athenæus, 554 D.; Müller, *Archæol. der. Kunst.*, § 377, 2, Καλλιπύγος. There is a far-famed statue of Venus so-named still extant. It is at Naples. The callipygian dance was the celebrated γυρή dance of the Phrygian girls. While dancing they twisted their nude bodies around in an indecent and tempting manner.

³²⁹ Chrysostom, XI., p. 428: "In theatris nudæ mulieres comparent." These did not belong to the unions.

³³⁰ The orator's remarks are quoted in Vol. I., p. 344, note 30.

³³¹ An example of the grossness of the lupercalian unions is given by Livy, xxxix., 9, in the story of the *adolescentulus*, who in the ordeal of initiation into one was required to abstain from women for a period of ten days: "decem dierum castimonia opus esse."

Before speaking of the Gnostic schemes of philosophy which set in as early as the first century with the Carpocratian trouble, we will touch again upon the protest against the manufacture of idols forbidden by Paul. The Carpocratian philosophy, that of free-will love between the sexes based on Plato's laws,³³² had some backing during the second century; but had not yet made its appearance at Paul's time. Tertullian declares that God continued "by probity, the artificers of idols." He says they never ought to be admitted to the House of the Lord, and spurns the excuse that they had nothing else whereon to live. But Irenæus here runs against scripture.³³³

A fact which has not yet been told from an economic standpoint is, that the trade unions worked for the state or state religion, which was the same thing. The members voted annually for the election of proper officers to influence. These officers controlled the public works; and when elected by the votes of the workmen, knew their political power and influence, and always awarded them the work by which their life and organizations were maintained. We are happy in being supplied with abundant evidence of this.

But while this was going on in proper fashion, other and more disreputable things also occupied their minds. They boasted of their ithyphallic abominations,³³⁴ and intrigued with one another³³⁵ and as we all know, in many

³³² Plato wanted young men of the best military powers, and highest blood, to have free and unrestricted intercourse with women, so that the bravest children should be begotten to the state, on the ground that there was need of strong children to work the protection of the state. See Plato, *Laws*; also *Republic*. Clement, *Protrept*, 4, shows that the artisans used to be occupied making all sorts of goods: "Your makers of such images and paintings, and your workers in metals and paint have introduced a motley crowd of divinities in the field of satyrs and Pans; in the woods, Nereids and Oreads and Hamadryads; in the waters, rivers and fountains, Naiads, and in the seas, Nereids."

³³³ *I Cor.*, vii., 20: "Let every man abide by the same calling wherein he was called." This may be here compared with Solon, who excused all trade unions, even that of the corsair: 'Ἐπί λιαν οἰχομένους.

³³⁴ Lüd., *Dionys. Künst.*, p. 18: "Sie trieben ihre nicht gerade züchtigen Spässe offen vor aller Welt, als ob das ein Privilegium ihres Alters sei und erklärten frei ἰσχυφαλλοὶ ἐσμεν οἱ συνειλεγμένοι καὶ ἐρώντες οὓς ἂν ἡμῖν δοξῆ παύομεν καὶ ἀγχομεν." But they generally had the burial attachment; See *id.*, p. 21: "In Grabschriften aus Teos kommen in Kränzen eingeschlossen zahlreiche Erwähnungen von Thiasoten vor, als οἱ θιασοὶ πάντες CIG., 3101. 3112. τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Παναθηναϊστῶν, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Διονυσιαστῶν, die alle den Todten durch den üblichen Kranz geehrt haben."

³³⁵ Clement Alex., *Protrept.*, c. 2. In this instance of later years, given by Clement, the christians were the iconoclasts. The prevalence of phallic worship under the Pluto and Dionysos and the vile honors to the pudenda as he terms it, together with other abominations which caused much wantonness, aggravated them to seize and destroy the idols

cases with the higher classes, to insult Paul and drive him away. He had a similar but more romantic experience with the girl Thecla; and it turns out to have transpired in a genuine house of a lord or dictator named Onesiphorus, an epitomized account of which we give in the note below.³³⁶

This touching story of Paul and Thecla written in the apostolic age and believed by Baronius, Locrinus, Archbishop Wake and Grabe who edited the Septuagint, to be reliable, is a remarkable instance of such persecutions. There is nothing in the story's general outline but what might have transpired. The miraculous part regarding her escape from the jaws of wild beasts of the amphitheatre may have been overstrained. The girl lived at Lystra in a house so near the secret temple or pholeterion where the members used to snuggle together to hear the eloquent man lecture, that from her open window unseen, she could distinctly hear him. It is said that she followed Paul. This story was laughed at until recently De Rossi has discovered her ashes in the martyrs' cemetery of the Via Ostiensis at Rome.³³⁷

Clearing the movement of low practices at a time when paganism, after receiving its license of evil by a reaction upon the word of the great conquests, was no easy matter. The unions followed the habits of the

³³⁶ The plot of the story shows clearly that the meeting house was a *κρυπτή* of some secret union of lowly persons. Thecla was a high-born girl, engaged to marry a rich man she disliked, in order to please her aristocratic mother. Paul came to a secret brotherhood to preach. Thecla was of too high birth to be admitted by the sphere she circulated in, as it would be scandalous and degrading; but she overheard the voice of the Word by stealth, from the outside. She was converted and afterward eavesdropped, overhearing night after night, the new doctrine of salvation. The terrible results when her mother found it out caused her to break away from mother, betrothed and home, and her ashes of a martyr are now in Rome; see the following note 37, giving the remarks of De Rossi, who has recently discovered her epitaph. We subjoin a brief synopsis of Thecla:

It was the House of Onesiphorus; place Lystra; Thamyris, her lover; Thecla her mother; De mas and Herinoges vilify them. Thecla sat in her own home window near enough to overhear. Paul was accused before the governor. When Thecla was an outcast, Paul accompanied her to Antioch. She belonged to the royal family.

³³⁷ De Rossi, *Roma Sott.*, I., p. 192; "VIA OSTIENSIS. Et sic vadis ad Occidentem et invenies S. Felicem Episcopum et mart. . . et descendis per gradus ad Corpus ejus et sic vadis ad Paulum, Via Ostiensis, et australi parte cernis Ecclesiam Theclæ (Theclæ) supra Montem positam, in qua corpus ejus quiescit in spelunca in aquilonia parti." Again, *ib.*, p. 283: "VIA OSTIENSIS: Duodecima porta et via Ostiensis dicitur modo porta S. Pauli vocatur, quia juxta eam requiescit in Ecclesia sua.

Idemque Timotheus martyr, et non longe in ecclesia, S. Theclæ sunt martyres Felix et Andactus et Nemesius." Again, *ib.*, p. 182; PAULUS STEPHANUS, THECLA. Prope quoque basilicæ Pauli Ecclesia S. Theclæ est . . .

outside forms of life. Everybody believed in gods and goddesses and conformed.³³⁸ This early attempt to stifle it was not made any too soon; for with all the precaution against it, the Carpocratian system of Gnosticism came and ruled for a long time threatening to break up the very theory of the family, and herein is attributed to a large extent the early breaking up of the *agapæ*, through the outrageously wanton abuses of it by the Carpocratians.³³⁹

The principal source of the difficulty supposed to have existed between Paul and the immediate companions of Jesus appears to have been these abominations and the contest against the manufacture by the unions, of idols through which they got a considerable portion of their living. We have already recounted the story of Paul and Demetrius at Ephesus, showing the reluctance of the unions to the introduction of any innovation against their trade. The same trouble with Diotrophes was experienced about the same time, of which we shall soon recount all we know.³⁴⁰ Unfortunately these evidences are left in the dark on account of the laws establishing an espionage by the police who were shadowing them at every hand under the *lex Julia*, wherein all unions were forbidden except the burial attachment as already explained. Dr. Ramsay has effectively explained this in his book on Phrygia, and a perusal of this work cannot but convince the most skeptical critic of the excessive secrecy necessary to the christians when propagating their ideas among the people. For two centuries they did not dare to letter one of their numerous epitaphs except with misleading signs. The cross was a sign of christianity; consequently they dared not engrave the cross. There was

³³⁸ Synes, *Enc. Calv.*, p. 185: "Ὅστις λάθρα μὲν ἐστὶ πονηρὸς καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο παρέχεται γνῶρισμα τοῦ διασώτης εἶναι τῆς Κότυος, εἰ μόνον ἐν τούτῳ φανεῖη, περὶ πλείστου τὰς τρίχας ποιοῦμενος, ὡς ἐναλειφειν τε αὐτὰς καὶ βοστρυχίζειν, εὐθύς ἀπασὶ πρόχειρον εἶπεν ὅτι τῇ Χιῶν θεῶ καὶ τοῖς Ἰδνύβαλοις ὠργίακε."

³³⁹ The *ἀγαπαί*, or love-feasts were as early as the apostles, *I Cor.*, xi., 31, and were common in the early Greek churches, and certainly in the still earlier unions. For much on the Carpocratian system, see Clem. Alex., *Stromat.*, cap. 2, communism of women.

³⁴⁰ Doane, *Bible Myth.*, p. 260, speaking of Isis, in much adoration at Rome during the time of Juvenal, and of course much before. The painters got their livelihood by picturing beautiful images. These pictures were generally of the miraculous cure, but were often obscene representations of her or of Anubis. The *αναγεννήσεις* and *παρθενογεννήσεις* or virgin deliverance were extremely common pictures and paintings of this and other sorts had a lively sale. Accompanying the picture was a prayer. Horace, *Tibul.*, l. *Eleg.*, III., gives one: "Nunc. Dea. nunc. securæ mihi, nam posse mederi Picta docet temptes multa tabella tuis."

an upright, dagger-shaped sign, allowable to the unions as an indication of salvation from suffering through their patron god Dionysus, forerunner of the coming messiah, which was admissible in the epitaphs of the legalized burial attachment of the *lex Julia*; but it being pagan, the converted could not do otherwise than alter the blade of the dagger in a manner understood by their own initiates but never understood by the police. It succeeded; and by a later analysis we are fortunate enough to come in possession of a multitude of christian inscriptions supposed by those ancient military spies to have been pagan and to have conformed to the official religion. The same guarded language is again discernible in the account written by some unknown author of Paul and Thecla.

One acquainted with the multitudinous unions at the Pisidian Antioch into which Paul and Barnabas were received and the account given by Neander of the manner in which they were turned away from the Jewish Synagogue and were entertained by some strange secret brotherhood where they found no opposition but accomplished a splendid church organization at Lystra, can catch the inner workings of the plant. The orator dared not call this union by the real name as a collegium or eranos or hetera or synedria or koinon, one of which it certainly was, but covered his real meaning by calling it a confraternity. Had he said hetera which was a trade union, it would have caused a suspicion and a looking into by the governor's secret police and spies, and indeed the extinguishment of the church.

Onesiphorus who gave his "House" to the propagation of the new Gospel at Lystra, was a crowned lord of some secret union of influence. He was probably a quinquennalis with much influence in the city, though the trade he conducted is unknown. His name occurs in the Bible several times; and we may hopefully look for some additional discovery which will attest the trade he conducted at Lystra.³⁴¹

³⁴¹ Smith, *Bib. Dict.*, in verb. "Onesiphorus—'Ονησίφορος—bringer of profit, is named twice only in the N. T. viz.: *II Tim.*, I., 16-18. Δωφέ ελεος ο κύριος τῷ 'Ονησιφόρου οικῷ, ὅτι πολλάκις με ἀνέψυξε καὶ τῆς ἀλυσιν μου οὐκ ἐπησχύνθη. Again, *iv.*, 19: Ἀσπασαι Πρίσκαν καὶ Ἀκυλαν καὶ τὸν 'Ονησιφόρου οἶκον. Further on: "And in the latter passage he singles out 'the Household of Onesiphorus' as worthy of special greeting. Then again: "But the probability is that members of the family were also active christians." His κυριακός had become an influential microcosm as is proved by the Greek original: "Δωφέ ελεος ο κύριος τῷ 'Ονησιφορου οικῷ."

Paul went to the Pisidian Antioch. This was a Phrygian city. It was situated in Pisidia, a subdivision of Armenia. It abounded in secret unions. There were unions of marble workers, weavers,³⁴² shoemakers, hymnodoi of the Dionysan artists, unions of coral workers, masons and many others. When Paul and Barnabas arrived at the Pisidian Antioch, they found a Jewish synagogue with closed doors; or as Neander has recorded the event, they were driven away and took refuge in a "House." He further admits that this experience was all among the lowly and poor who opened their little kuriakos or temple for their reception. Here in secrecy and obscurity they remained and actually succeeded in building up a prosperous church. But those who had opposed their preaching in the synagogue had among them a few "aristocratic women, belonging to the most respectable families in the city," who incited their husbands to drive them away. The same author also admits that the church thus established was composed of poor craftsmen.³⁴³ To emphasize this we have some valuable evidence sustaining the position that Paul and Barnabas were invited to the unions that swarmed at that time throughout Phrygia. Phrygia was the home of the unions which clustered, as we have shown in our dissertation on the Apameian shoemakers of Shoemaker's street, into many busy unions under the Solonic law. Their remains are found in the Pisidian Antioch, and we have an inscription showing at least one of the very decade in the first century, when Paul and Barnabas were there. The towns not being very large nor the organization important,³⁴⁴ it stands to reason that the members of this

³⁴² Arnobius, *Adv. Gentis*, V., § 14, with note 8, of Bishop Coxe, in *Ante-Nicene Fath.*, Vol. VI., p. 495, on the abuses practiced among the unions of Pessinus, before the arrival of Paul, who worked reforms. Girls and children of the loom, among the gentiles. Arnobius, speaking of the "horrible amusement" that prevailed there, says that even old women joined: "Do you yourselves seem to hear girls at the loom, willing away the working hours, or old women seeking diversions for credulous children?" Then follows a dissertation too low and obscene to print. Driven to the indecencies of Cybele, there were longings for something higher and better, and there is mention of their longings for a return of the reign of Saturn.

³⁴³ Neander, *Planting*, Book III., ch. iii.; Tertull., *Apol.*, xv., in mentioning the circumstance reminds us of Pessinus being the seat of the celebrated Phrygian worship of Cybele, mother of the gods.

³⁴⁴ Oehler, *MSS., ANTIQCHA PISIDIE: OI ΘΙΑΣΕΙΣ*—Thiasus liberi: CIL. III., 291, Erste Jahrh. nach Chr. Like the insers. of Apameia, Kelainus on Acropolis, recorded by Rau say, *supra* see *infra*. It is bi-lingual which of itself is evidence that the members are mostly exiles from Rome, driven out by Caligula, as it is too early for the edict of Claudius.

union must have known the circumstance, and would have taken a part in the planting of Paul. Another proof that this Pisidian plant was originally in a brotherhood of the *ius coeundi* is, that the unions here were protected by the legalized attachment of the burial clause; for near here we also find examples of this sort, very suggestive of meaning in this direction.³⁴⁵

After planting in little Antioch, they went to a place not far from there called Iconium, and from all the information we have, they met with a very similar treatment. They also visited the neighboring city of Lystra. Neander, also Smith in his *Cyclopedia of Biblical Knowledge*, inform us after their great research, that Lystra, possessing no synagogue or Jewish meeting-house and there being no Jews, the only thing they could do was to make their propaganda by "entertaining into conversations."³⁴⁶ This is rather laughable. But the full story reveals more. An examination shows that nearly all the ancient unions had the *kuriakos* or petty synagogue, such as at Rome, recently discovered by the under-ground researches of De Rossi, are called schools or *scholæ* in Greek, just the place to entertain conversations in the dense secret of their penetralia. They were old. Strict discipline was required by their laws, which we are in possession of through their inscriptions. Of course then, wherever Paul and Barnabas found them, they were accessible to a ready-made audience already half converted through their own discussion of miserable life and the failure of their patron goddess to rescue them.³⁴⁷ Besides this, they had had apostles and evangelists of their own for centuries.

No explanation other than that these organizations abounded and welcomed Paul with a friendly embrace, can reconcile with the truth, the words of the Bible Dictionary where occurs this statement, that he sailed from Paphos to Perga in Pamphilia and went thence to Antioch in Pisidia, where they found temples: "a col-

³⁴⁵ Oehler, *MSS.*, 'Ὀπρῶρες: "Sorge für das Begräbniss durch Bestreitung der Kosten. Einrichtung des Denkmals, Thiasiten der Magna Mater."

³⁴⁶ Neander, *Planting*, Book III., iii.; Smith, *Bib. Dict.*, III., p. 2369 sq., Article, *Paul the Apostle*.

³⁴⁷ Rams., *Cit. Bish. Phryg.*, Vol. II., p. 534, *inscr.* 388, under heading of *Christian Inscriptions of S. W. Phrygia*, describes a christian epitaph of the butchers of this section. The words "καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις" we read as referring to his many children, i.e. the flock of which *Αὐρ. Ἀρτεμῆς*, was the lord or *κύριος*. In other words, it was a brotherhood of the butchers, and shows that later the plant of the evangelists became prosperous and populous.

ony," said to be of Jews. Here too, Paul speaks out boldly. He is among the non-Jew pagans. This is not the great Antioch. There seems not to be the slightest doubt that the apostles found many *eranoi* and *thiasoi*, or that there was a hot-bed within which to plant the Gentile church.³⁴⁸

Neander, who is loth to acknowledge anything favoring the plant among the poor, is forced out and obliged to speak plainly regarding their habit of participating at a common table.³⁴⁹ He makes a clear acknowledgment that the first organization was a microcosm of the forth-coming universal condition of prime if not uppermost importance.

Neander who groped about for years among old manuscripts, arrives at the conclusion that Paul and Barnabas found other help than that of Jews. He hates to admit that the Word dived into labor's dens in a land covered by the works of these earnest apostles; so like several other commentators when they run across such instances, he leaves his riper opinion somewhat obscured by an allusion to them, without apparently recognizing that they are one and the same society. The existence of societies like these made it easier for the christians to organize themselves in similar associations.³⁵⁰ Though this is not a positive statement that the Phrygian *hymnodoi* were actually converted to the new faith, yet it amounts to the same thing. The regular epigraphical reports of the expert linguists and palæographers sent out on exploring and excavating labors from the schools of archæology are beginning to use terms which are unmistakable. When an old trade union a few years ago was found completely christianized at Flaviopolis, they said:³⁵¹ It is interesting to see these trade guilds, so common under the empire in Asia

³⁴⁸ In proof of this, see Smith, *Bib. Dict.*, p. 2372, where it is recorded that; "The two went together through Syria and Galatia, visiting the churches." What churches? How could there be churches in this hostile pagan land, never before visited by an evangelist! The answer is that they found the *κυριακoί* in numbers organized under the ancient *jus coeundi* as their ready-made foothold.

³⁴⁹ Neander, *Planting*, Book III., ch. v.: "The celebration of the Holy Supper continued to be connected with the common meal, in which all as members of one family, joined."

³⁵⁰ *Cit. Bish. Phryg.*, Vol., II., p. 630, note 2.

³⁵¹ *Journ. of Hellenic Study*, XI., 1890, p. 236, no. 1. The date of this Phrygian inscription is placed later, but it only shows that the plant had thrived from a much earlier time. Oehler, in a *letter to the author*, says: "Es wird nötig zu untersuchen in wie weit Christen in Vereinen und gewerblichen Genossenschaften vertreten sind."

Minor, passing unchanged into the church."³⁵² We have hinted that these christian unions, many of which were allied to Dionysan artists who had their home in and around the two Antiochs and became known of late to the German scholars as the great Gemeinde, began, after waiting, hoping and discussing for hundreds of years in their scholæ and their symposiums, to look for a more promising messiah to relieve their miseries than their long honored Attis, Dionysus and Cybele. In fact they were cultivating a divinity known as the forerunner, at the time Paul visited this region. The Greek name of this divinity was Dionysus Kathegemon. He was the avant-courier. Spoken rapidly, this first name sounds somewhat like John, and as all the Phrygian brotherhoods were baptists, we may imagine that they at least would take graciously to our celebrated pioneer who, like Dionysus when in the flesh as the forerunner heralding the messiah, suffered martyrdom.³⁵³ Dr. Foucart who admits that Pessinus, a part of Galatia, was the center of this religion, proves that the ancient Pa or Papas used as the familiar names for this deity, is the origin of the name pope; and cites the inscription recorded in the Greek body, as evidence.³⁵⁴

These were the cities and countries in which Paul and Barnabas planted the first christian churches, and the celebrated epistle to the Galatians was written to these people. They were organized hives of industry. The union just quoted was an organization of wool workers. We find almost every trade represented. We find them prosperous, happy, sitting at a common table with deacons and deaconesses attending to the daily³⁵⁵ minis-

³⁵² *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, XI., 1890, p. 236. The Greek of this christianized trade union of woolworkers, reads as follows: "Ἐπὶ σωτηρίας του εὐτελοῦς συνέργειον τῶν γραφῶν τὴν μετερίαν ἡμῶν ταύτην καρποφορίαν δέχου Δέσποτα παρὰ τῶν ἀρχίων σου δούλων, παρέχων ἀφεσιν ἀμαρτιῶν ταῖς ἡμετέραις ψυχαῖς καὶ καλῆν, ἀπαλογίαν."

³⁵³ Ramsay, *Cit. Bish. Phryg.*, 11., p. 375, discussing the relationship of the above-mentioned Σωτήρ and Μὲν Ἀγαθαίμων, says: "In illustration of the complex priesthood, a Roman epitaph may be quoted (Kaibel, 1449): 'Κεῖμαι Ἀυρήλιος Ἀντώνιος ὁ καὶ ἱερεὺς τῶν τε θεῶν πάντων, πρῶτον Βοναδῆς, εἰτα μητρὸς θεῶν καὶ Διονύσου Καθηγεμόνος τούτοις ἐκτελέσας μυστήρια, κ.τ.λ. We are very suspicious that as the distance between Galilee and Pisidia was but a few miles, there was some relationship here, in Phrygian imagination."

³⁵⁴ CIG., 3817. The city of Pessinus or Galatia was celebrated for this worship. Strabo, 567 has given us the best statement: "Πεσσινοῦς δ' ἐστὶν ἐμπορίον τῶν ταύτη μέγιστον, ἱερὸν ἔχον τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν σεβασμοῦ μεγάλου τυγαῖον· καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Ἀγδίστιν."

³⁵⁵ Chrysostom reverts to those early times with a sigh. Vol. IX., 94: 'Christianorum priscorum vita communis.'

trations. They were manufacturers. They had all things common. When they took on the faith in the Saviour they made the church their old kuriakos over into a temple of christian love and kept their economical habits. Such churches were bound to prosper. Hardly indeed was the transition from paganism perceptible.³⁵⁶ Differing in one point from old official methods they would not pay tribute to the heathen cæsarism. This brought them into frequent troubles. Because they refused to attend the regular official worship and refused to buy the pagan sacrifices they were persecuted. It was the money question. To attend the pagan service and buy the lambs, beeves, poultry and other eatables of the so-called sacrifices at a ruinous price would heap large profits into the pagan temple which was an instrument of the official religion and a part of the state; it would make their earnings a considerable factor of the national incomes. The persecutions were a natural political result. For this reason it was necessary to belong to a brotherhood in which they could have their own common table, their own common sacrifices independently of the old official duty, because if they could escape with a clear conscience from the outrageous prices demanded for these sacrifices by the priests at the temples, at best no better than speculating market stalls, they added not only a boon of freedom but a large economical advantage; because by their own plan they could buy with combined monthly dues, sufficient for the whole brotherhood at wholesale prices, without this speculating middleman at all. This economy was a good half of their revenue, and it must be acknowledged that christianity which struck out for independence was a great economical as well as religious reform. We ought to be profiting by it to-day. But we have gone back to the ancient provision speculator and nothing is so needful as a Jesus to go into the infamous temples of speculation and tear down the altars of greed and whip out the priests and money changers who, as before, still infest the sanctuaries of mankind.

³⁵⁶ Ramsay, *Cit. Bish. Phryg.*, II., p. 609, no. 506, describes a *διασος* of this vicinity: "On a marble stele, with the relief of *Μέν*, with Phrygian cap and crescent on the shoulders; 'Αγαθή τύχη, ετους σινδ'. Μηνι 'Ασκαηνῶ φράτρα 'Ηλιοφῶντος 'Αντιόχου καὶ Ποσειου Μάρκου ἀνεθήκαν.'" Dr. Oehler has demonstrated that the *φράτρα* was a regular union under the Solonic dispensation.

All over this land of Galatia which was really a section of Phrygia including the Pisidian Antioch, Apameia, Akmonia and other marts, the christian culture found a warm welcome among the numberless unions, who had a right to expect that their great, all-powerful Cybele, mother of the gods, and her son Dionysus, patron of economical prosperity and giver of joys to men, would come down from the vaulted dome of heaven and rescue them from want and danger. But they came not and at last a lowly, crucified Jesus appeared in infinite humility, to tell them to persevere, build their socialism higher, hold good their common table and communal love and fight free of Cæsar's exacting tribute.

Previously to A.D. 54, Paul lived a long time at Antioch, supposed by most commentators to be the greater capital city, but more probably both. From these centers he made excursions, often hiding away mysteriously, and once for a term of several years.³⁵⁷ Whither he disappeared to again emerge rested and robust nobody knows. He was a craftsman engaged in furnishing scenic outfits for the artists. It is a new discovery that this region abounded in secret unions, including those of the Dionysian artists known by at least thirty fine instances which we have collected, to have endorsed the teachings of the evangelists in full and taken them in, shielding them from danger, legalizing their Word through the burial clause of the *jus cocundi*, hearing it in the dense secret of these lovely refuges, and when thoroughly rested and refreshed, letting them go under their benign ægis, often with an attendant who was no other than one of their own *kurioi* or quinquennial lords, who acted as courier for their post office and carried the Epistles "to all the churches." We are soon to astonish our readers with an adduction from the great *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum* of the Berlin Academy, quoting many inscriptions as a new historical resource wherein occur, among thousands of pagan ideographs the names of some old proselytes to Paul, Peter and John, such as Tychicus, Onesimus, Philemon and others mentioned in the canonical New Testament books. But this evidence must be deferred for a later chapter of this work.

³⁵⁷ *Acts*, xiv., 28; xviii., 23; xii., 25; Smith, *Bib. Dict.*, *Paul at Antioch*, p. 2363; 2396; worked as a *σκηνοποιός*, *Acts*, xviii., 3.

The burial attachment or *lex collegium funeraticium*, and *tenuiorum* is found quite repeatedly in this section,³⁵⁸ but although it was lawful to organize and hold a burial society, yet the law evidently understood that funerals were the only object of such unions. So when, as in almost every case, the main object of protection of industry, economy of the common table, joys of the entertainments and the general advantages of a trade union were combined, leaving the funeral as a mere toy under cover of which to shield the whole; when, we say, this was by any want of secrecy discovered by the police, they were attacked by the pro-consul's spies and severely dealt with. Dr. Lightfoot discovers this in his dissertation on Paul's Epistles and shows us how dangerous it was to attempt to distribute them "to all the churches," great care being necessary to prevent their suppression. If caught, the epistles must not contain one word about the unions having anything to do with the brotherhoods or the brethren they mention. There was a strict censorship, under the military management and if Paul had dared to speak of the unions it would have caused his celebrated canonical books to be condemned and burned.

But the evidences are too numerous and too strong to longer admit a quibble. In his thorough investigation, Dr. Ramsay found several unions which he interprets as christian societies the apostles modeled after, and shows them to be benefit unions; but in name and outward appearance trade unions or trade guilds, such as existed at that time at Hieropolis in great numbers. The one at Akmonia was a christian *protopyleiton*,³⁵⁹ or

³⁵⁸ Oehl., *Eran. Vindob., Genossenschaften.* Again, Oehl., *MSS.*: "PISIDIEN: Ἐταιραὶ Vereinen. Athen., xiii., 5856. berichtet dass Gnathaina einen νόμος συσσιτικός festgestellt habe; Alkiphron. I., 39, nennt θυσία συμπόσιον und gemeinsames Mahl der Hetairen an den Adonien. *Anthol. Palat.* VIII., 728. *Kallim. Epigr.* xi., vom welchen wir lernen: πολλῶν προστασίη νεῶν γυναικῶν kennen, 722 und 723." All of the *ἐταιραὶ* we have seen that were found in Phrygia had the burial attachment. Dr. Ramsay, *Cit. Bish. Phryg.* II., p. 720, no. 655, remarks: "The salutation given in earlier inscrs. is now confined to the brother." Here we have another *collegium funeraticium*, the burial attachment of which was permitted a brotherhood, who take their right to hold themselves organized from Sept. Severus who perpetuated the *lex coll. fun.* and the union is consequently as late as the 3d century. It is a trade bearing the name of *κοινόν*, and had been christianized.

³⁵⁹ Ramsay, *Cit. Bish. Phryg.* II., pp., 562-3, no. 455-7. Here we have a christian gate keepers' union, with the burial attachment at the town of Karamon Agora. Dr. Ramsay, p. 563, speaking of the bequest on the epitaph, says: "We must understand that the society to which he gave his bequest was a christian benefit and burial society." The *inscr.* itself shows it to have been a gate keepers' union: B., no. 456: "Ἐπισχόμενος τῇ γειτοσύνη

gate keepers' union found in a town not far from Pisdia. There was a brotherhood of the gatekeepers at Jerusalem already mentioned and explained.

Everything tends to prove that the original idea of universal christianity was toward a socialism in which all things were had in common. In a note³⁶⁰ we here allude to a multitude of evidences scattered variously among the inscriptions and especially among the scriptures of the good, honest old fathers like Lactantius, Jerome, Chrysostom and Epiphanius. There are found quite a number of inscriptions, some of which are epitaphs, on which are engraved, with dates of their birth, marriage and initiations, words recording the "incomparable love" of each others' associations; and the early fathers have left us statements expressing regrets that

τῶν πρωτοπυλειτῶν ἀρμεία δικάλλατα δύο κατὰ μῆνα καὶ ἀγωγὸν ὀρυκτὸν ἔδωκεν ἐφ' ᾧ κατὰ ἔτος ῥοδίωσιν τὴν σύμβιον μου Ἀυρηλιαν." There is a group of these inscriptions of the gate keepers' unions in this town. Dr. Oehler has also contributed several; vide *index* in verb. crucifixion and other catchwords. A gate union was at Jerusalem and it is almost certain that a *γειτοσύνη πρωτοπυλειτῶν* was the *γερονσία* or brotherhood which secreted Jesus at Jerusalem and the retreat that was divulged by the treachery of Judas securing to the police his whereabouts, arrest and crucifixion. See *index* in catchword, *gate-keepers*. Dr. Oehler, referring to *Revue des Études Grecques*, II., 1889, pp. 24-5, says: "Die *γειτοσύνη των πρωτοπυλειτῶν* wird erklärt als association crétienne." They were numerous and prove to have been a species of guild. They were "neighborhoods." Lüders, *Dionys. Künst.*, p. 34, CIG., 3931. Ehrenbeschluss aus Tralles; "Ἡ φιλοσεβάστη γερονσία καὶ οἱ γέοι καὶ ἡ Ὀλυμπικὴ σύνοδος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκομένης ἱερονείκων ἐτιμησαν, κ.τ.λ. Ἡδριαν βεγύντιστε εἰνε σύνοδος ἐυστικὴ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀθλητῶν."

³⁶⁰ Irencæus, *Adversus Hær.*, II., xxiii., 8; IV., vi., 4. Tatian wanted all things common so that there might be a perfect economy in provisioning the members. Cf. *Amr. Cycl.*, art. *Tatian*. Tatian was hard on robbers. Orell, 2182, Arretii showing an intense secrecy everywhere: "Nemini se arcana enunciatum;" Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, II., xix., says of the contract system, which jobbed the work rightly belonging to the working unions out to speculating contractors, as now, saying they were "caravanserai, filthy and filled with dung, because belonging to others;" Jerome, *Adv. Jovinianum*, bib. II., c. 6, from *Math.*, x., 9; xix., 21, shows that Jovinian discussed this subject though his work is lost. "All are commanded to have but one coat, no food or money, no staff, neither shoes on their feet." It of course refers to the providing of all these things by the secret commune into which they are initiated, which plainly shows that those ordered out were under the secret ægis of the loving brotherhood which, on showing of passports and giving the password, were to be fully supplied. The process of initiation is hinted at by Chrysostom, VII., 151; *Sacrificium iniatorum quæ.*, etc. It is a hint on the early initiation necessary to admission to the *cœna communis*, or common meal; the economical question of bread. So Chrysost., again, III., 257; "Mensa communis prisæ Ecclesiæ temporibus." But bewails that all is now gone. *Id.*, IX., 84; "Mensam sacram communem tangere audebant initiati tantum." All, high and low were originally equal; II., 426, 437; "In mysterium participatione nulla exceptio personarum; una mensa imperatori et pauperi." Polycarp, *Epist. Phil.*, vi., on duties: "Let the presbyters be compassionate and merciful to all, bringing back those that wander, visiting all the sick and not neglecting the widow, the orphan, or the poor, but always providing that which is becoming in sight of God and man." Rom., xii., 17; Cor., viii., 31. Again, chap. xi., expressing grief on account of Valens, Polycarp says; "I am greatly grieved for Valens.... I exhort you therefore that you abstain from covetousness, *πλεονεξία.*" etc. This fellow had robbed the social fund.

all at their later time was lost, and exhorting brethren to return to their old communal fold.³⁶¹ Jerome, who wrote about the old primitive brotherhoods long afterwards, attests that they followed the Roman law of centurions, forming themselves into divisions or companies of one hundred and then into brigades of a thousand, and frequently a union was a thousand in number.³⁶² St. Augustine, one of the purest of the early fathers, writing on morals, throws broad hints out regarding the unions of brotherhoods of all kinds and speaks of "their living together in a most chaste and holy society. . . . No one possesses anything of his own; no one is a burden to another. They work with their hands in such occupations as may feed their bodies. . . . The products of their labor they give to their deacons so that no one is worried with the care of his body, either in food or clothes, or in anything else required for daily use or for the common wants and ailments. They assemble from their work-shops before they take the common meal, to hear their lord president, sometimes in numbers of three thousand or more; for indeed one society may have many above three thousand." And again: "Much more is created by their frugal industry than they can use; and they distribute it about for the general welfare."³⁶³

The early teachings of all the immediate companions of Jesus are backed up by innumerable allusions of ante-Nicene fathers in declaring that the messiah who

³⁶¹ Lüders, *Dionys. Kunst.*, p. 37. gives an account—vide *supra*, ch. xiii., of the inscriptions containing the law believed to have been a clause in Solon's *jus coeundi*, requiring that the candidate for admission should be found under examination of the *δοκιμασία* to be *ἀγιος*, και *εὐσεβῆς* και *ἀγαθός*, else he or she could not be elected to membership. In the Diatessaron of Tatian, discovered in 1877, we find that to be a member good and pure one must give up to the whole congregation all worldly goods, to be managed by the *διάκονος*, for the common good.

³⁶² Jerome, *Epistles*, xxii., 35; "After this, the meeting breaks up and each company of ten goes with its lord, or *κύριος*, to its own table to partake of the common meal."

³⁶³ *Acta Sancti, Mens. Maj.*, Tome III., *App.*, § 77, gives some strong information concerning one Actas, whose works are lost, and whose acts supposed by some to have been imitated by Pachomius who formed the great *cænobia* upon an island in the Nile near Thebes. These latter were very populous, but intolerably sanctimonious, amounting to a pious tyranny, such as can never be tolerated by free men. We are however, inclined to think that those organized by Actas resembled those of the regular trade and labor unions of Solon. Anthony, in *Ancient Life*, § 77, speaks of Pachomius as the founder of the monks, and though they were of little value to the world, we quote: "Κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτε μοναχὸς γέγονα, οὐκ ἦν κοινόβιον, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος τῶν ἀρχαίων μοναχῶν μετὰ τὸν διωγμὸν κατὰ μόνας ἤσκειτο, και μετὰ ταῦτ' οὗτος πατὴρ ἡμῶν ἐπέσειε ταῦτο ἀγαθὸν παρὰ κυρίου."

was to come and did come, was in every respect a workingman; and there are many stories among the contemporaneous writers, of the hard life he had to eke out long before he assumed the rôle of his exalted messianic functions. Thus Justin, in his celebrated colloquy with Tryphon, declares that even after his return from Egypt to his father's home in Galilee, he worked at the carpenter's trade and also made plows and yokes, being not ashamed of his occupation, but on the contrary obtaining praise for his industry as an honorable example before the economic world.³⁶⁴ "Be at work," said Jerome, "doing something, that the devil may always find thee busy."³⁶⁵

It has been already explained that the mithraic colleges of purely pagan origin and nature, were in their teachings the nearest of all to the plan of salvation of the christian cult, and it may be added that not a few believe that Christ, while in Egypt working for a living when a boy, was a member of this peculiar sect. The associations of Mithra, however, were exempt from the persecutions suffered by the christians³⁶⁶ for the reason that they were supposed to be pagan, not christian and to pay tribute by attending the sacrifices and otherwise conforming to the law.

³⁶⁴ Justin, *Dial.*, 78: "Καὶ τέκτονος νομιζομένου τοῦτα γὰρ τὰ τεκτονικὰ ἔργα εἰργάζετο ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὦν, ἄροτα καὶ ζυγα" διὰ τούτων καὶ τὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης σύμβολα διδάσκων, καὶ ἐνεργῆ βίον."

³⁶⁵ Jerome, *Coll.*, 773, Pt. II., Vol. IV.: "Facito aliquid ut te semper diabolus inveniat occupatum." *Epist. ad Rust.*, so Paul's system declares that christianity never tolerated idleness.

³⁶⁶ De Rossi, *Roma Sott.*, III., p. 509: "L' iniquità del rigore contra i Cristiani consisteva in ciò che moltissima società religiosa d' origine greca, asiatica, egizia—furono generalmente tollerate ed anche permesse nel imperio Romano;" and Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, I., p. 139, remarks that the christians were supposed to be iniquitous while the mithraic associations were tolerated. He further thinks that the mithraic fraternities were the *hetæraë*, probably meaning before their conversion to christianity.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONTINUED.

THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

SECTION III.,—NERO.

NERO—Period Covering Imprisonment of Paul—Literary Evidence Burned—Accounts of the "Acts" Proved by Inscriptions to be Good History—Nazarenes a Branch—Landing of Paul at Puteoli, in Chains—Warmly Received by already Converted Brotherhoods—The Delegation—Same Unions Already Described—Centuries Old—Story of Narcissus—Nero at First Kind and Tolerant—Believed to have taken Paul with him to Spain—Grows Morose and Jealous—Employs an Able Detective, named Tigellinus—Turns Against Friends and Humanity—Closes Friendly Doors of Domus Augustalis—Seneca, Philo, Peter, Paul and a Host of Other Good Men Charged upon—Escape of Philo, Assisted by Peter—Barnabas—Nero Plots to Burn the Immortal City—Pudens, Priscilla, Claudia and the Poet Martial, all acquainted, and Friends—Story of Pudens—Was an Englishman—Organized a Union of Carpenters in England—House of the Lord—Strange Analysis of the Word—Pudens a Lord of a Union—Recent Discovery of Wonderful Inscription of Carpenters' Union at Glastonbury in Chichester—Pudens Gave the Land—Probable Gift of King Cogidubnu—Tacitus—Though Christian, it was Dedicated to Minerva—Collegium Fabrorum—Evidence Massed—Household of Claudia—All Members of Brotherhoods of Trade Guilds—Mentioned in Paul's Epistles—Also Mentioned by Martial in his Epigrammata—Recent Discovery of their Names Inscribed upon their Cinerary Urns—Nero Finds out these Things through his Spies—He is Incensed—Story of the Burning of Rome—He Swears that he will Rid Rome of the Genus Tertium, meaning the Christians—Oakum, Tar, Pitch and large Quantities of Grease Gathered—Tigellinus—Spread of Fire Described—Nero Carouses on the Mæcenatian Tower—Cunning of Nero in Accusing the Hated Genus Tertium—Vast Numbers of Christians Put to Death—Fury of the Populace—Many Christians Thrown to Wild Beasts—Smear'd with Tar and Grease and Set on Fire for Torches of the Nightly Carnival—Sewn up in Bags and Thrown to Rome's Hungry Dogs—Unknown Thousands Perish—Atrocious Massacre—Work of Tigellinus, Nero's Pinkerton—Statement of Tacitus, Suetonius, Orosius and Others—Paul, Seneca, Peter, Pudens and Many Others Murdered in Nero's Rage—Manner of Execution—Death of Nero—Celebrated Fisherman was Crucified Head Downward—His Wife also Led to the Cross.

THE most important period in the history of the ancient lowly, if we are allowed to except the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius covered in the preceding section of this chapter, is the imprisonment and execution of Paul, Peter and thousands of converted workers, including the celebrated burning of Rome. It is a story never rightly understood, and covers tragedies instigated by jealousies attendant upon the tremendous growth of socialism planted at a phenomenally early stage of the movement we are trying to portray.

It must be taken fully into consideration that an enormous trade organization already existed at Rome, of which history makes no mention; and we are consequently recording these facts in defiance of history which caters to the mighty for favors and drops the unrecorded power of the lowly in treacherous, cruel oblivion.

We have dared to take issues against this humiliating ingratitude and come out with the truth on the origins of socialism, the great plant, which the property power tried with an energy worthy of better things, to drive into defeat and destruction. They did not succeed. They burned much literary testimony, but could not destroy the evidence of the stones.

We have already noted the enormous early christian plant at Rome. Many strange side lights regarding this appear in the data, apparently spurned by history. These we shall collect and bring to the broad glare of light, leaving to future analysis their place in the fate of human records.

It will be remembered, because fully recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, that Paul went, under arrest, to Rome, preferring to be tried for his alleged crimes before the emperor himself, to being the victim of his irascible and prejudiced tormentors at Jerusalem who accused him of being a "pestilent fellow, a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes."³⁶⁷ This is significant talk, if we take into consideration the new testimony established by Oehler and the scholars of the Berlin Academy, regarding the conclusion that these

³⁶⁷ Acts, xlviii., 5: Εὐρόντες γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον λοιμὸν καὶ κινεῖντα στάσει πᾶσι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην, πρωτοστάτην τε τῆς τῶν Ναζωραίων αἵρεσιως.

Nazarenes were none other than branches of the organization of laborers and outcasts, under the benign Solonic dispensation. It was the origin of socialism which has ever since been honestly striving to establish itself in the world.

Paul had the foresight to demand a trial before the emperor at Rome. The Jews would gladly have applied "Lynch-law" upon him and he knew it, and saved his life by demanding that his trial take place before that majesty at Rome—a rather desperate decision, since both Claudius and Nero turned out to be terrible enemies and persecutors of the early christians.

The whole story is told in the Acts of the Apostles; and this succinct account is regarded by Guizot as good and well-substantiated history, and as it is not denied by Gibbon, we refer the reader to that valuable document.⁵⁶⁸ Few narrations of sea voyages exceed Luke's in romantic interest, as they cover shipwreck, an episode with a poisonous viper, strange legends of sailors and a final landing at Puteoli where the extraordinary incident occurred. We shall leave the history of this whole sea voyage from Palestine to Italy, to the reader's free perusal in other books.

But from the moment he set foot upon the land at Puteoli the history is ours. It is that of the ancient Italy; and we lay claim to no originality in our version except that our evidence is mostly new and that it has never before been rendered to the open world.

No city among all those where the labor unions organized under the Solonic dispensation abounded, is found possessing a greater number than Puteoli. It was in ancient times an excellent commercial harbor of Campania in Italy, only about seven miles from the present site of Naples. Cumæ, the place where Blossius was born, was a suburb or sister town. Of this noble character who espoused the cause of Tiberius Gracchus in the interest of the oppressed, we have already made a full statement.⁵⁶⁹ The remarkable feature of this seaport was that its workingmen's organizations were

⁵⁶⁸ Acts, xxiv., to xxviii., inclusive, wherein the story of Paul's incarceration under Felix is told, and the manner in which Drusilla came more than once to his rescue. The slow-working law permitting him to lie two years and more in confinement at Cæsaræa, is painful; since they were two of the most valuable years of this bold agitator's life.

⁵⁶⁹ See Vol. I., *Aristonicus*, chap. x., pp. 239-242.

colonies from parts of Palestine. One large union of the crimson cloth makers and sellers was from Tyre.³⁷⁰ They were a colony which had been settled by the Phœnicians at Puteoli for a long time. Dr. Lüders gives an account of it in the second century. The parent union at Tyre assessed an exorbitant tax of ten thousand denaria against the union in Italy which it could not pay. An inscription explains it.³⁷¹ As at this time all Palestine was Roman, it was a Roman collegium. In Puteoli in very early times there was a collegium of christian tradesmen engaged at some kind of carpentering work, probably ship-building. The union had received the Word from the missionaries of Palestine and it was strong at the time of Paul's landing there en route for Rome.³⁷²

A large number of inscriptions are left to the archaeologists conveying proof that Puteoli was alive with labor unions at the time of Paul's visit in the spring of the year 61. "We came," says Luke, "to Puteoli, where we found brethren and were desired to stay seven days; and so we went toward Rome; and from thence, when the brethren heard of us, they came to meet us as far as Appii Forum and the three taverns."³⁷³ Here Paul met the brotherhoods again.³⁷⁴

They were dined and wined and persuaded to sojourn with the friends for seven days. There is no mistaking the language. They were fellow brothers, fellow christians! Who had been there at this early date in the midst of the reigns of the tyrants Nero and Claudius, to convert these unions to christianity? All the com-

³⁷⁰ Origen, a brazier by trade, when persecuted by prelates years afterwards, fled from Caesarea to Tyre, and sought safety and solace, like good old Tertullian, among the secret mysteries of his youth and under their protecting aegis ended his valuable life in quiet security.

³⁷¹ Orell., "Henzen," no. 6082. It was a *θίασος* Placidianus; Momms., *Beitrag der Sächsischen Gesellschaft*, "Phil. Hist.," 57-62; Oehler, "MS.": "Puteoli, CIL., x., 1585, Vergl. *Thiasus Juventutis in Nerona*, CIL., 1828.

³⁷² Orell., 2385: "Ex S. C., Dendrophori curati qui sunt sub cura xv., vir S. F. virorum clarissimorum patron. L. Ampius Stephanus Sac. M. Deum quinquennalis Dendrophorum. Dedicacioni hujus panem, vinum et sportulas dedit." Then follows a list of eighty-six names of members of the union.

³⁷³ "Acts," xxviii, 13: *Καὶ μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν ἐπιγεγομένου νότου δευτεराῖοι ἤλθομεν εἰς Ποτιόλους, οὗ εὐρόντες ἀδελφούς παρεκλήθημεν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐμμεῖναι ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ· καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὴν Ρώμην ἤλθομεν. κ.τ.λ.*

³⁷⁴ Smith, "Bib. Dict.," Vol. III., p. 2392. Not less than twenty inscriptions of about this date adorn our sources of information. They point to a great number of unions, collegia, sodalicia, and other fraternities, right here in Puteoli; Henzen—Orellius, III., p. 524, noting a new one, more recently dug up, no. 7206. Many were dedicated to Minerva and Diana; III., pp. 524-5. They are coll. scabellariorum, musicians.

mentators are puzzled. The fact is, there was a plant there of long standing. Even while Jesus was preaching in Judæa missionaries had come to this important place and had established the new Word. It was their Word of life and hope.³⁷⁵

Judging from the number found to have been doing business at the town of Puteoli for a period of about three hundred years before and after the Advent, we have arrived at the conclusion that the population consisted mainly of organized unions. There were few others there. Some fine gentlemen's seats and a few villas are on record for the vicinity; but this was entirely due to the exquisite beauty of the bays including the Bay of Naples visible in the distance, to the romantic rocks and forest-clothed crags, the heights of Vesuvius to the south, to the many gushing springs of pure, healthful water which adorned the vicinity, and to the exquisite climate; all in rebuke of the report that its name Putcoli, stink-pots, coming from stagnant waters that in reality never existed. The cognomen of putridity took its origin in the fact that it was a labor hive filled almost exclusively with what were long supposed to be foul and contemptible working people,³⁷⁶ and the epithet had gone abroad as far as Rome and Athens that it was a stinking place and accordingly deserved to be changed from the old name of the stink-pots to Puteoli, by which name it was ever afterwards known at Rome. We point out in footnotes some of the multitude of these trade and labor organizations which have thus far been brought to the light through their own inscriptions. They range from regular old Numan collegia to the Dionysan artists, several of which are found to have been allied with the great international Gemeinde with its headquarters at Teos.³⁷⁷ They are also

³⁷⁵ Neander, "Plant.," Book III., chap. ix: "But the Roman christians had already, even before he arrived at Rome, evinced their sympathy; since several of their numbers traveled a day's journey, as far as the town of Forum Appii, and some of them a shorter distance to a place called Tres Tabernæ, in order to meet him. In the "Epist. to the Philippians" he sends a salutation to the whole church πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι, which is proof of the close connection in which he stood with them."

³⁷⁶ Waltzing, "Hist. Corp. Prof.," I., 162: "Dans l' antiquité l' homme qui n' avait que ses bras et son métier pour vivre, celui qui, même riche se livrait à un travail manuel, était méprisé."

³⁷⁷ See "supra" in chap. xi., where will be found an explanation of what we term "The Great Gemeinde," using the German word, because it embraces a happy expression of the full meaning of the *συννοδοὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Αἰόριστον* ἐκκλησιῶν. For many collegia found here, see "Notizia degli Scave," 1891,

known to have been unions organized under the *jus coeundi* and colonized from the mother unions at Tyre, Sidon, Cæsarea and cities of Asia Minor in the same manner as that resorted to by bees when overcrowded by the pack of population, as it were, they "swarm" to distant hives and set up business by themselves. The Puteolian collegia escaped the notice of the archæological inscriptions until Mommsen and Lüders called them to notice, since which they are attracting more attention to the extent of their true historical value in shaping the origins of christian socialism.³⁷⁸ Before proceeding with Paul to Rome let us tarry with him on his seven days' sojourn, and imagine that we ourselves, accept the heartfelt invitation of these interwoven, mutually self-supporting, loving and banqueting unions at Puteoli. We shall find in the anaglyphs of their vernacular chisel enough to wonder at.³⁷⁹ We find that not only here in the maritime city itself where an extensive and commodious harbor shielding the vessels of the Italians and Phœnicians, made traffic in the far-famed dyes as well as in all other merchandise, a source of wealth, such unions existed, but also at Cumæ and Pompeii, extending to Capua and even to Rome. The organizations were countless. We shall follow for the present their traces only at Puteoli itself and the environing towns within sight, like Cumæ, Naples and the populations that fringed the great volcano about

p. 167; it is placed at A.D. 78, but of course was in existence before that time. Cf. "Inscr. Gr. Ital. Sic.," no. 830, which is conjecturally placed later. Α Πολιτευμα Φρυγῶν in Puteoli worshipping the Ζεὺς Φρυγῶδες before conversion. "Bull. Hell.," XIII., 1889, p. 239f, 11; Oehler, "MSS.": "Noch ein Κολῶν der selben Art wird hier erwähnt." This is very important, being as is believed the identical union into which the christians were first received at this place as early as the plant at Jerusalem, and supposed to be the one which welcomed Paul. It was terribly persecuted by Domitian, vide infra, Section "Domitian."

³⁷⁸ Henzen, in "index, Geographica," Vol. III., Orell., p. 17. "Coll. Puteolanorum," 1694; "id.," 6315; "Col. Put.," 4124; 3652 which is a colony, classed here as a collegium; Cf. Orell., 3698. Coll. Flavia Augusta; 5504, 5518, a coll.; 6519, a coll.; 4430, Coll. Puteolanum and Colonia Puteolana. These seem to have been all linked together and are of the first century.

³⁷⁹ Waltzing, "Hist. Corp. Prof.," I., p. 125, mentions the dendrophori, cf. CIL., X., 3699, 3700, for Cumæ, a suburb of Puteoli, which possessed a villa of Cicero and the estates of the reformer Blossius; CIL., X., 1642; XIV., 168, 169, 256; X., 1647; Lüders, "Dionys. Künst.," p. 30, 31, cf. "supra," note 295; Livy xxxii., 29, xxxiv., 45, mentions these great colonies; Tac., "Ann.," xiv., 27; Orell., 3697, 3698. All these testify to their early dates. Muratorius, 524, 2; the collegium juvenum is recorded in Henzen, Vol. III., of Orell., nos. 4101, 3976, 6065, 2168. See "Index, Collegia Sacra, publica privataque." Juvenum Sutrii Tiburtini, Trebulæ, Veronæ. During Hadrian's time there flourished more than one *διασος*, and *επαρος*. Momms., "De Coll. et Sodal. Rom.," p. 6, from Spartianus, "Hadrian," c. 27, A.D. 76-136.

the time it exploded, engulfing its walls, arches, roofs, its two thousand voting unions and its busy and turbulent humanity.

But one thing must be here explicitly noted: If the movement of Pompeii on the day of the eruption of Vesuvius contained such a vast number of these politico-socialistic trade unions that over fifteen hundred inscriptions at this later date are seen grinning their tell-tale history which reveal more glaringly than the words of a Sallust, the certitude that they controlled important elections in their interest and with their superior vote secured for themselves the public works of the city, doing it by electing candidates of their choice to the boards of aldermen and of the public works; if, we say, the unions are proved by such irrefutable witnesses as this, so also did the unions of all other municipia of this region and of Rome. It may be hard to believe, but the crust must be swallowed. Dr. Cagnat affirms it in unmistakable terms.³⁸⁰

The silent, grimy testimony of fifteen hundred dodgers, hand-bills and posters indelibly blazed upon the inside of the walls of a city and found after a lapse of two thousand years, must bear a solemn weight to the extraordinary power of evidence which it is our duty to drag forth in proof of the vast and long-mellowed field which christianity planted. Dr. Cagnat gives his evidence that Pompeii was not alone. Puteoli, bespecked with these organizations,³⁸¹ must, as he declares, have

³⁸⁰ Cagnat, a member of the French Academy, of Inscriptions, in "Vie Contemporaine," Jan. 1896, pp. 175-6: "Quelques mois avant la terrible éruption du Vésuve qui l'engloutit, Pompéi venait de nommer ses magistrats annuels, duumvirs et édiles. La lutte avait été ardente; du moins avait-on multiplié les affiches électorales ou les inscriptions murales qui en tenaient lieu; on en a retrouvé plus de quinze cents en débâillant les ruines. Un grand nombre des proclamations émane des corporations; les cuisiniers, les marchands de bois; les boulangers, les pâtisseries, les carbarétiérs, les joueurs de balle même, etc. . . . Ce qui se passait à Pompéi avait lieu aussi ailleurs assurément; et tant qu'une vie municipale quelque peu active subsista dans l'empire Romain, on peut être assuré que les corporations professionnelles y prirent part." See Vol. I., pp. 390-1, of this work.

³⁸¹ Waltzing, "Hist. Corp. Prof.," I., p. 212, speaking of mausola preserved at Puteoli, says: "Les monuments communs des sociétés et collèges funéraires étaient construits sur le même plan." This correctly shows that an upper hall was for the union's business and meetings. Again, *ibid.*, p. 336: "Les collèges de cultores Jovis Heliopolitani de Pouzzoles—Puteoli—possédaient un champ de sept arpents avec une citerne et des Tabernae, et ceux là seuls en avaient la jouissance qui ne contrevenaient pas au règlement: "Hic ager—corum possessorum juris est qui in cultu corporis Heliopolitanorum sunt erante, atqui ita is accessus jusque esto per januas itineraque, ejus agri, qui nihil adversus locum et conventionem ejus corporis facere poteraverint." *CIL.*, X., 1579.

been a city of voting trade-unions in the same manner. All these associations appear to have come under the old *lex Julia* and its modification regarding burial regulations, and they followed strictly the law of Solon demanding that the principles on which cities of ancient times were based should be held as the pattern of their organization.³⁸²

The same contempt which enveloped the actual workman whether at a trade or at common labor, also contaminated those engaged in mercantile business or in commerce of any kind. As a result we find many unions of merchants everywhere, and not a few at Puteoli. They all come under the old Solonic dispensation. The colonies from Tyre, in Phœnicia, had an especial object in furthering their large trade in the celebrated brilliant red and purple dyes, when they established the branches at Puteoli.³⁸³ Some surprise is caused by the discovery at Puteoli, and among these unions, of the fact that many Hebrews were also there; and as this accounts for a celebrated paragraph in the Dion Cassius, we cannot refrain from noting it here. What adds to the interest regarding this is the now ascertained certainty that these Hebrews were the very christians who befriended Paul on his arrival,³⁸⁴ and invited him to sojourn with them for seven days, or a time long enough for them to send a herald to Rome to acquaint the similar brotherhoods of his forthcoming arrival that they might send a delegation of their numbers to meet him at Forum Appii and Tres Tabernæ. Now Dion Cassius, in his history of Domitian who succeeded Nero after the two short years of Titus and consequently only about thirty years after the visit of Paul, recites the story of Domitilla, her persecution and banishment and

³⁸² Waltzing, "Hist. Corp. Prof.," I., p. 513: Tous les collèges suivirent un modèle commun, a savoir, la cité. Ils jouissaient tous d' une complète autonomie intérieure; l' Etat qui, depuis l' an 7 avant notre ère ne reconnaissait plus le droit d' exister qu' aux collèges autorisés . . . et cette constitution est modelée sur celle de la cité dans laquelle ils sont établis: 'ad exemplum reipublicæ. "Dig.," III., iv., 1.'" already quoted.

³⁸³ Waltzing, "Hist. Corp. Prof.," p. 235: "A Pouzzoles la corporation des marchands tyriens parle des dépenses que lui occasionnent les jours de fête de l' empereur." Mommsen, "I. N.," 2479, Orell., 6082. It is a thiasus that had survived the persecution of Domitian.

³⁸⁴ Smith, "Bib. Dict.," p. 2618, says, discussing Paul: "We should also notice the fact that there were Jewish residents at Puteoli. We might be sure of this from its mercantile importance; but we are positively informed of it by Josephus, "Antiq.," XVII., xii., § 1, in his account of the pretended Herod Alexander to Augustus; and the circumstance shows how natural it was, that the apostles should find brethren there, immediately on landing."

the murder of many Jews at Puteoli and confiscation of their property. Gibbon, with great insight and fairness, in referring to this, declares that Dion actually meant the christians. His remarks are now proved by the cumulative evidence of the monuments to be absolutely correct. Many trade guilds are found to have been already christianized at this place and to have industriously chiseled their history as such. Among the unions of these brotherhoods that sheltered Paul is the one numbered 4124 of the old archæological work of Orell. It secretly screened him from harm, and was temporarily suppressed and its members killed by Domitian a few years later. Long before this and indeed before his landing at Puteoli, the emperor Claudius banished large numbers of Jews from Rome, sweeping them all together especially the christians and Jews under one fell ban; and Suetonius, in his life of Claudius, makes his record of this edict in a few lines which have become celebrated.³⁸⁵

These unions and guilds were very early christianized. This fact also receives powerful proof in the inscriptions. There are the remains of a pagan kuriakos, which had become a church as early as the last days of Tiberius. It was a union of dyers. When a child of the quinquennial or president died he was sepulchred in a niche called an *ædicula*, as the words explain.³⁸⁶

Notwithstanding the furious efforts of the emperor Domitian to deracinate them they continued down to A. D. 260 at least, which again shows how impossible it was to suppress the ancient unions. When better times came, Hadrian, who was their friend, established a thiasus at the town of Naples six or seven miles down the bay,³⁸⁷ now a great city. Here occurred the wonderful stroke of Masaniello, manager of the fishermens' union, which produced a law that never has been repealed. A story told by Philostratus the biographer of Apollonius of Tyana, tends to illustrate the numbers and influ-

³⁸⁵ Suet., "Claud.," 25: "Judæos, impulsore Chresto." etc.

³⁸⁶ Orell., 7373—Puteolis—C. Nonius Flavianus Plurimis annis orationibus petitus Natus. Vixit anno uno. Mensibus xi. In ejus honorem Basilica. Hæc a Parentibus adquisita contactaque est, requievit in pace. To which the learned editor subjoins: "In inscriptione christiana in ruderibus antiquæ ecclesiæ cathedralis Puteolane reperta *aedicula sepulcralis basilica videtur appellata esse.*" The ecclesia noticed by Jerome. "Epist., was a *κυριακή*.

³⁸⁷ IG., 5804, cf. Lüders, "Dionys. Künst.," p. 35: "ἡ φιλοσεβαστος καὶ φιλοράμιος Ἀλεξανδρέων περιπολιτικὴ εὐσεβῆς σύνοδος.

ence of the brotherhoods at the seaport of Puteoli during Domitian's time. This philosopher and magician was arrested and miraculously escaped. In an hour, if we are to believe the impossible story, he was at Puteoli among the "brethren."²⁸⁸

Another proof of the very early plant there, of the Word and to all appearance even long before the arrival of Paul at Puteoli, is the legend of Patrobas, one of the seventy who are listed in the Breviary of original men. Patrobas was a real character and is mentioned by Paul in his salutation to the Romans, in connection with Asyncritus, Phlegon, Hermas and Hermes; and he is said to have been appointed to be the bishop of a church at Puteoli, probably the same aged temple of whose basilica we have just given the inscription of the infant son of the president of the union of dyers. He, with Philologus, suffered martyrdom probably under Domitian.²⁹⁰ Still another wonderful discovery, by the diggers, is the ancient temple of Isis at Pompeii, almost in sight of Puteoli, where is found a church in ruins. Nobody knows how long before the great eruption which swallowed a populous city this church was converted to christianity; but as the volcanic convulsion which was witnessed by Pliny the naturalist, occurred only eighteen years after Paul's visit to Puteoli, the closely neighboring town, we have a right to rank all such organizations together²⁹⁰ and may cite the newly discovered temple at Pompeii but recently unearthed. It was a habitation, therefore a home. In this the members originally performed labor from which they derived their daily bread and when christianized the economic methods were retained, showing its economic character. The place possessed the common livings, shape and style of architecture and all the paraphernalia of the ancient kuriakos.

Among all these friendly officers of the brotherhoods Paul passed at Puteoli his seven days of sojourn. There

²⁸⁸ Apollonius, when triumphantly told by Domitian that he now was fast-bound and secure, leaped from his chains and disappeared in mist. In an hour he was at Puteoli a hundred miles away, with Damus his faithful friend and all the rejoicing brotherhoods. Doane, "Bib. Myths," p. 261.

²⁸⁹ Wolf, "Cur Philolog.," Smith, "Bib. Dict.," p. 2362, where Patrobas is treated as a proselyte, and appropriate mention of these points, is made.

²⁹⁰ Fouc., "Ass. Rel.," 45: "Le temple d'Isis à Pompéii donne une idée assez exacte d'un de ces sanctuaires; on pourra se les représenter encore mieux, en voyant quelques-uns des monastères helléniques, en particulier celui de Yourkano sur l'ithome ou celui d'Orchomène, élevé sur les ruines du temple des Charités."

was the old fashioned common table and communal code. There the thrifty membership knew no want. If he desired, he could work at his trade of tent and also scene making, for the Dionysan artists were also there; and judging from the economic grandeur of the man's character it should surprise no one to hear that he turned his art to the work which offset the expenses of his daily keeping. On bidding the dear ones good-bye the cortege set out for Rome. Hitherto the journey from Cæsarea had been by sea; now it was by land and it is no small distance from Naples to Rome.

But at the Forum Appianum they were met by a delegation of the "brethren," from Rome. These were also christians. How came they converted and how happens it that such a fine escort met them so fortunately to conduct them to the gates of the great city? But they had not traveled from this place farther than to a village known as the Three Taverns when they were again met by a third escort. It was from Rome; from the Aventine, and temple of Diana. All these complimentary brotherhoods now joined their numbers and escorted him to Rome to be tried before the emperor. Arrived in Rome, we find that Paul was treated with great courtesy and comparative respect for a political suspect and criminal. We are informed that he was allowed to occupy a house rented by himself and there held meetings undisturbed for a period of two years.³⁹¹

In view of the fact that the monarch on the throne at this time was the blood-thirsty Nero who soon afterwards burst upon these people and almost exterminated them, we cannot understand this leniency, except that there was a strong influence exerted upon him, not so much from the Jews as from the Romans and Greeks. We have some remarkable side evidences on the great influence exerted upon the house of the Cæsars by the freedmen or enfranchised slaves and sometimes even by the slaves themselves. The remarkable unions of the domus Augustalis prove this. It is now known that the columbaria were built by them, for they had powerful unions of their trades organized with the tacit consent of the imperial families and in the case of Tiberius,

³⁹¹ Acts, xviii., 30: Ἐμεινε δὲ ὁ Παῦλος διετηροῦσθαι ἐν ἰδίῳ μισθώματι· καὶ ἀπεδέχετο παιτας τοὺς εἰσπορευομένους πρὸς αὐτὸν, κηρύσσων τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διδάσκων τὰ περὶ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ πάσης παρήρησιαις ἀκολούτως.

enormously assisted by the imperial household.³⁹² Their workshops were the gynæcia, in which the manufacture of all articles of clothing of the imperial family, and all the washing and other laundry work was done. These collegia came under the lex Julia and had the funeral attachment, under which, for centuries they flourished with the consent of the imperial and the opulent families who were in need of their labor.

Occasionally there arose men of great genius of this class. We may point to Narcissus who flourished during the days of Claudius and probably was a well-known character under Tiberius and Caligula. He is mentioned by Paul as a christian.³⁹³ Narcissus was one of the very early christians. He was a Greek slave of the Roman conquests, a man of powerful genius and extraordinary composition. He had the address to ingratiate himself into the confidence of the emperor Claudius. By the consent of this monarch and while his private secretary, he took contracts of the Roman governments to build bridges, public buildings and other government works, and wound up by taking the contract to pierce the tunnel of Fucino,³⁹⁴ not many miles from Rome, to let out the poisonous waters from a lake, as a sanitary measure. Claudius employed Narcissus to do this vast work by contract and during the eleven years he was doing the work, employing thirty thousand workmen out of whose unremitting toil he enlarged his wealth so as to reach the sum of four hundred million sesterces or about thirteen million five hundred thousand dollars, making him one of the richest men in Rome.³⁹⁵ Any one desirous of the truth about this man

³⁹² Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, I., p. 264: "La maison impériale et beaucoup de familles opulentes possédaient des légions d'esclaves et d'affranchis. Tous ces serviteurs d'une même maison formaient un ou plusieurs collèges funéraires, qui se disent adorateurs des lares de leurs maîtres. A Rome, l'un des plus connus est le collegium quod est in domu Sergiæ Paullinæ. CIL., VI., 9148, 9149, 10260-10264."

³⁹³ Narcissus was certainly the quinquennialis of a great household. This means that he was another president, or κύριος of a powerful union of the domus Augustalis. *Romans*, xvi., 11: Greet them that be of the household of Narcissus, which are in the lord. The Greek original does not say "household": Ἀσπασσάθε τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ναρκίσσου, τοὺς ὄντας ἐν κυρίῳ.

³⁹⁴ Suetonius, *Claudius*, 22: "Fucinum aggressus est....per tria autem millia passuum, partim effossa monte, partim exciso, canalem absolvit ægre; et post undecem annos, quamvis continuus trigenta hominum millibus sine intermissione operantibus," etc.

³⁹⁵ Suet., *Claudius*, 28: "Sed ante omnis Narcissum ab epistolis, et Palantem a rationibus, quos decreto quoque senatus non præmiis modo ingentibus, sed et quaestoriis praetorisque ornamentis honorari libens passus est." For a fine short dissertation on Narcissus, see Smith, *Bib. Dict.*, p. 2067.

whose almost unlimited influence with the house of the Augusti, an influence which survived him and caused much of the lenity of Nero towards Paul, will have difficulty in getting down to an extended view. The *Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature* is in doubt about his being the same person Paul mentions in the sixteenth chapter of his epistle to the Romans. But there can be no mistake because the names, general circumstances and dates agree exactly, and we hear of no other Narcissus.³⁹⁶ Thus the indications are that there were not only many influential converts, all of the proletarian class, organized into secret unions and with the consent and assistance of the imperial house, but that many times the first of them exerted their influence to succor them from harm. The case of Narcissus is but a single instance; but it may serve to illustrate the causes of the phenomenal progress of the primitive plant.

But Paul being a secret member and initiate, dared not divulge; and we must not expect him to go into any extended explanations in his mention of those who helped him during his confinement. The "household" which he mentions is the very place called in Asia the *kuriakos*, which is meant in the words "his own hired house." The truth is, Paul went to one of the many households, and lived with the brethren as a two-years' guest. It may have been the very one formerly presided over by the powerful Narcissus. This letter to the Romans from Corinth was written according to Lardner, in the year 58. Many households³⁹⁷ are mentioned more at this early date, than afterwards. There can now no longer exist any doubt but that here is the

³⁹⁶ *Bib. Dict.*, p. 2067: "NARCISSUS, *Νάρκισσος*, *daffodil*; — A dweller at Rome, *Romans*, xvi., 11, some members of whose household were known to St. Paul as christians. Some persons assume the identity of this Narcissus with the secretary of Emperor Claudius: Sueton., *Claudius*, 28; but that wealthy and powerful freedman satisfied the revenge of Agrippina by a miserable death. Tac., *Ann.*, xiii., 1. It was three years before this Epistle of Paul to the Romans was written, A.D. 54-5." But this stands for little since there is great strife as to the date of both the Epistle and the death of Narcissus. On the death of Narcissus, Tac., *Ann.*, xiii., 1: "Ab his procusuli venenum inter epulas datum est apertius quam ut fallerent, nec minus properato Narcissus Claudii libertus, de cuius jurgiis adversus Agrippinam rettuli aspera custodia et necessitate extrema ad mortem agitur...." Under close comparison, the dates agree with Paul's letter.

³⁹⁷ *Romans*, xvi., 11., *Household of Narcissus*; *id.*, xvi., 3, 4, 5, church in house of Priscilla and Aquila; verse 10, household of Aristobulus. These and many other households mentioned continually by Paul and the *Acts*, were the *κυριακαί* where they served the common tables.

kuriakos of the common tables, which is not only explicitly provided for by the law of the Twelve Tables of Rome and the older Solonic Statute from which it was translated, but engrafted into the rules and regulations of the primitive church of Jerusalem by Jesus and followed by Peter, James, John and Stephen, as we have abundantly shown, and in every inscription, especially those of the under-ground Rome brought to light by De Rossi and the epigraphical academies.

It was under the guardian care and protection of the numerous secret old unions which had already been converted, that Paul worked for two years unmolested. He went down into the slummy places of the Gentile colleges and brought them to receive the Word. Peter was also there much of the time. Their work was secret. There are indications that the language mostly used was Greek, although Paul could probably write Latin, else he could not have so easily maintained his acquaintance with Seneca; for we have a fine set of epistles written in Latin which were passed between Paul and Seneca, the celebrated statesman and champion of letters. There are many who believe Seneca died a christian. He certainly was a martyr.

It is impossible to follow the two great apostles consecutively in their career at Rome. No written history is left us even by Luke who is supposed to have written the Acts. It is probable that he actually wrote more, but as his pen-picture is believed to have been accomplished in 63, and as Paul arrived in Rome in 61, he could not have carried it farther. Everything remains in mist, and we must pick up our testimony on the great and wonderful plant from the gravestones of martyrs. Let us then be systematic, doing nothing which science will not approve by its irrefutable stamp of certitude.

Leaving Narcissus and his household, let us turn to a still more diaphonous character, Sergius Paulus, also mentioned by Luke.³⁹⁸ Dr. Lightfoot, convinced by his critical examination, declares that the early christians had no other churches at all than the old temples of the unions. "The christians," said he, "were first rec-

³⁹⁸ Acts, xiii., 7: "Ὅς ἦν σὺν τῷ ἀρχιεπίτῳ Σεργίῳ Παύλῳ, ἀνδρὶ συνετῷ. Οὗτος πρὸς καλεσάμενος Βαρναβαν καὶ Σαῦλον ἐπέζητησεν ἀκοῦσαι τῶν λόγων τοῦ θεοῦ. For more, consult De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, I., p. 209.

cognized³⁹⁹ by the Roman government as collegia." Neander in his history of the planting, speaks in the third book, of this Sergius Paulus, a proconsul of Paphos, who was converted by Paul and Barnabas on the first evangelical journey. This Paulus, he says, had been led astray by Simon Magus, the itinerant Jewish Goës, from Samaria, who was the Barjesus and a "virulent opposer of christianity which threatened to 'deprive him of his domination over the minds of men.'" Some subtle mystery attaches to the history of this man whose name occurs in the thirteenth chapter of the Acts; but it is certain that he afterwards figured at Rome, and being another personage of commanding presence he became a quinquennalis, and thus a responsible manager, as required by the special clause in the law of the Twelve Tables, which the most virulent of the Roman government dared not meddle with.⁴⁰⁰ Sergius Paulus is known so little that had we not the positive evidence of several lettered mausolea, sepulchers, common gravestones and cinerary urns bearing his name in adjective form, we should have only the meagre mention in the Acts of the Apostles. But these have come to unearth his history and give their positive evidence that he was a quinquennalis of great power and influence, like Narcissus, Pudens and Priscilla. He presided over the genuine working people's trade unions and aided in the conversion of the members to a knowledge of the Word.⁴⁰¹ The evidence is too positive to admit of any mistake.

Everything touching the early plant was necessarily veiled in profound mystery, a fact recognized long afterwards by many of the pre-Nicine fathers, after the

³⁹⁹ Lightfoot, *Coloss.*, p. 241, note quoting on the suggestion of Probst, *Kirchliche Disciplin*, p. 182, 1873; *Rom.*, xvi., 14, 15: τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀδελφοὺς, τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς πάντας ἁγίους, κ.τ.λ. And subjoins: "Of the same kind must have been the 'collegium quod est in domu Sergiæ Paulinae,' De Rossi, *Rom. Sott.*, Vol. I., p. 209, stating that the christians were by the Roman government first recognized as trade unions, and as such were protected by reason of the burial attachment.

⁴⁰⁰ Waltz., *Hist. Comp. Prof.*, I., p. 215, note 2, speaking of the collegia domestica, and the collegium Numinis dominorum quod est sup templo divi Claudi, CIL., VI., 10241. Another the collegium domus Augustalis, which we have already mentioned, see *supra*, SECTION Caligula-Claudius, note 310; again, CIL., VI., 9404, 10,251.

⁴⁰¹ Maffeus, *Mus. Ver.*, 256, 4, gives the very remarkable union found in Rome; "Hermeroti Arcario, V. A XXXIIII. Collegum quod est in domu Sergiæ Paulinae fecerunt Agathemur et Chreste Arescon fratri piissimo Bonæ memoriae." In the preceding note of Orellius, 2413 is a remark signifying the editor's classification of several *verses*, here grouped as collegia compatilicia. If this be true, the one we quote is a genuine labor union.

conquest of liberty was achieved.⁴⁰² M. Granier de Cassagnac whose well-based opinions we have frequently brought under contribution in this work, recognizes that the early christian plant was in the trade unions, in some significant words.⁴⁰³ But it must here be taken into consideration that at this date of the early dawn when Sergius Paulus gave up his high commission as pro-consul of Paphros and went back into the slummy colleges of the working people reeking with filth and in "garlic and gabardines," a convert to the Word, at a time when such wretched creatures were not believed to possess a soul, and that their touch was a stain to persons of any position; we say it is natural that de Cassagnac should use this as an argument to prove how men outgrew their humility.⁴⁰⁴ It was especially in sinks, inhabited for centuries by these people who had no laws to protect them, that women were subjected to insult and abuse; for licentiousness went hand in hand with starvation, nakedness and cruelty.⁴⁰⁵ We are reminded in a passage of the eminent scholar, Levasseur, of the words of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, which is a bold assertion, that a stigma attached to labor, both mercantile and mechanical, so pungent that it was forbidden the Roman citizen to exist that way. In other words, labor was a forbidden crime.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰² Chrysostom, *Works*, Vol., VIII., p. 426: "Christiani in mysteriis se mutuo amplectebantur."

⁴⁰³ *Hist. Classes Ouv.*, p. 335: Ou peut dire que le corps des bateliers etc. était dans l'empire ce qu'il a été l'ordre de Saint Benoît dans la chrétienté:" and quotes the *Code*, Theod., xiv., tit. iii., leg. 4, as follows: "Optio concessa est his qui e pistoribus facti sunt senatores;" also the law of Valentinian and Valens of the year 371, and another of Gratian, of the year 379. It had an elevating tendency; but at this late date it must be considered as a christian regulation, *Cod.*, Theod., XIII., tit. v., legg. 14, 15.

⁴⁰⁴ Homer, *Iliad*, II., v., 201-2:

... Σὺ δ' ἀπόλεμος καὶ ἀναλκίς,
οὔτε ποτ' ἐν πολέμῳ ἐναρίθμιος, οὔτ' ἐνὶ βουλῇ;

But the modern Levasseur and Cagnat tell us that it was the unions which elevated these people from their misery. Cagnat, *Vie Contemporaine*, Jan. 1896. p. 170: "Le commerçant et l'ouvrier étaient, chez les Romains, assez méprisés; unis ils grandissaient à leurs yeux." He further states that they were honorable and existed: "Daus toute l'étendue de l'empire;" and declares that the christian unions described by Tertullian were one and the same with these.

⁴⁰⁵ Seneca, *Contron.*, iv., Praef., speaking of the saying of Materius: "Impudicia in ingenuo crimen est, in servo necessitas, in liberto officium"

⁴⁰⁶ Dionys. Hal., *Archaeol.*, ix., 25: "Οὐδενὶ ἐξῆν Ῥωμαίων οὔτε κάπηλον, οὔτε χειροτεχνὴν ἔχειν βίον." so Euripides in *Phœniss.*, V., 408: "Πένης γὰρ οὐδὲν εὐγενὴς ἀνὴρ." No laborer is a well-born man. See O. T. *Apocryph.*, *Ecclesiasticus*, chap. xxxviii., 23; *Cod. Just.*, iv., tit. lxiii., leg. 3: "Nobiliores natalibus, et honorum luce conspicuos, et patrimonio ditiores, perniciosum urbis mercionium exercere prohibemus, ut inter plebeios et negotiatores fecilius sit emendi vendendique commercium."

Returning to the kind of collegia to which this of Sergius Paulus belonged, we have the decision of the scholars that the words and surroundings of the inscription show it to be an old collegium compatilicium, one of the lowest and meanest designated by Cicero as the brand of unions, dangerous, made up of the dregs of the city and infested by thieves.⁴⁰⁷ The truth is that this Cicero, boasted in our colleges as the great founder of Latin literature, was the arrant enemy of the poor, and in fighting them in the interest of his buccaneer class who lived on the robber baron idea of "something for nothing," he at last lost his contemptible life by the violent opposition of these very unions he so virulently attempted to destroy. The kind-hearted Dr. Levasseur, in his history of the ancient workers declares that after the conquests under the Roman law and during the time covered by the conspiracy laws of Cicero and Julius Cæsar, the working people were veritable serfs of the shops.⁴⁰⁸

Such was the wretched condition of things at the time Sergius Paulus left his high appointments in Paphos, island of Cyprus, a convert to christianity and the despised but correct socialism of the poor and went back to Rome a lord of many unions, a kurios, which was to him, a greater honor and a more lasting glory than to be a hypocritical creature of officialism. Dr. Lightfoot, speaking of the proselyte Theophilus, who was converted in a similar manner and also went to Rome, makes his astonishing admission that: "The christians were first recognized by the Roman government as collegia," and thinks they were originally burial societies. This is true; for most of the old unions possessed the burial attachment, and thus in a manner, secured their legalization.⁴⁰⁹ But Dr. Lightfoot con-

⁴⁰⁷ Mommsen, *De Coll. et Sodal. Rom.*, p. 59: "Ita Cicero, *Pro Mil.*, 9, 22, de Ambitu Clodii sequestris consulum qui erant futuri 'Collinam novam delectu perditissimorum hominum conscribebat.'" Here Cicero is speaking of the Collegium opificum. Again, same page: "Collegia enim a Clodio ex fæce urbana constituta sunt ut assecclas fideles et validam latronum manum sibi compararet, si fides Ciceroni." This remark of Mommsen is preceded in the same paragraph thus: "Collegia triburia a compatilicis quæ Clodius restituit," thus certifying that it was the compatilicia to which colleges Sergius Paulus attached himself.

⁴⁰⁸ Levass., *Hist. Cl. Ouv.*, Tom. I., p. 39: "Veritable serfs de l'atelier, ces ouvriers ne pouvaient se soustraire à leur misérable condition. On les marquait au bras avec un fer rouge." *Cod. Theod.*, lib. X., tit. xxii., leg. 4.

⁴⁰⁹ Clem., *Recog.*, x., 71: "Theophilus... domus suæ ingentem Basilicam ecclesiæ nomine consecraret." Lightfoot seems to regard the cases of Theophilus and of Sergius Paulus as similar.

tinues his statement, citing De Rossi's Under-ground Rome, in the following significant words: "Of the same kind must have been the collegium quod est in domu Sergiæ Paullinæ, for the christians were first recognized by the Roman government as collegia, or burial societies or clubs and protected by this recognition, held their meetings for religious worship within the limits of the Roman empire."

Nothing can be clearer than that Sergius Paulus, whatever his office under the Roman government might have been before his conversion, went down among the common people and abode with them, and was crowned for his business gifts, a kurios or manager of a powerful union operating an industry under the *lex Julia*.

We say there is left us no historical statement showing the doings of Paul while imprisoned at Rome, and that our information is confined to inscriptional evidence. One of the most remarkable under this class is Pudens—a strange history of the plant into the densely secret unions, which has never before risen to the surface.

Our next historical character then, will be Pudens. Through him, we can illustrate, not only that the early christians used the old economic unions as ready-made seed-beds with their mellow soil to plant and cultivate an undying socialism in, but we find him an excellent fulcrum over which to pry up from deep obscurity the strange mysticism of the "house of the lord." We have already seen with what frequency this expression occurs in the New Testament, with its variants such as "household," and "church that is in his house," and the frequency of its repetitions, in the pre-christian as well as the post-christian inscriptions.

We have seen that this house was the aged kuriakos which Webster and all the lexicographers declare to be the original for "church." Before the Advent the word was of common occurrence in thousands of guilds and unions of labor, and when the Word of the teachings on which our era is based, was set upon by the enemy of proletarian mankind and its life threatened, it crept into the good old kuriakos, the house of the lord, or church, was greedily taken in, nurtured in secret, screened for centuries, fostered under the communal code, blessed

with the beaming smiles of love and goodness and family honor, and made to grow in sympathy, humility, enlightenment, until it could live and develop in peace.

Now let us analyze this ancient house in which the christians found rest in socialism. In doing this we first run squarely against a clause in the Solonic law as it was engraved into one of the Twelve Tables of Rome after first being translated from the more ancient slab that stood in the old Prytaneum of Athens: *kurion einai*. Nobody until now has been able to tell just what this meant. The solution remained for the epigraphists themselves. This term *kuriakos* is in reality two words. *Kurios* was in Greek a common term, meaning master, manager, lord, overseer, in fact a person in charge of an affair. It meant one responsible for the business in hand; one to whom the police or the officers of the law could always refer, as a responsible unit of many; and this he always was. Therefore, speaking figuratively, the responsible individual, the father, president or lord, acted by authority of the union or unions he managed, in all cases where authority was required. This was the *kurios*. He it was, not the union, who took contracts from the governments to build roads, canals, perform the public works, do the managing in the household of the Cæsars, furnish music for the royal entertainments and even feed the cities. The members did the work.⁴¹⁰ Here is the key to Solon's trade unionism.

The second half of the word, *akos* or *oikos* is in Greek a house. It stood for a residence, a mansion or a temple. When ruled over by the *kurios* the two words compounded became the *kuriakos* or *kurioikos*, a house of the lord; and this arrangement was compulsory under the law which we repeat below, in a note in full, or all that is left of the law.⁴¹¹ This term was transferred from Greece and Asia Minor to Italy and appears in

⁴¹⁰ Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, I., p. 185: "Selon Choisy, les collègues se réunissaient en groupes qui entreprenaient des travaux sous la conduite et la responsabilité pécuniaire d'un ouvrier plus habile ou plus riche; celui-ci traitait avec les magistrats et jouait le rôle d'entrepreneur."

⁴¹¹ *Ingest*, XLVII., xxii., 4: "We here repeat only the passage over which so much haggling has occurred: "Εάν δε δήμος, ἢ φράτορες, ἢ ἱερῶν ὄργανοι, ἢ ταῦτα, ἢ σύνιστοι, ἢ ὁμόταφοι, ἢ θιασῶται, ἢ ἐπὶ λίαν οἰχόμενοι, ἢ εἰς ἐμπορίαν, ὅ τι ἂν τούτων διαδῶνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους, κύριον εἶναι, εἰάν μη απαγορευθῆ δημοσία γράμματα." *Kýrion*, appointed, or as substantive the appointed, i.e.: *kýrion eînai* must be understood in phrase form, and to signify that any and all the unions of fellowship doing for one-another are to have some *kýrios* or lord of household whom the law, which is protected by another clause, may hold responsible."

great numbers of inscriptions modified into cyriacus, quericus, hyracius and several other terms all of which according to Ramsay, are known as christian signs.⁴¹² Thus under the law, every plebeian union or guild was obliged to have a responsible master or lord who stood for all the members and their actions. But he himself was responsible to the members of the union for everything he did. We have already seen in our chapter on crowning, how the unions often exalted and garlanded their brilliant men. There is evidence to prove that Tychicus, Narcissus, Pudens and nearly all the principal men mentioned so obliquely and almost mysteriously in the New Testament were none other than these garlanded and crowned lords.

Pudens, an Englishman, is mentioned by Paul in the New Testament. This fixes the date in which he flourished, to which we shall soon recur. But the happy discovery of a tablet in Britain or ancient England, showing that he was an Englishman and that he organized a trade union of carpenters at Glastonbury is one of the very important things we have been able to discover in our research for evidence on these revelations proving that the christians planted in the economic labor unions, among the ancient lowly. After nineteen centuries we now appear able to develop the scientific evidence that Pudens is a true historical character flourishing under Claudius and Nero. He appears at home, being sent back to England by Claudius, and there, at Glastonbury, to have organized the carpenters' union or guild which built the once great temple or cathedral whose ruins are a wonder of the modern world.⁴¹³ We now come to the strange find of a "Neptuno et Minervæ

⁴¹² Ramsay, *Cit. Bish. Phryg.*, II., p. 493. This researcher like M. Le Blant, has worked out the christian signs such as were used and understood by the members in secret, but were incomprehensible to the outside world. See pp. 491-496, and 502, with *inserts.*, and full explanations.

⁴¹³ Smith, *Bib. Dict.*, p. 2638-9: "Pudens, Πουδης, a christian, friend of Timothy at Rome. St. Paul, writing about A.D. 58, says: "Eubulus greeteth thee, and Pudens and Linus and Claudia." *II Timothy*, iv., 21. He should have finished the verse, viz: "and all the brethren," for it is remarkable that this Pudens had to do with a collegium or guild of carpenters, in Britain, and undoubtedly another at Rome. Again, Smith, *id.*, 2d column, p. 2638, quotes: (see our note 385) "A Latin inscription found in 1723, at Chichester, connects a Pudens with Britain and with the Claudian name. It commemorates the erection of a temple by a guild of carpenters with the sanction of King Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, the site being the gift of Pudens, the son of Pudentinus. Cogidubnus was a native king appointed and supported by Rome (*Tac., Agric.*, 14). He reigned with delegated power probably from A.D. 52 to 76."

Templum." This temple at Glastonbury was probably constructed by the members of the above union for the benefit of which, according to the inscription recently found at Glastonbury in Chichester, England, Pudens contributed a lot of land.⁴¹⁴ This is proved to be the same Pudens who is mentioned by Paul; and the analysis summed up fixes the inscription at about A.D. 52 to 76.⁴¹⁵ In this we have another charming and genuine inscription showing that the christians planted into the economic labor unions known at that time to have been not only numerous but to have generally possessed the burial attachment, thus securing them against the conspiracy clauses of the *lex Julia*. The great weight which this adds to our argument is augmented by the numerous mentions of Pudens, his wife Claudia and Linus, all the household and all his personal acquaintances.⁴¹⁶ Pudens must have made the acquaintance of Claudia in Britain, for the episode of Martial's acquaintance with them was not long before the conflagration and the execution of Paul, about A.D. 64, whereas the contribution of Pudens in favor of building for the carpenters of Chichester in England a *kuriakos* of the collegium to be dedicated to Minerva, goddess of the technical arts, was in 57.⁴¹⁷ The *Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature*,

⁴¹⁴ Smith, *Bib. Dict.*, p. 2638 and note, quoting the inscription as follows: "Neptuno et Minervae templum pro salute domus divinae, auctoritate Tiberii Claudii Cogidubni regis, legati Augusti in Brit., Collegium fabrorum et qui in eo a sacris sunt de suo dedicaverunt. donanti aream Pudenti. Pudentini filio."

⁴¹⁵ *Timothy*, iv., 21: "Ἀσπάξεται σε Εὐβουλος καὶ Πουδῆς καὶ Λίνος καὶ Κλαυδία καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πάντες."

⁴¹⁶ Martial, *Epig.*, iv., 13; again, in I., 32; iv., 29; v., 48; vi., 58; vii., 11, 97. Martial connects the household with Pudens, Claudia and Linus, in viii., 60, and ix., 53; and he knew them personally while they were at Rome. It is the same Claudia mentioned by Paul, *I Timothy*, iv., 21, in connection with the three men. Martial's Claudia was a beautiful woman altogether too young for the "flourishing family." This makes it now evident that she was a deaconess, and her husband, Pudens, was a *kurios*, or president of the *kuriakos* or *κυριοκός*, sometimes also written *κυριακή*, making Pudens a lord of the house now proved by abundant pre-Christian inscriptions to be the *θίασος*, *ἐρανος*, or *ἐταερα*, according to the usage of the province where they are found.

⁴¹⁷ Tac., *Annal.*, XII., 32: "Ceterum clade Icenorum compositi qui bellum inter et pacem dubitabant; et ductus inde Cangos exercitus. vastati agri, praedae passim actae, non ansis aciem hostibus, vel si ex occulto carere agmen temptarent, punito dolo. iamque ventum hand procul mari quod Hiberniam insulam aspectat, cum ortae apud Brigantas discordiae retraxere ducem, destinationis certum, ne nova moliretur nisi prioribus firmatis. et Brigantes quidem, paucis qui arma cooptabant interfectis, in reliquos data venia, resedere; Silurum gens non atrocitate, non clementia mutabatur, quin bellum exerceret castrisque legionem premenda foret. in quo promptius veniret, colonia Camulodunum valida veterum manu deducitur in agros captivos, subsidium adversus rebelles et inveniendis sociis ad officia legum." The Silurus mentioned is that of the Chichester region.

speaking of Claudia says, she was a female christian mentioned by Paul in his letter to Timothy and that there is reason for supposing that she was a British maiden, daughter of King Cogidubnus an ally of Rome. It is the general opinion that Pudens soon became a senator at Rome which is a mistake; also that Claudia, whom he married, was of noble stock, which is likewise a mistake.⁴¹⁸ The facts turn out that this Pudens, like Narcissus, was a favorite with the emperor at Rome, being a shrewd and successful business manager. He was some great lord of a college household working secretly for the unions of carpenters at Rome and abroad. All the inscriptions show that he was a freedman; for his ashes are registered in a cinerary urn of the columbarium on the Appian Way, which shows him to have been of plebeian birth.⁴¹⁹

This opens to our new discovery, which is being verified by a mass of newly dug up inscriptions, that almost all the persons engaged in that early movement were of lowly-born stock. Claudia's very name as given in the Chichester inscription shows her to have been, though a daughter, yet a daughter of a king by a slave mother. Martial referring in his poems, to the christians, though he does not quite mention the name, calls Claudia Rufina, showing that she was a freedwoman of the gens Rufus; and the indications are that the pair were both of freedman stock. Pudens is commemorated in the Byzantine church on April 14, and in the Roman church May 19. Hippolytus, who wrote out the names of the disciples with a short account of each, declares Pudens to have been one of the seventy disciples. We find the "collegia Pudentiana, whose house, in the valley between the Viminal Hill and the Esquiline, served during his life-time for the assembly of the Roman christians and afterwards gave place to a church now

⁴¹⁸ Tac., *Agric.*, 14: "Quaedam civitates Cogidubno regi donatae (is ad nostram usque memoriam fidiissimus mansit), ut viteri ac jam pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges."

⁴¹⁹ Smith, *Bib. Dict.*, p. 2638ⁿⁱ, Art. *Pudens*, says: "Modern researches among the columbaria at Rome, appropriated to members of the imperial household, have brought to light an inscription in which the name of Pudens occurs, as that of the servant of Tiberius or Claudius." *Journ. of Classical and Sacred Philolog.*, IV., 76; Orell., 1184 and 5024, shows the Pudens inscription as follows: "Nardu poeta Pudens hoc tegitur tumulo;" Gruter, 1118. 6; Lupulus, p. 17. Orelli's 5024 reads: "Ad nostrum n. 1184: 'Nardu poeta Pudens hoc tegitur tumulo.' vide Osann, in *Jahrbücher*, VIII., i., p. 65 refert Martialis, lib. 4, *Epist.* 13; 'Claudia Rufe meo nubit peregrina Pudenti.' Tum., *Ibid.*, 9, 2, p. 232: 'L. Valerium L. F. Pudentem,' Gauteri, 332, 3."

known as that of S. Pudentiana, a short distance back of the Basilica of St. Maria Maggiore." The same authority informs us that early writers declare that there was but one Pudens.⁴²⁰

We next come to the collateral evidence of Lingard. "We are told," he says, "that history has preserved the names of two British females, Claudia and Pomponia Græcina, both of them christians, and both living in the first century of our era."⁴²¹ The Scripture informs us that Claudia, the wife of Pudens at Rome, was a christian." On the second page he says, "she was a Briton, and it must be acknowledged that the coincidence is striking and the inference probable." We may safely sum up the evidence of Martial in a few words. He comes to the front at an early date having arrived from Spain somewhere between A.D. 60 and 66, and writes about the christian community at Rome, telling us of Linus, Pudens, Claudia and her household, speaking of them as his friends. If he was admitted to their common table he must have himself been a member. He proves that they were not people of high rank but descendents of slaves. Again, the scurrility of his writings is nothing against this argument; for all the original unions planted into were at that time low and many of them even lewd, just like Martial himself. It was later that the improvements came. Paul had a severe time trying to clean out the vagabondage and the obscenities which existed in the early plant, especially at Corinth. This we have already shown.

But much that has been said regarding Pudens, Narcissus and Claudia might be repeated of Eubulus, Crescens, Titus, Onesiphorus, Linus and many others. The economic functions of their lives are veiled in mystery. What they did, their history could not set forth for two reasons: they were initiates and their secret life-work could not be divulged; and if they had divulged they would have been subjected to persecution. The old members were often adroitly worked over from members of a secret collegium or eranos, and sometimes re-initiated among the christians. Dionysius relates, in

⁴²⁰ Smith, *Bib. Dict.*, p. 2638-9.

⁴²¹ Lingard, *Hist. Anglo-Saxon Church*, 141, 145, referring to *II Tim.* iv., 21, strengthened by Martial's *Epigrammatica*, iv., 13, vi., 53: Claudia, Rufe-
neo nubit pregrina Pudenti, Claudia cæruleis cum sit Rufina Britannis Ed-
ita."

one of the fragments of his lost epistles, to one of the brethren of his episcopate, the procedure by which he made the change. He was in a *thiasos*, apparently of the collegium frumentariorum, one of the grain provisioners' legalized unions. "He had been a partaker in the assembly of the faithful: Throwing himself at my feet he began to confess and protest that his former formula of baptism by which he had been initiated into the non-christian congregation was not of the right kind, being full of blasphemy and impurity. He had been initiated by wicked words and deeds. He was so afraid of divulging that he dared not look up or speak distinctly." Dionysius worked him over by slow gradations. It is a clear case among thousands, of conversion after first being initiated into a collegium. Other similar cases are given by Eusebius.⁴²²

Thus we find by closely scanning the life and career of Pudens that Paul in mentioning him was treating a historical character. But his name occurs yet more, as history; for recent scientific labors have disclosed his sarcophagus and inscriptions which mark it. Pudens sleeps in the necropolis of Priscilla, in one of the deep under-ground vaults in the Via Salaria Nova. Gorius, about the year 1728, mentioned some traces of Pudens as though his ashes were inscribed in the suburban museum of Strozius;⁴²³ but further knowledge lay in darkness until De Rossi and his coadjutors carried their investigations to an ultimate conclusion.⁴²⁴ They have found Pudens in the same cemetery with Priscilla whose resting place has already become celebrated, and it appears that the ashes of Rufa, likewise mentioned by Martial, and those of Novella, are there. De Rossi⁴²⁵

⁴²² Dionys, *Frag. Epist.*, ix., x.; for other such tell-tale information, see Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, VI., 40; VII., 11. The *Epist. of Dionys.*, x., *agl. German.*, reveals a similar case.

⁴²³ *Mon. sive Columb.*, text, p. 105.

⁴²⁴ De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, I., p. 188: "Vengo al cimitero di Priscilla sulla Via Salaria nuova. Molto dovrei dire intorno a questo cimitero; ma poiche io qui attendo alla somma possibile brevità, rimetto per ora il lettore a quel poco, che mi ho scritto nel dichiarare le imagine scelte della B. Vergine Maria tratta delle catacombe romane p. 15-19. Ivi ho ripilogato aliquanti degli argomenti dimonstranti la somma antichità della regione di quel cimitero, nel cui centro è la così detta cappella greca; regione, che ho dichiarato essere la primitiva ed originaria, quella ov' ebbero sepoltrai prima Pudenti ed i martiri insigni, onde tanta rinomanza venne alla necropoli di Priscilla."

⁴²⁵ *Idem.*, p. 171: "'Incerto anche rimasi sul' acclamazione 'NAVIGI VIVAS IN CHRISTO.'" (this last word being the well-known sign) And continues: "che se legge nella così detta cappella greca del cimitero di Priscilla, la quale mi pareva senza dubbio un'istorica cripta."

lays stress upon these being all, without doubt historical and of earliest christian antiquity.

The emperor Nero, who reigned A.D. 54 to 69, was at first well disposed toward the Roman collegia. Tiberius had been kind to them and certainly furthered the planting of christianity among them by lending his powerful assistance in giving the members work. The method of doing this was that of Augustus and Livia, who had founded the celebrated *Domus Augustalis* for their protection. We have seen in the first volume of this work that the Roman trade unions, unlike these of to-day, were genuine voting organizations of labor. They carried out the theory of the socialist trade and labor alliance. They were possessed of their ballots which they used enormously in the municipalities, as shown by the recent discoveries at Pompeii, at Rome and in Asia, not only in electing their own choice of ediles, *agoranomoi* or commissioners of public works, but even the powerful tribunes, who constituted the house of representatives, and in the making of the laws stood next to the senate. We have also seen that but a few years before the mild reign of Augustus began, Cicero, Cæsar, Clodius, Mark Antony and many other historical characters were having fearful and indeed bloody times with these trade unions, because they would not be suppressed, but grew in political power to the ineffable disgust of the great and august senators who had long denied that working people had either rights or souls. What these trade unions wanted was an opportunity to labor for a living. Centuries before, and all through the Roman conquests, they had been working on an enormous scale for the government in doing the national work. They did it direct without the skinning contractor. The conquests had ruined these good old days of their prosperity and happiness by creating millions of competing slaves of war, whom the grasping generals, like Crassus, had brought to Rome. These men, formerly freedmen largely organized into unions under the old law, now slaves of war, stocked the labor market. Their owners were eager to find remunerative work for them, and jobbed them out for a small sum per day to do work, not only for the ordinary people but also for the government. This com-

petition threatened the bread-winning hopes of the multitudinous trade unions, old and fully established, under the Solonic law.

Terrible strifes were the result. Cicero espoused the cause of the aristocrats who had imported the competing slave labor, and Clodius took sides with labor.

They all lost their lives in these fearful contests. We regard them as the most momentous days in history. When Augustus assumed the reins of government he saw the necessity of conciliatory measures which would appease the contending forces. He invented the *domus Augustalis*. The scheme and plan of the *domus Augustalis* was to favor the *collegia* or trade unions. In it was the *gynæcium*, a sort of manufacturing, cleansing and repairing business. Those doing this labor were doing government work, for what was the emperor and his imperial family but the government? Thousands upon thousands of freedmen and women were thus mustered in and given employment.

Meantime, the violent seizure of slaves of war had ceased. No more were brought into the great city. Those who had already been dragged thither sought to join the *collegia* and obtain some crumbs of comfort by blending with the great masses of labor organizations at Rome. This explains the otherwise unaccountable condition of things at Rome just at the moment when Paul and Peter were propagating the new Word of hope and promise. Contrary to general opinion, the *domus Augustalis* or household of the Cæsars was a vast concern. There were constantly many thousands kept at work of some kind. They had departments, with a variety of shops. A regularly organized college or union worked each trade. The shoemakers had their place; the clothing-makers for the imperial family were very numerous. They ostensibly did only the work of the imperial family, but in reality, for hundreds of wealthy families, in touch with the nobility, either by blood, or friendship all over the city, making the work enormous. The same is to be said of all the other branches of labor.

Claudius, as we have seen in the case of the freedman Narcissus, had utilized this establishment of the *domus Augustalis*, and we have no evidence that he ever antagonized it. What he did was to drive and persecute and

banish the christians whom he naturally treated as Jews; for these had planted into and nearly captured all of the trade unions obtaining and enjoying government employ as *collegia* in the *domus Augustalis*. This is what maddened Claudius and Nero. The old unions still smarting under the insulting laws of Caesar and Cicero, who might be denominated the Pinkerton advocates of their hated and abusive masters, could not be suppressed. They sank into a sullen secrecy. They met in their wretched abodes and discussed their economic future. Their general desire was very similar to that of the christians already appearing at Rome from Jerusalem. The slaves of conquest were also of their opinion. They all wanted freedom. They were unanimous that as they were the creators of all good things, they ought to be awarded their share. The spies of Claudius and Nero were lurking in their unions to hear and report their language.

Claudius, in this manner discovered that the bold doctrines of a certain contemptible carpenter who had been crucified at Jerusalem, and consequently a Jew, was to a large extent the cause of the dangerous dissatisfaction becoming widespread. This caused him to issue the edict of expulsion of the Jews. It was an edict of expulsion of the christians as well. We have already remembered it.

Let this suffice for Claudius. We now come to Nero and his burning of Rome. Ebionism, nazarenism and christianity had allied themselves with the unions of the Solonic dispensation to permanently rid the world of the pest of the money-power and kingcraft. The fight was on Nero, who boasted of an ancient greatness in a family of the gens Claudia, and held a very short-sighted opinion that he represented a glorious, eternal dynasty. Luke, on the other hand, a socialist, was at that very moment writing a history of the Acts. The reverse of that tyrant: "He was an exalted democrat and ebionite, thoroughly opposed to property, and persuaded that the day of the poor is at hand."⁴²⁶ What else could be expected than a clash? This Caesar, the most profligate, virulent, bloodthirsty and destructive of all known monarch brigands, against a meek and lowly guild of carpenters!

⁴²⁶ Renan, *Life of Jesus*, Introduc., p. 36.

There were at Rome two or three great temples of the female divinities who, for centuries, were supposed to have been protecting or tutelary goddesses of the various trades and arts. These great divinities were Minerva, goddess of spinning, weaving⁴²⁷ and the manufacture of woolen textile goods. Minerva was the great protecting friend of labor and of the laboring people. She was the goddess to whom the union of carpenters at Glastonbury, near London, in A.D. 4, had dedicated their wonderful christian temple for which Paul's friend Pudens, had contributed an area of land. She was also under the Greek appellative of Athena, the principal tutelary divinity for the great Gemeinde next to Dionysus, the forerunner, great and venerated "protector of man." In fact, they merged together.

After Minerva, came Diana the renowned Artemis of the Greeks and sister of Apollo, god of the red dyers, of flaming beauties, of bows, arrows, hunting equipments and of archery. She is the goddess of the hunters, and in those days of the gladiatorial combats, the chase was no small affair, for the unions of hunters had to be international. To carry on the great work of furnishing live animals for the amphitheatres it was necessary to have powerful men constantly on watch in many a remote jungle risking their lives with thongs, snares, nets and lassoes, wherewith to seize and convey uninjured to Rome the savagest wild beasts of forest, river and sea. We have already mentioned some of the inscriptions portraying the hunters.⁴²⁸ They were always organized in powerful unions with Diana as their protecting divinity.

Again, there was the temple of Isis. She was the same for Egypt as Demeter was for the Greeks, or Ceres for the Romans. In the ancient superstition she was the wife of Osiris the great Egyptian martyr god, and closely related to Anubis,⁴²⁹ the dog-headed god of the hunting. Such was the inconsistency of the ancient

⁴²⁷ And., *Lat. Dict.*, in verb. MINERVA; "Goddess of wisdom, sense, reflection, arts and sciences, poetry, spinning and weaving." She is the same for Rome as the Pallas Athena was for Greece. During these times in question she was a protectrice of the woolen manufacture: Virgil, *Æneid*, VIII., 409: "Tolerare colo vitam tennique Minerva."

⁴²⁸ For much on the inscs. of Hunters under the Solonic dispensation, see *index* to each volume of this work, using proper catchwords.

⁴²⁹ Vide *supra*, pp. 488 sq. Story of Josephus regarding a scandal on her account.

theogony that a veritable jumble existed in the minds of men regarding their divinities. But the lower mysteries brought to the producers and distributors of all labor products a far more consistent promise in setting particular functions as the task of particular divinities, according to the place and language. Thus Isis, Demeter, Ceres and Cybele were believed to protect the fruit of the land and were consequently chosen by the unions of farmers, grain grinders, furnishers of hemp, flax and producers of vegetable raw stock, and likewise all products of manufacture; while Anubis, Diana and Artemis took care of the unions of hunters, fishermen and even of the mollusks from the inks of which the red, purple and other dyes were made.

Peter was probably a member of a union; and if so, then, following the ancient superstition, he would have been before conversion, on bended knees to Artemis. Nor is there anything surprising in this. Several suggestive inscriptions have been recently discovered about the Sea of Galilee, of fishermen's unions. The monuments are known to be very ancient. There were certainly a good many fishermen's societies in the north part of Palestine. A few miles farther north in Syria, there were many unions both of fishers and hunters, and their careful mention has been paid attention to.⁴³⁰ Renan assures us that most if not all of the immediate companions of Jesus were closely and secretly organized.⁴³¹

Vast numbers of the poor fellows, splendidly organized, had placed their faith in these tutelary divinities at Rome, firmly believing that their favorite gods and goddesses would come to rescue them from their miserable condition. But they came not. About the time of Nero they were in a wretched and worse sunken condition than ever before. The great scheme of the Pagan religion had proved a dismal failure. God and goddess had neglected them. The crypts of the temples of Isis, Diana, and Minerva could be used by them as places of refuge, but these beloved deities themselves never came. They were, at the time of Christ's advent very despondent. The awful conquests had rolled by without an offer of a helping hand. They were ready to shake off

⁴³⁰ See *index*, in words, *Hunters, Fishermen*, etc.

⁴³¹ Renan, *Life of Jesus*.

the deception which for lucre the priests of the old theology had from immemorial time imposed upon them. When Jesus came and really, practically, fleshly, humbly as one of them, mounted the cross and died before their eyes for them, they wheeled as by a stroke of magnetism and grasped hold of his plan of salvation, the Word of promise.

But what made their conviction more ready and pronounced, a conviction based upon the failure of their gods to protect them in desperate troubles and danger, was undoubtedly the terrible crucifixion within their memory and before their eyes of the fated four-hundred slaves. This horrible judicial massacre, which we have fully related,⁴²² was perpetrated near Rome, about the first year of Paul's sojourn there, A.D. 61. A lord of the patricians, probably on account of some cruel treatment of the slaves of his household, had been killed by one of them who could not sink his manhood so low as to bear the outrage. Tacitus alleges that he was refused permission to buy himself free. The dire and relentless vengeance of law which the senate seized upon was consummated and the adorable honor of a member of a gens family, vindicated and avenged by this judicial crucifixion of the one perpetrator of the deed and of all the other servants of the murdered prefect's "family," three hundred and ninety-nine in number.

During the conquests the grasping army officers had dragged thousands of families in Greece, Asia Minor, Epirus and Macedonia to Rome, to be the menials of drunken, arrogant lords of the Roman world. The three hundred and ninety-nine were paraded in chains before the public, all other slaves forced to behold, and mercilessly crucified.

Such was the hideous condition of things at Rome at the time Paul arrived. So great was the danger that he had to be cautious. He is known to have preached in secret and to have converted thousands. The spread of the new doctrine excited attention. Nero had his spies. They were everywhere. Under pretense of true penitence, they secretly joined the new christian brotherhoods, overheard what was going on and went back to their royal master with the news. But the curious fact remains to be told that the christians had their

⁴²² See *supra*, in chap. vii., *Rage and Havoc*, pp. 124-125.

headquarters in the temples of Minerva, Isis and Diana. This was especially true of Diana on the Aventine Hill. Her great edifice was the resort of thousands of trade unionists all over Rome. The city, long before Nero came to power, was being rapidly converted to the christian faith. These converts were not from the ranks of the revengeful rich, but from the lowly slave classes, great numbers of whom inhabited the abodes contiguous to Diana's temple, and they had free access to it.

Nero, through his spies, saw the growth of the new culture and had the penetration to understand that it meant the overthrow of a long-time theogony of his ancestral god-head. With christianity there would exist no longer a competitory survival of the fittest, a bully, a brute. Her mild powers of reason and brotherly love had no province in Nero's brain. He craved only for vengeance and destruction. He was a profligate.⁴³³ History refuses to give us the bottom truths regarding the incentives which urged this ferocious creature whom a false system had clothed with power. These fundamental causes lurked in an unspeakable hatred by the aristocracy against the poor and laboring element. Their particular offense under Nero was the same with that which caused his predecessors, Caligula and Claudius, to persecute and drive from Rome the christians on the anti-Semitic plea that they were Jews. But they had begun to dig and cover themselves in the pre-mortuary graves of under-ground Rome, where even the spies and police and emissaries of the prætorian guard dared not enter. They had availed themselves of the burial clause of the Julian law and though alive and eating at the common table in the deep-sunk cells of their scholæ, embracing each other with their ineffable love and sympathy, they were chanting the same hymns⁴³⁴ they bor-

⁴³³ Gran. de Cass., *Hist. Class. Ouv.*, p. 368: "Voulait il voir une bataille navale, il faisait creuser un lac assez vaste et assez profond pour y faire manœuvrer deux flottes." Suet., *Nero*, xi.: "Exhibuit et naumachiam marina aqua, innantibus belluis." Again, *id.*: "Toujours vêtu de soie et d' étoffes d' Orient, il ne portait jamais deux fois le même habit, Suet., *Nero*, xxii.

⁴³⁴ See *supra*, in chap. *Music*. The hope of the future is that other and more complete inscriptions may yet be discovered revealing the airs. As we have suggested, there may be in store for us astonishing disclosures of tunes containing scraps of our own melodies, sung and chanted by those poor, weeping workers, sequestered among the catacombs too deep for the torch of Nero. It was the thousands of poor fellows above ground whom he burned alive. There was a vast humanity below who were to survive.

rowed from the musical artists of Dionysus and perhaps many of the identical tunes we hear at our camp meetings and jubilees to-day. Accompanying these sunless symposiums was the hope, almost denied by Plato, half accorded by Homer, doubted by Socrates,⁴³⁵ reasoned into oblivion by Lucretius, reprobated in furious contempt by Nero, but promised with a brilliancy that dazzled their minds in a coma of exuberance by their own beloved, meek, messianic Jesus, that they all had souls and were men and women—no longer dogs and beasts of the field, forest and swamp. Neither Diana, Isis nor Minerva really guaranteed them immortality. The mysteries of a classic eleusinium could promise the wealthy aristocrat life on the other side; but we have little, if any assurance that by initiation into the lesser mysteries there was really promised a life beyond. The general purport of the inscriptions is dark on this great point; but when an inscription is found with words about a hope grounded in eternity, we have the assurance that it is christian and archæologists class such words on trade-union graves as signs of the christian life.

Thus armed with a soul, darkling and trembling in self-dug dungeons, going stealthily up at dawn to their dangerous, ill-paid labor, crawling back in secrecy, and after a sober repast, meeting brothers and sisters by the dim oil lamp in the miniature schola of their crypt, these wretched "little groups," lived and sang and died.

It is twitted that they "smelled of garlic, these ancestors of Roman prelates; that they were poor proletaries dirty and clownish, clothed in filthy gabardines, having the bad odor and breath of people living badly. Their retreats breathed an odor of wretchedness exhaled by persons meanly clothed and fed, and collected in a little room."⁴³⁶

Such was the condition of things at the time of the great conflagration. We now turn our attention to this celebrated historical event. This monarch, endowed with absolute, despotic power, early exhibited symptoms of a dangerous mania, although in the beginning of his sixteen-years' reign, he was passably tolerant to his subjects. A sickness, thought to have proceeded from ven-

⁴³⁵ Plato, *Crito*.

⁴³⁶ Renan, *Life of Christ*, p. 96.

eria, turned his mind in a direction of wantonness and cruelty, and there were thousands of the common people of the old unconverted line of pagans ready to fight against⁴³⁷ the new developments in and around the temple of Diana on the Aventine. After a number of extraordinary feats of squandering the public money, he determined to root out the christians and compass their annihilation.

Mr. Gibbon is of the opinion that the burning of Rome did not occur until A.D. 69, but the usual calculations put it some five or six years earlier.⁴³⁸ The history of the great conflagration of Rome lies to this day in a state of much obscurity. Dion Cassius declares that Nero himself set fire to it and was responsible partly for the crime.⁴³⁹ Tacitus, another historian of much accuracy, does as much. The accurate and careful Suetonius likewise declares without hesitancy that Nero perpetrated the crime of burning Rome on purpose.

But some four years at least elapsed between the arrival of the apostle in Rome in 61 and the incendiarism. Though a prisoner, he was allowed a liberty which seems to have been nearly equivalent to being at large. We know that Nero was very fond of music and that he greatly favored the Dionysan artists many of whom enjoyed his patronage at Rome, and others, especially the mimic actors, were from Asia Minor as members of the great Gemeinde. Very many side evidences induce us to believe that Paul was a member and that he turned his trade as scene and tent maker to aid these unions in furnishing their shows with the necessary paraphernalia of the histrionic art. In this case he would be able

⁴³⁷ Neander, *Planting*, Book III., ch. vii.: "Moreover, in the Neronian persecution, the christian church appears as a new sect, much hated by the people, a *genus tertium*, of whom the people were disposed to credit the worst reports, because they were opposed to all the forms of religion hitherto in existence."

⁴³⁸ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xvi., with note 44: "The capital was burnt during the civil war between Vitellius and Vespasian, the 19th of December, A.D. 69; on the 10th of Aug., A.D. 70, the temple of Jerusalem was destroyed by the hands of the Jews themselves, rather than by those of the Romans." This would make the time between the two dates, only 222 days,—a proposition which cannot be sustained.

⁴³⁹ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xvi., note, gives the principal authorities for Nero's conflagration as Tacitus, *Ann.*, xv., 38-44; Suetonius, *In Neronem*, 38; Dion. Cassius, LXII., p. 1014; Orosius, *Adv. Paganos*, VII., 7. Dion Cassius, LXII., 16, init., starts out with the words: "Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεθύμησεν (ὅπερ πον ἀεὶ ἤχεται) τὴν τε πόλιν ὅλην καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ζῶν ἀναλώσαι."

to touch a very tender spot in Nero's heart, for the monarch was passionately fond of the mimes which they brought into Rome. We hear nothing definite of the apostle, but there is a legend strongly set forth, that he was allowed to go to Spain by consent, if not the request of Nero, and that while there he planted the Spanish branch of the church. What is still more surprising is that Nero is actually said to have gone with him. He is known to have made himself one of the buffoons⁴⁴⁰ in the mimic shows. He made the playwrights concessions of large sums of money,⁴⁴¹ for their mimes and pantomimes were a great charm to him. But while he was friendly to the Solonic unions on the one hand, he despised their tendency to endorse the worship of the new messiah. The christians were preaching at Rome just then, a promise to the laboring millions that they had bodies and immortal spirits as worthy of salvation as any of the great wealth owners. The christians in Rome were propagating the fundamental idea of socialism two thousand years before its possible realization. They knew not the vast expanse of time necessary to prepare the world for such an immense transition. They knew not that earth and humanity are great, and ideas are met with repugnance. Christianity had invaded the unions that Nero loved.

The thought of such a change threw this monarch into a spasm of angry revengefulness. He had in his shallow egotism worked himself to believe that he was descended from a line of immortals, stretching back to Romulus.⁴⁴² Dion Cassius testifies in strong words to

⁴⁴⁰ Lüders, *Dionys. Künst.*, p. 95: "Cäsar liess nach seinen Siegen in Spanien Schauspieler in allen Sprachen aufreten. Nero endlich betrat nicht nur selbst mit griechischen Techniten die Bühne, sondern hatte auch stets eine ganze Schar von ihnen in seiner nächsten Umgebung, denen er grosse Geldsummen hinterliess." Suetonius, *Octav.*, 43: "Ludos fecit nonnumquam vicatim ac pluribus scenis per omnium linguarum histriones." For a remark on Nero see Plutarch, *Galba.*, 16.

⁴⁴¹ *Idem.*, p. 95: "Dass es in Rom eine andauernd ansässige Gesellschaft Griechischer Künstler gab in der Kaiserzeit, bezeugte eine Inschrift aus Gallien, in der 'die heilige Synodos in Rom' genannt wird."

⁴⁴² Dion. Cass., LXII., 18: "Ἐσχατος Αἰνεαδῶν μητροκτόνος ἡγεμονύσει" Dion thinks the mother murderer was beset by the evil spirit, to "clean the place." "Τὰ παρόντα θειασθέν," i.e.: Θειάω, fumigate, to clean and purify, and thus restore to the gods. Nero imagined that as the city had become polluted by the christians it was his natural function as a descendant of Æneas, to fumigate, purify, cleanse and restore it to the gods by a hallowing purification; and all this to the end that the Julian line with its origin in Æneas become supreme, should assume its former majesty. "Τελυταίος γὰρ τῶν Ἰουλιῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Αἰνείου γενομένων ἐμοιάρχησε," This is certainly a strong light clearing up the argument that Dio thinks Nero set Rome on fire purposely, in order to purify the city.

this. Nothing can be more probable than that, as Gibbon most definitely affirms, in a similar case of Domitian's persecution at Puteoli, the careful Cassius, not knowing the secret christians, but thinking with everybody else, that it was all the work of Jews, says Nero burned Rome for the purpose of killing out the nests of christians from the low quarters among the communes. Again, Suetonius whose birth took place almost at the hour the flames were raging, has no hesitation in saying that Rome was set on fire purposely.⁴⁴³ He gathered oakum and pine knots from the manor houses of his own and sang songs of the capture of Troy, from a pinnacle of the Mæcenatean tower, in joyful transports. The popular legend runs, that "Nero fiddled for Rome to burn." The fact more accurately stated is that he had gathered many loose women and profligate men of the aristocratic families, and invited a number of the wandering, dissolute fakirs from among the musicians, to ascend the tower to a flat stand large enough to accommodate them and there in security and at a commanding elevation, they all had a boisterous jolification, the emperor himself playing upon a cithera while they sang and danced ditties of the Trojan war.

The object of Nero was to cast contempt and hatred on the christians. The great mass of the common people do not come into this crime. It was the *genus tertium* described by Neander, who were to be attacked. They had early settled in Rome. Christians had been at work among the thousands of collegia from before the crucifixion. These facts come to us through the inscriptions and monumental relics of their activity. The idea here to be conveyed by a *genus tertium*⁴⁴⁴ or a third element is almost exactly the same as that which caused the persecution and martyrdom of members of the thiasos at Athens. It was jealousy. They called it

⁴⁴³ Suetonius, *Nero*, 38-40, declares Nero burnt Rome on purpose, after a thorough determination, on account of the: "Deformitate veterum ædificiorum et angustiis flexurisque vicorum." This is prefaced with the words: "planeque ita fecit." He then resumes his discourse with the words: "incendit urbem tam palam, ut plerique consulares cubicularios ejus, cum stuppa tædaque in prædiis suis deprehensos, non attigerint; et quædam horrea circa domum Auream, quorum spatium maxime desiderabat, ut bellicis machinis labefacta atque inflammata sint quod saxeo muro constructa erant."

⁴⁴⁴ Neander, *Hist. Chr. Church*, I., pp. 92-5: Neander here speaks of the communities and the "secret sect to which these enemies of the gods abandoned themselves," Nero, he says, tried to fix the guilt of the conflagration upon a *genus tertium*.

the introduction of new and foreign divinities into Attica, a crime under the law punishable with death. In every case at Athens, including those in which Demosthenes was involved the offenders found to have introduced a foreign religion, were members of the secret unions.⁴⁵ So, also in Rome, it had long been the immigrants, as either slaves of war dragged thither by force, or business agents as at Puteoli, or evangelists sent out from the primitive brotherhood which Jesus had organized at Jerusalem, who introduced the new gospel of the Word, and they introduced it first among the collegia. But we should here call to mind the conversion of Tiberius the emperor, who actually tried to secure the consent of the senate to proclaim Jesus openly and legally as one of the gods in the galaxy of the Roman pantheon. Few stop to think that the mysterious assassination of Tiberius may reasonably have been inspired by this jealous conservatism of the old theogony in whose purple and ermine of the great gens families and princely bloods strode and pretentiously assumed dignity under the awful mysticism of priest-power and an overbrooding divinity.

We say we are assured from the variety of fragments and squibs of evidence that are being collected, that Paul was allowed by Nero to go to Spain, and that the conflagration and execution of the two greatest apostles followed immediately in its trail. It was in the year of our era, sixty-four.

On July 18, A.D. 64, there suddenly burst forth a flame of fire, first kindled among some old wooden booths used as stalls of the poorest of the people. It was at the southeast end of the Circus Maximus and not more than one or two blocks away from it. Here were wont to congregate the hucksters having unions of their trade, and their members sold certain entables to the throngs. In one direction the fire rapidly spread over the Palatine and Velia, up to the cliffs of the Esquiline Hill. The fire also started off in another course. It struck the Aventine. Here was the great temple of Diana, goddess of the huntsmen and the poor. The Forum Boarium was next invaded by the flames. This is where the first gladiatorial combat took place in B. C. 264.

⁴⁵ See *supra* chap. xv. pp. 327-315. on *Pre-Christian Martyrs*.

through the aristocrats Marcus and Decimus Brutus, a couple of lords who on the death of their father forced his favorite slaves to fight each other to the death in order that the deceased parent might have the assistance of these, his favorite servants, in ghost-form, in the after world.⁴⁴⁶

The fire spread toward the Tiber. There were no modern fire-extinguishing engines then. After consuming the Velabrum and licking unhindered, its lingering vestiges, it ran down into the river Tiber, and was finally stopped by the huge masonry of the Servian Wall. After fiercely burning for six days and seven nights, and its fury had apparently become exhausted, it suddenly broke out afresh in the northern quarter of the city desolating two regions of the Circus Flaminius and the Via Lata. There being no adequate mechanical appliances in existence, little could be done. Of course thousands of people turned out against the ruinous heats, but in vain; and when it came to a manageable standstill, only four of fourteen regions of Rome remained. Three had been completely destroyed, and seven others were now in ruins. Thirty-thousand corpses were registered.⁴⁴⁷

No sooner were the flames exhausted for want of aliment than Nero came down from his tower and in loud-mouthed invectives charged the whole iniquity against the christians.⁴⁴⁸ Although the Encyclopædia Britannica in its article on Nero fails to charge this monarch with the intentional deed, yet nearly all others are emphatic in their accusation, that he worked up the whole

⁴⁴⁶ Valer. Max., *De Spect.* 7: "Gladiatorium munus primum Romæ datum est in foro Boario, Appio Claudio M. Fulvio Coss., dederunt M. et D. Bruti, fuuebri memoria patris cineres honorando. Athletarum certamen a M. Scauri tractum est munificentia."

⁴⁴⁷ Suetonius, *Nero*, 38: "Per six dies septemque noctes ea clade sæviturum est ad monumentorum bustorumque diversoria plebe compulsa: Tunc præter inmensum numerum insularum domus priscorum ducum arserunt hostilibus adhuc spoliis adornatae, deorumque ædes ab regibus ac deinde Punicis et Gallicis bellis votæ dedicatæque et quidquid visendum atque memorabile ex antiquitate duraverat. Hoc incendium e turre Mæcentiana prospectans lætusque flammæ ut aibat, pulchritudine Halosin Ilii in illo suo scænico habitu decantavit. Ac ne non hinc quoque quantum posset prædæ et manubiarum invaderet, pollicitus cadaverum et ruderum gratuitam egestionem, nemini ad reliquias rerum suarum adire permisit; conlationibusque non receptis modo verum et efflagitatis provincias privatorumque census prope exhaustis. Accesserunt tantis ex principe malis probrisque quædam et fortuita; pestilentia unius autumnus, quo triginta funerum milia in rationem Libitinæ venerunt."

⁴⁴⁸ Meyers, *Konv. Lex.* in v. *Nero*: "...dass er 64. nach dem grossen Brande, durch den ein grosser Theil der Stadt zerstört wurde die in Rom anwesenden Christen als angebliche Urheber desselben unter den grausamsten Martiren tödten liess."

plot, stood over it and nurtured it, and even prevented the fire department from doing anything toward putting it out. Under his abject and absolute power it was doubtless pronounced by him a treason punishable with immediate death. This we know by inference. The expressed abhorrence of Seneca.⁴⁴⁹ The discovery of a conspiracy against Nero, in which Seneca, C. Calpurnius Piso, Plautius Lateranus, the poet Lucanus and others were suspected of being concerned as a junta to rid the world of this monster, caused their immediate death.⁴⁵⁰

We are now coming to one of the most atrocious massacres ever recorded of human beings: Nero's vengeance against the christians.

The greater part of the quarter consumed in this conflagration was inhabited by the communes and collegia, and before proceeding, it behooves us to give all that is known in relation to their lowliness and misery in the abodes and especially such as shows them to have been members of the collegia.⁴⁵¹ Donatus, an antiquarian of the eighteenth century, describes the conflagration and certifies to its having taken place in the year 64.⁴⁵² Levasseur, who wrote a valuable history⁴⁵³ of the working

⁴⁴⁹ Seneca, *Epist.*, denouncing the monster to St. Paul; cf. Jerome, *Catalog:* "Senecam non ponerem in Catalogo Sanctorum nisi me illae epistolae provocarent, quae leguntur a plurimis Pauli ad Senecam et Senecae ad Paulum." And August, *Epist. ad Maced.*, LIII.: "Omnes odit qui male odit." Seneca is now revealed to have been converted by Paul, and to have humbled himself to the collegiate ranks; Guizot, in note to *trans.* of Gibbon, in ch. xvi., note 42, *fn.*: "Moreover the name of christians had long been given in Rome to the disciples of Jesus, and Tacitus affirms too positively, refers too distinctly to its etymology, to allow us to suspect any mistake on his part.

⁴⁵⁰ *Amer. Cyc.*, art. *Nero*, announcing their deaths, says: "The discovery of a conspiracy against him served to develop his ferocity;" and speaking of his brutal triumph in the murder of these celebrated men: "The senate was induced to receive the intelligence of their fate as the news of a great victory, and the infamous Tigellinus, the emperor's principal instrument, was decreed triumphal honors." This of itself, quite clearly shows, that it was a case of Nero's incendiarism.

⁴⁵¹ Suetonius, *Nero*, 16, certainly places the christians down among the lowest strata, at Rome. The short sentence usually quoted is not enough of this significant paragraph. Immediately in front of, and succeeding the words so commonly used by commentators, are words fully as significant: "Publicae cœnae ad sportulas redactae. Interdictum ne quid in popinis cocti praeter legumina aut holera veniret, cum antea nullum non obsonium genus proponeretur. Afflicti supplicii Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novae ac maleficae. Vetiti quadrigariorum lusus, quibus inveterata licentia passim vagantibus fallere ac furari per locum jus erat. Pantomimorum factiones cum ipsis simul relegatae."

⁴⁵² *De Roma Antiqua*, lib. III., p. 449; Nardini, *Roma Antica*, p. 487.

⁴⁵³ Levass., *Hist. Cl. Ouv.*, I., pp. 14, 15, 16. On p. 15, with note 3, reference is made to Dion Cassius, LX., 6, touching the suppression of the unions. Most authors understand Dion Cass. to mean here the christians. But they are all treated as *εραπαι*, which is the borrowed term for collegia.

classes of northern Europe, in giving the origin of their trade organizations, about the time of the crucifixion and a little later, attributes much of the success of the great movement to them.

From a careful survey of the sources of information, the organizations which he had to do with in this affair, were the *collegium juvenum*, a society which he aided and fostered in his younger days;⁴⁵⁴ the *collegia mimorum* toward whom he also felt a strong affection; the *lupercalia*, another gaming union, pronounced by Mommsen to be harmless;⁴⁵⁵ the *collegia vectigaliorum*; *collegia vinariorum*; *collegia vini fumatorum*; *collegia lenunculariorum* of the coasting boats; *collegia naviculariorum*, *collegia compatilicia* and a host of the more common sort, such as the cobblers, rag-pickers and patch-piecers.

When this tyrant's rage, however, turned against these unions, which was not until his spies, like Tigellinus brought him news that they were all rapidly adopting the christian faith,⁴⁵⁶ his wrath knew no bounds. They were immediately given the appellation of "burners" and the great calamity was charged to their account. The burners must be punished. The burners were the innocent christians, too innocent to deny their love of Jesus. The great historian Tacitus, commended in all our colleges, a pagan who hated the christians with a cruel conscience, excused Nero's indescribable torture of these poor beings; moreover he declared that their punishment was just and well deserved.

The recent discovery of the columbaria and of the ancient christian cemeteries discloses the fact that not only the dead, but the living went down into the subterranean abodes. During the persecutions of Claudius they dug themselves great caverns. It is presumable that in them very many thus escaped the fury of Nero.

⁴⁵⁴ Mommsen, *De Coll. et Sodal. Rom.*, p. 83: "Collegia juvenum quae a Nerone instituta creduntur propter ludos juvenales."

⁴⁵⁵ Suetonius, *Aug.*, 31: "Sacrum Lupercale paulatim aboletum, restituit."

⁴⁵⁶ To show that Nero well comprehended that this new element threatened the existence of the reign of Jupiter and his gens aristocracy, see Orell., 5229, an *inscr.*, Romae, Gori, *Symbol. Lit.*, T. 4, Praef., p. xii. It reads: "JOVI OPTIMO MAXIMO SANCTI MARTYRES DOMINIQUE SANCTI successerunt SANCTIS MARTURIBUS etc." No doubt can exist as to this being purely christian; since they always claimed to have succeeded Jove.

While the flames were raging overhead all was quiet in the secret under-ground abodes. Amid the turmoils of persecution, which during the reign of Claudius, had driven thousands from Rome, all was quiet in these netherworlds. Each union had its scholæ, a part of a basilica, and the members were all initiates. They were thus screened from the search of Tigellinus and eluded Nero's charge that they were the burners of Rome. If, then, they suffered to a large extent we are not made aware of it. Our great source of information is Tacitus;⁴⁶⁷ but Suetonius⁴⁶⁸ followed and fully confirmed by

⁴⁶⁷ Suetonius, *Nero*, 38: The very commencement of this fine passage is sufficient to show that Suetonius had no doubts that Nero was the incendiary; he quotes Nero's own Greek: "Dicente quodam in sermone communi.

Ἐμοῦ θανάτος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί!

Immo, inquit, ἐμοῦ ζῶντος! Planeque ita fecit. Nam quasi offensus deformitate veterum aedificiorum et angustiis flexurisque vicorum, incendit urbem tam palam, ut plerique consulares cubicularios eius, cum stuppa tædæque in prædiis suis deprehensos, non attigerint; et quaedam horrea circa domum Auream, quorum spatium maxime desiderabat, ut bellicis machinis labefacta atque inflammata sint, quod saxeo muro constructa erant. Per sex dies septemque noctes ea clade saevitum est, ad monumentorum bustorumque diversoria plebe compulsa. Tunc præter immensum numerum insularum domus priscorum ducum arserunt hostilibus adhuc spoliis adornatae, deorumque aedes ab regibus ac deinde Punicis et Gallicis bellis votæ dedicatæque, et quidquid visendum atque memorabile ex antiquitate duraverat. Hoc incendium e turre Maecenatiana prospectans laetusque *flammae*, ut aiebat, *pulchritudine* Halosin Ilii in illo suo scenico habitu decantavit. Ac ne non hinc quoque quantum posset prædæ et manubiarum iuvaderet, pollicitus cadaverum et ruderum gratuitam egestionem, nemini ad reliquias rerum suarum adhære permisit; conlationibusque non receptis modo verum et efflagitatis provincias privatorumque census prope exhansit. Accesserunt tantis ex principe malis pribrieque quaedam et fortuita; pestilentia unius autumnî, quo triginta funerum millia in rationem Libitinæ venerunt.

⁴⁶⁸ Tacit., *Annal.*, xv., 38: "Sequitur clades, forte an dolo principis incertum (nam utrumque auctores prodidere), sed omnibus quæ huic urbi per violentiam ignium acciderunt gravior atque atrocior. Initium in ea parte circi ortum, quæ Palatino Caelioque montibus contigua est ubi per tabernas, quibus id mercimonium inerat quo flamma alitur, simul coeptus ignis et statim validus ac vento citus longitudinem circi corripuit. Neque enim domus munitis saeptæ vel templa muris cincta aut quid aliud moræ interiacebat. Impetu pervagatum incendium plana primum, deinde in edita adsurgens, et rursus inferiora populando, antequam remedia velocitate mali et obnoxia urbe artis itineribus hucque et illuc flexis, atque enormibus vicis, qualis vetus Roma fuit. Ad hoc lamenta paventium feminarum, fessa [aetate] aut rudis puritæ aetas, quique sibi quique aliis consulebant dum trahunt invalidos aut opperiantur, pars mora, pars festinans, cuncta impediabant. et saepe, dum in tergum respectant, lateribus aut fronte circumveniebantur; vel si in proxima evaserant, illis quoque igni correptis, etiam quæ longinqua crederant in eodem casu reperiebant. Postremo, quid vitarent quid peterent ambigui, complere vias, sterni per agros; quidam amissis omnibus fortunis, diurni quoque victus, alii caritate suorum, quos eripere nequiverant, quamvis patente effugio interiere, nec quisquam defendere audebat, crebris multorum minis restinguere prohibentium, et quia alii palam faces iaciebant atque esse sibi auctorem vociferabantur, sive ut raptus licentius exercerent, seu iussu.

39. Eo in tempore Nero Antii gens non ante in urbem regressus est quam domui eius, qua Palatium et Maecenatis hortos continuavarat ignis propinqueret. Neque tamen sisti potuit, quin et Palatium et domus et cuncta circum haurirentur. Sed solatium populo exturbato ac profugo campum

the astute Orosius,⁴⁵⁹ gave us a quite lengthy and valuable statement which covers a number of facts omitted by Tacitus. Orosius, later attributes a well edited confirmation, having evidently obtained his information⁴⁶⁰ from Suetonius and the public records of the city undertaking department, to furnish posterity an idea of the numbers perishing in the terrible massacre.⁴⁶¹

Martis ac monumenta Agrippae, hortos quin etiam suos patefecit, et subitaria aedificia extruxit quae multitudinem inopem acciperent; subvertataque utensilia ab Ostia et propinquis municipiis, pretiumque frumentum minutum usque ad ternos nummos. quae quamquam popularia in irritum cadebant, quia pervaserat rumor ipso tempore flagrantis urbis inisse eum domesticam scenam et cecinisse Troiaum excidium, praesentia mala vetustis cladibus adsimulantem.

40. Sexto demum die apud imas Esquilias finis incendio factus, proruptis per immensum aedificiis, ut continuae violentiae campus et velut vacuum caelum occurreret. necdum positus metus, cum rediit haud levius rursum grassatus ignis, patulis magis ubi locis; eoque strages hominum minor, delubra deum et porticus amoenitati dicatae latius procidere. plusque infamiae id incendium habuit, quia praediis Tigellini Aemilianis proruperat; videbaturque Nero condendae urbis novae et cognomento suo appellandae gloriam quaerere. quippe in regiones quattuordecim Roma dividitur, quarum quattuor integrae manebant, tres solo tenus dejectae: septem reliquis pauca tectorum vestigia supererant, lacera et semusta.

⁴⁵⁹Orosius, *Adversus Paganos*, VII., 7: "Luxuriae vero tam effrenatae fuit, ut retibus aureis piscaretur, quae purpureis lumbis extrahebantur. frigidis et calidis lavaret unguentis. Qui etiam nunquam minus mille carrucis confectis iter traditur. Denique Urbis Romae incendium voluptatis suae spectaculum fecit. Per sex enim dies septemque noctes ardens civitas regio pavit adspectus. Horrea quadro structa lapide, magnaque illae veterum insulae, quas discurrens adire flamma non poterat, magnis machinis, quondam ad externa bella praeparatis, labefactatae atque inflammatae sunt; ad monumentorum bustorumque diversoria infelici plebe compulsae. Quod ipse ex altissima illa Maecenatiana turre prospectans, laetusque flammiae (ut aiebat) pulchritudine, tragico habitu illadem decantabat. Avaritiae autem tam praeruptae extitit, ut post hoc incendium Urbis, quam se Augustus ex lateritia marmoream reddidisse jaetaverat, neminem ad reliquias rerum suarum adire permiserit, cuncta, quae flammiae quoquo modo superfuerant, ipse abstulit. Centies centena millia sestertium annua ad expensas a senatu sibi conferri imperavit.

⁴⁶⁰Oros., *Adv. Pag.*, VII., 7, 473, after telling of Peter's crucifixion and Paul's decapitation subjoins statistics of the enregistered numbers who perished, taken the following year: "... tanta Urbi pestilentia incubuit, ut triginta millia funerum in rationem Libitinae venirent." Of course, this does not include thousands of christians taken down in the secret crypts of under-ground Rome by the hiding brotherhoods. The 30,000 corpses he mentions were regularly registered in the records of undertaking establishments.

⁴⁶¹Dion. Cassius, *Nero.*, LXII., 16-18: "Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεθύμησεν ὄψερ που αἰεὶ ἤχετο) τὴν τε πόλιν ὅλην καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ζῶν ἀναλώσαι. τὸν γοῦν Πρίαμον καὶ αὐτὸς θανάστῳς ἐμοκαρίσειν, ὅτι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολομένης εἶδεν. Λάθρα γὰρ τις, ὡς καὶ μεθύοντας, ἦ καὶ κακούργουτὰς τι ἄλλως, διατέμπων, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ἐν που καὶ δύο καὶ πλείονα, ἄλλα ἄλλοι ὑπεμπίμπρα, ὥστε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν παντὶ ἀπορίας γενεσθαι, μήτ' ἀρχὴν τοῦ κακοῦ ἐξευρεῖν, μήτε τέλος ἐπαγαγεῖν δυναμένους, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μὲν ὀρώνας, πολλὰ δὲ ἀκούοντας ἄτοπα. οὐτε γὰρ θεασσάσθαι ἄλλο τι ἦν ἢ πυρὰ πολλὰ, ὡς περ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ οὐτε ἀκούσαι λεγόντων τιμῶν, ἢ ὅτι 'τὸ καὶ τὸ καίεται' ποῦ; πῶς; ὑπὸ τις; βοηθεῖτε.' ὄρυμβός τε οὖν ἐξαισίους πανταχοῦ πάντα κατελάμβανε, καὶ διετρεχον, οἱ μὲν, τῆ, οἱ δὲ, τῆ, ὡς περ ἐμπληκτοί. καὶ ἄλλοις τινὲς ἐπαμύνοτες, ἐπυθάνοιτο τὰ οἰκοὶ καίόμενα, καὶ ἕτεροι πρὶν καὶ ἀκούσαι ὅτι τὸν σφέτερον τι ἐμπρησται, ἐμάνθανον ὅτι ἀπολωλεν. Οἱ τε ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἐς τοὺς στενωποὺς ἐξετρεχον, ὡς καὶ ἐξωθεν αὐταῖς βοηθῆσαι, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν ὁδῶν εἰσω ἐσέθεν, ὡς καὶ ἐνδον τε ἀνύσοιτες. Καὶ ἦν ἡ τε κραυγὴ καὶ ὀλολυγὴ παίδων ὁμοῦ, γυναικῶν, ἀνδρῶν, γερόντων, ἀπλετος,

Having, with the underdealing agency of his detective Tigellinus, whom he held as a protégé of the domus Augustalis, and who had such aptness both for cunning and ability to subserve his purposes that Nero submitted to him the burning of Rome, the plan went forward. The Roman city, frightened by the growth of a new sect, and warned by a partial eruption of Vesuvius, was in a state of superstitious trepidation. On such occasions, under the pagan theogony, mankind, whether at Rome or Athens, rushed promiscuously into a credulous tremor, ready to ascribe such things to the wrath of Jove. The great boa, mentioned by Pliny, which measured seventy-five feet in length ventured from the neighboring jungles, crawled into the city and climbing the Vatican Hill, struck out right and left at man, woman and child. After much labor of all the hunters, and great

ὥστε μήτε σφινδεῖν μήτε συνείναι τι ὑπὸ τοῦ καπνοῦ καὶ τῆς κραυγῆς δύνασθαι. καὶ διὰ ταῦθ' ὄραν ἢ τινὰς ἀφώνους ἐστῶτας, ὥσπερ ἐνεοῦς ὄντας. κἀν τούτῳ πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἐκκοιμίζομενοι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἀρπάζοντες, ἀλλήλους τε ἐνεπλάζοντο, καὶ περὶ τοῖς σκευεσὶν ἐσφάλλοντο. Καὶ οὔτε προΐεναι ποῖ, οὐθ' ἐστάται εἶχον ἀλλ' ὠθουν, ὠθοῦντο' ἀνετρέποντο' ἀνετρέποντο' καὶ συχνοὶ μὲν ἀπεπνίγοντο, συχνοὶ δὲ συνετρίβοντο, ὥστε σφίσι μὴδὲν ὅ, τι τῶν δυναμένων, ἀνθρώποις ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ πάθει κακῶν συμβῆναι, μὴ συνενεχθῆναι' οὐδὲ γάρ οὗτ' ἀποφυγεῖν που ῥαδίως ἠδύνατο' κἀν ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος τις περιεσώθη, εἰς ἕτερον ἐμπεσὼν ἐφῄειρετο.

17. Καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐν μιᾷ μόνον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλείους καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ὁμοίως ἐγένετο. Καὶ παλλοὶ μὲν οἰκοὶ ἐρημοὶ τοῦ βοηθήσαντος σφίσι ἀπώλοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπικουρουμένων προσκατεπήρθησαν, οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται, οἱ τε ἄλλοι, καὶ οἱ νυκτοφύλακες, πρὸς τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ἀφορῶντες, οὐχ ὅσον οὐ κατεσβέννυσάν τινα, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεξέκαιον. τοιούτων δὲ δὴ ἄλλων ἀλλοθι συμβαινόντων, ὑπέλαβε ποτε τὸ πῦρ ἄνεμος, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὁμοῦ πάντα ἤγαγεν' ὥστε σκευῶν μὲν περὶ ἢ οἰκίῳ μὴδένα μὴδὲν ἐτι φροντίσαι, πάντας δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐστῶτας ποῦ ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τινι ὄραν ὥσπερ νήσουσιν τινὰς καὶ πολεῖς ἅμα πολλὰς φλεγόμενας' καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς σφετέροις μὴδὲν ἐτι λυπεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ δημόσιον οὐδρομένους, ἀναμνησθεσθαι ὅτι καὶ πρότερόν ποτε οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν τὸ πλεῖον τῆς πόλεως διεφθάρη.

18. Πάντων δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων οὕτω διακειμένων, καὶ πολλῶν καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ τοῦ πάους ἐμψῶντων, ἃ Νέρων ἐς τε τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ παλατίου (ὅθεν μάλιστα σύνοπτα τὰ πολλὰ τῶν καισμένων ἦν) ἀνήλθε, καὶ τὴν σκευὴν τὴν κηροφαικὴν λαβῶν, ἤσεν ἄλωσιν, ὡς μὲν αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν, 'Ἰλίου ὡς δὲ ἑωρᾶτο, 'Ρώμης. Τοιούτῳ μὲν δὴ πάθει τότε ἢ πόλις ἐχρήσατο, οἷψ οὔτε πρότερόν ποτε, οὐθ' ὕστερον, πλὴν τοῦ Γαλατικοῦ. Τό, τε γὰρ Παλαγίνον ὄρος συμπαῖ, καὶ τὸ θέατρον τοῦ Ταύρου, τῆς τε λοιπῆς πόλεως τὰ δύο που μέρη ἐκ αὐτῆ' καὶ ἀνθρώποι ἀναρίθμητοι διεφθάρσαν, ὁ μόντοι δημός αὐκ ἐστίν ὅτε οὐ κατὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἡράτο, τὸ μὲν ὄνομα αὐτοῦ μὴ ὑπολέγων, ἄλλως δὲ δὴ τοῖς τὴν πόλιν ἐμψῶσσι καταρῶμενοι, καὶ μάλιστα' ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἢ μνήμη τοῦ λογίου τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Τιβερίον ποτε φσθέντος ἐθάρθει. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο.

Τρίς δὲ τριηκοσίων περιετλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν,

'Ρωμαῖοις ἐμφυλὸς ὄλεϊ σπᾶσις.

'Ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ Νέρων, παραμυθούμενος αὐτοῦς, οὐ δαμοῦ ταυτα τὰ ἐπη εὔρασθαι ἔλεγε, μεταβαλόντες ἕτερον λόγιον, ὡς καὶ Σιβύλλειον ὄντως ὄν, ἦσαν. ἐστὶ δὲ τοῦτο.

'Ἐσχατος Αἰνααδῶν μητροκτόνος ἡγεμονεύσει.

Καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως, εἰτε καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς θεομαντεία τινὶ πολεχθὲν, εἰτε καὶ τότε ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀμίλου πρὸς τὰ παρόντα θεασθὲν. τελευταῖος γὰρ τῶν 'Ιουλαίων τῶν ἀπὸ Δινεῖου γενομένων ἐμονάρχησε. Χρήματα δὲ ὁ Νέρων παμπληθῆ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἡμῶν, τῇ μὲν βίᾳ ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει τοῦ ἐμψῶμοῦ, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἐκόντων δῆθεν ἡγγυρολόγησε, καὶ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων αὐτῶν τὸ σιτηρίσιον παρεσπάσατο,

struggles, there being then no firearms, the monster was killed and when cut open, the dead bodies of children it had swallowed were found. This cast abroad a lugubrious shudder and whetted the belief that the Almighty had sent him to foreknell some wonderful event. The time of this serpent story on close inspection seems to correspond. Tacitus relates, of the same time, that a fearful collapse and conflagration occurred at Placentia, a neighboring town, of an enormous amphitheatre, and that in its flames fifty-seven thousand persons⁴⁶² were crushed and burned; and the report on reaching the capital terrified the inhabitants and frenzied them with a desire to appease the gods supposed to be raging with wrath in the dome-vaults of heaven, even if it cost the lives of the detested rabble infesting the Aventine, Esquiline and Vatican hollows and hills. This was the more aggravating when it was found that the Aventine had been invaded by the christians, and that the goddess Diana, with her famous temple, protecting great numbers of trade unions,⁴⁶³ had flagitiously turned against all mankind by endowing the lowly-born with property and souls, thus giving her temple on the Aventine up to desecration. In spite of the mighty men of blood and property and souls she had wilfully pronounced for the detested workingmen!

The idea once worked up in the imaginative mind of Nero, he wreaked dire vengeance. Says Tacitus, "he inflicted the most exquisite tortures. While the fires were raging he published to the Roman world that it was the work of the horrible 'burners,' the christians, who had invaded Rome, seized the sanctuaries of the gods and in the atrocious frenzy of their enthusiasm and infatuation had wheedlingly persuaded Minerva and Diana to accept them as men born with souls! All these under the vulgar appellation of christians, he says, Nero

⁴⁶² Tac., *Hist.*, II., 21. The work of building the amphitheatre had been let out on contract and as in most cases of contract work the jobbers thought of nothing but profit, they neglected to give it the necessary strength and it fell with the great weight of so vast a multitude, crashing down with tremendous force to the bottom. Before the people could escape the structure took fire and burned to death those who were not crushed in the ruins.

⁴⁶³ Momms., *De Coll. et Sodal. Rom.*, p. 113: "Notabiles sunt natales Dianæ, Antinoi, collegii in hac tabula et in ordine cenarum nominati. Natalis collegii memoratur quoque in lege coll. Esculapii." The college at Lanuvium was also one of Diana, and we have inscriptions of nearly one hundred others; see *index* in verb. *Hunters, Kunegoi, Venatores, Fishermen.*

“branded with most deserved infamy. They derived their name and origin from Christ, who, in the reign of Tiberius, had suffered death by the sentence of Pontius Pilate.” Referring to the presumed persecution by Caligula, as we have already explained, and to the well verified actions of Claudius amounting to a great persecution against them, we have sufficient evidence to see that Nero knew their history when he marked them on his book of damnation. But, continues Tacitus, who recognized that the work of the christians was not checked by Caligula and Claudius; “it again burst forth and not only spread over Judæa, the first seat of this mischievous sect, but was even introduced into Rome, the common asylum which receives and protects whatever is impure, and outrageous.”⁴⁶³ Whiston in substance, renders: “broke out in the city of Rome whither there run from every quarter, noisily, all flagrant and shameful enormities. At first, then, those who confessed were seized, after a vast multitude had been detected through their testimony, and were convicted; not so much as really guilty of setting the city on fire, but as hating all mankind; nay, they made a mock of them as they perished, and destroyed them by putting them into the skins of wild beasts and setting dogs on them to tear them to pieces; some were nailed to the cross and others burned to death. They were also used in the night time instead of torches for illumination. Nero had offered his own garden for this spectacle. He also gave them over to the wild circensian games, and dressed himself like a driver of a chariot (quadrigarius) sometimes appearing among the common people, sometimes in the circle itself; whence a commiseration arose, though the punishments were lauded at the guilty persons, and such as deserved to be made the most flagrant examples, as if these people were destroyed, not for the public advantage, but to satisfy the barbarous humor of one man.”

From the descriptions which we quote both in the translation and original, from four celebrated and reli-

⁴⁶⁴ Gibbon, *Dec. & Fall*, ch. xvi., over note 28. Gibbon's *trans.*, has undergone the criticism of eminent men, some of whom were critically adverse to him; and has been pronounced faultless. We therefore follow it in our paraphrase, expanding only on our own account to heighten but not to impair the information for our special argument. The exact translation is given in our *analysis*, and the Latin original, we here give in note 467.

able ancient authors, Tacitus, Suetonius, Dion Cassius and Orosius, we may profitably compile a modernized statement of one of the most disgraceful, bloody and destructive atrocities in the annals of events. Such a statement would run like this:

Rome, to begin with, was full of trade and labor unions struggling for bread under the old Solonic *jus coeundi*, its primitive rights shorn by the conspiracy laws which followed Appius Claudius and the Roman conquests. These unions are disappointed by failure of the old divinities to work out a realization of their promise to emancipate and save; Advent of a new Messiah of their own flesh, blood and craftsmanship; early ingrafting of his Word of promise and plan of salvation into these unions through evangelists who were in Rome in less than a year from the crucifixion;⁴⁶⁵ the guild of St. Matthew is there at work around the great friendly temple of Diana on the Aventine, and in the booths of the circus maximus, with Joseph of Arimathea at their head and Pudens, Blastus and Crescens, and a host of the seventy, working by consent of these trampled divinities, Dionysus, Diana, and Bacchus,⁴⁶⁶ who were never allowed by the human property-power to do as they agreed; a friend in Tiberius who is assassinated; an enemy in Caligula who ogles at an impending horror; an enemy in Claudius who drives the Jew christians into exile; a hideous burlesque of human nature in the maniac Nero, who in a qualm of jealousy hires

⁴⁶⁵ At Rome was found a tablet (see Gruter. 946, 6.) believed to be that of Joseph of Arimathea, entered in the *Orellian Collection*, as no. 4424. An empty tomb "in quam nemo antea fuerat illatus, ut Josephi Arimathæi." It is of a union of the bridge builders, *Collegium pontificum*. It was a mausoleum-like building, with a schola, and vault for burial. Usual fines are stated, under the *lex coll. tenuiorum*, or *funeraticium*, for any person using the temple as a salesroom. Fabr., p. 53, It is of the date of the virgin, and hints that Joseph of Arimathea went to Rome and planted in a bridge-builders' union. It is in the columbarium. It is after this that Joseph must have gone to England. There is an inscr. at Jerusalem showing that he might have later returned to his native country and died there. In this case, like Stephen and several others the remains were in after years taken back to Rome, Oehler is in doubt: "Cf. Inscript worauf er (Joseph) in der Kirche des heiligen Grabes in Jerusalem begraben ist." The absence of Joseph's ashes mentioned in the above passage: "In quam nemo antea fuerat illatus" ut Josephi Arimathæi may be accounted for by the failure of an effort to find the tomb at Jerusalem which has more recently come to light.

⁴⁶⁶ Bacchus and Dionysus are one. Renan. *Apôtres*, p. 250: "Quelques-uns de ces thiasés" (meaning the trade unions worshipping Bacchus or Dionysus) "surtout ceux de Bacchus, avaient des doctrines relevées, et cherchaient à donner aux hommes de bonne volonté quelque consolation. Si il restait encore dans le monde Grec un peu d'amour, de piété, de morale religieuse, c' était grâce à la liberté, de pareils cultes privés." This agrees with Böckh's good opinion of Bacchus.

Tigellinus, to carry out his plans for burning Rome. Such is the truthful synopsis of the greatest historical event of christianity, if we except the crucifixion.

Following the unmistakable statement of Tacitus we are able to particularize somewhat upon the details of this tragedy. The first punishment mentioned is that of the cross. As the flames were raging for seven days it is supposable that those of the multitude who could not escape, who failed to descend into the depths of under-ground Rome and like the badger hide in the tangling sinuosities of subterranean trails, were first caught; and we know how they perished. It was by the old crucifix. A law existed at Rome making this horrible supplicium the only death allowable for the ancient lowly. A citizen of Rome could not be crucified. A working man, on the contrary, could not be executed in any other way. Thus Tacitus in saying that they suffered on the cross admits that they were the lowly workers. But they perished on the cross in multitudes. Furthermore, in the seven days in which this conflagration raged it is more than supposable that great numbers, nailed to the cross and hung betwixt heaven and earth, were left these seven days to suffer indescribable agonies unattended, unpitied, in summer's sun, amid the blaze and smoke and desolation, till death brought them their welcome anæsthetic. But the shrieks of crucifixion did not bring Nero sufficient satisfaction. Tigellinus, cunning in invention, thought of the skin-bag torture. Thousands were wrapped naked, in the skins of wild beasts that had been slain in the combats of the amphitheatre. Prowling, famished dogs that always ranged as friendless tramps of cities, were corralled into the Neronian garden, and these sad, skin-wrapped christians, floundering in resemblance of savage beasts that once wore their shaggy pelts, presented a toothsome morsel for the quadrupeds and as they attacked the weaponless workers, tearing flesh and causing wails and groans, the heartless populace and parasitical co-adjutors yelled with jeers and derision. The third and last contingent of the "ingens multitudo," mentioned by Tacitus, suffered a still more terrible death. Rome was lighted at night, if at all, only with oil lamps whose stingy glare shed but a faint flicker compared with our electric street illuminations.

Sometimes, at the triumphal entry of a powerful military conqueror these meager lamps gave place to torch-lights of oil and pine knots, which glared upon the dingy bricks and mortar their hideous power. Nero and his henchmen bethought themselves of a species of triumphal display probably to wind up the spectacle.

We are not told the number that suffered in this last and third method of torture; but considering that it was the prime cause of the monarch's joy, that he dressed himself in the regalia of a chorister, centered the death march into the gardens and the esplanade of the circus maximus, called a city full of spectators to view it, seemingly for amusement at beholding the ghastly consequence and capped the climax with its lugubrious enchantment of torch-lights and shrieks of agony, we must conclude on measuring the possibilities with the man's gift in deeds of atrocity, that it again mounted to the number of many thousands; for both Tacitus and Orosius say that thirty thousand corpses were registered at the morgue.

What, then, was this crowning supplicium? The murder of thousands more! On this the testimony is complete. They were seized by the police of Nero and under explicit orders, men, women and children were wrapped in bags which had first been saturated with grease and an asphaltic turpentine which exudes from the Apennine pines. These high combustibles were mixed with the greasy products of the pork business, in great quantities, and once all melted together, the liquid was poured hot, an inch thick on the bags which were made to enshroud the naked forms. When all was ready and night had come, a thousand palanquins were ordered and each was loaded with the melancholy bundle of inflammable asphalt and grease, with several victims, fat and lean to fill each one. These were then mounted on the palanquins, eight of Nero's stout carriers at the handles, and all were ignited in flames. Nature knows no favoritism and will not interfere against the most horrible events. The wretches thus shrouded in bags of grease, inflammable turpentines, asphalts and fats, were fired! Crack, burst out the conflagration afresh; this time no longer the tumbling buildings and booths. These were all consumed. It was the laurel torch, darting crackling tongues of flame; a lurid glare to illumine the Neronian procession. And the monster

sat in his chariot, gloating in realized vengeance at the agony of christians who had dared to circumvent the long-time glory of derelict ancient gods!

The historic torchlight pageant now began. With thousands of christians tied in bags of grease and petroleum, blazing with the flames of hell, the procession of palanquins marched, in a ghostly hour at the close of the seven-nights' conflagration, down the Via Appia through the Forum Boarium, into the gardens of Nero at the foot of the Quirinal Hill. Thundering bursts of joy from small boys of the families of Roman gentlemen and howls from the throats of a million haters of the new philosophy of the Word; female turbulence betwixt sympathy and repudiation of the half-converted; prowling dogs, wild with famine in the city of monopolized plenty; raging tramps, self-emancipated from the slavery of conquest—in all a ghastly cortège thronged into the gardens of Nero, some to worship the emperor of cruelties, some to shout acquiescence to the torch-lit scene some to thunder in the general roar of acclaim, and yell in horrid mockery of the writhing fuel which helped the petroleum and the fish-oil to scare away the night with their reflecting gleam from the walls of the dark, gloomy city. Unnumbered, quivering bodies of burning, shrieking, human torches, yielded as they proceeded on the course, their dismal moans, adding to the general melancholy of the historic occasion.

There is no history that relates farther the results of this holocaust. When the agony was over, in the desolate subterranean cubicles, the mournful requiem and the Te Deum were chanted and trembling survivors gathered, as best they could the charred bones and melted crosses from the public morgue, and in secret crypts and niches of their columbarii deposited them with their ashes, daring even to inscribe on the footstone of each olla and cinerary urn the correct legend of their personality and their death; and thus it is that we at last have their history. The life labors of Bossius, Gorius, Muratorius, Marini, De Rossi, and the later scholars of the academies are disclosing the truth of these statements. Tacitus talks coldly of these martyrs.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Tacitus, *Annals*, XV., 44. "Sed non ope humana, non largitionibus principis aut denique placamentis decedebat infamia, quin iussum incendium crederetur. ergo abolendo rumor Nero subdidit reos, et quæsitissimis penis affecti, quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat. auctori nominis eius Christus Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pila-

What in that vortex of angry revolutions and demolitions, became of Peter and Paul? Knowing that at the time of the great conflagration they were in Rome, what became of them? They suffered with the rest; but as they were the great and recognized exponents of the new faith and Word, the manner of their destruction is especially interesting. We have some points.⁴⁶⁸ Terrible as was their tribulation, they were inspired with a belief in the immediate realization of an angelic republic.⁴⁶⁹ They were, in our opinion, after carefully scrutinizing the evidence, both members of the prevailing Solonic organizations springing from the *jus coeundi*, multitudes of which were being converted to christianity, and as converts, shielded under the veil of their secrecy. Until now the Cæsars had been kind and with the exception of Caligula and Claudius' momentary fits of jealousy, they had been protected. As the great labor organization of antiquity they had built Rome and were proud of it. We know positively that both Peter and Paul belonged to them. This knowledge is by induction, but probing denials only reveal new points of its certainty. Paul and perhaps Peter had become personally acquainted with the celebrated Seneca, who at that moment was serving at the court of Nero. Many letters between Paul and this good optimate were inter-

tum supplicio affectus erat; repressaque in praesens exitiabilis superstitio rursuni erumpebat, non modo per Iudaeam, originem eius mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluent celebranturque. Igitur primum correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens, haud perinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis convicti sunt. Et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contacti laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus affixi, aut flammandi, atque ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur. Hortus suos ei spectaculo Nero obtulerat, et circense ludicrum edebat, habitu aurigae permixtus plebi vel curriculo insistens. Unde quamquam adversus sotes et novissima exempla meritis miseratio oriebatur, tamquam non utilitate publica, sed in saevitiam unius absumerentur.

⁴⁶⁸ Clement of Rome, *Epist. to James*, c. 8: "Peter, just before martyrdom, and about to die, gave instructions to presbyters 'Love all your brethren with grave and compassionate eyes; be to orphans the same as parents; to widows be humane like husbands; affording to them their means of existence in all kindness, arranging marriages for those in their prime and for those without a trade assist with the necessary support through such work as they can do; and for the tradesman find employment'" In cap. 9, Peter continues, by exhorting them to brotherly love, and the mutual partaking of food at the common table, so that they may "be each others' guests." This is in accord with Canon 25, *Ap. Const.*: "Ex hic qui calibes in cenam pervenerunt jubemus, ut lectores, tantum et cantores, si velint, nuptias contrahant."

⁴⁶⁹ Chrysost, IX., p. 66, showing the happiness of the pentecostal and early christians: "Christiani prisci angelica Republica erant." He seems to mean that they formed a politico-economic state for earthly as well as post-mortem existence, which, on account of its perfect communism he calls the Angel republic.

changed and we are so fortunate as to have them all. But Paul being a Roman citizen was accorded citizenship and honored with what was denied to Peter who was at best, in the opinion of those aristocrats, nothing but a workingman. As such he was their organizer unto the new life.

That Peter was hanged upon the cross of his beloved master is history;⁴⁷⁰ yet the evidence is mostly confined to the mention found in the scriptural writings and the historians of the early church. Tertullian is authority for the proof that Peter was one of the victims of Nero's rage, at the burning of Rome.⁴⁷¹ Peter was a married man. We have some account though meagre, of his wife; and it may add to the interest and value of our narrative, as they both met martyrdom, to carry their annals along together. Neander turned his scrutinizing search to getting all the testimony extant and found that both Peter and his wife suffered martyrdom at Rome during the Neronian persecutions.⁴⁷² Tacitus,⁴⁷³ Suetonius, Dion Cassius and Orosius have given us a solid general basis to work on which makes the filling-in contributions of Clement, Tertullian, Chrysostom and the archaeological discoveries of recent days more interesting. There is one thing very instructive connected with their deaths. They were cremated, not buried in the flesh,⁴⁷⁴ like Paul; and their death was by crucifixion; whereas Paul was honored with a noble execution, and the same is said of Justin Martyr.

This is because Peter, like Jesus himself, was a workman. So great was his power as the successor of

⁴⁷⁰ Smith, *Dict. Bib.*, p. 2454: "The fact, however, of St. Peter's martyrdom at Rome rests upon very different grounds. The evidence for it is complete, while there is a total absence of any contrary statement in the writings of the early Fathers. We have, in the first place, the certainty of his martyrdom, in our Lord's prediction: John xxi., 18, 19: 'Ἀμὴν, ἀμὴν λέγω σοι, ὅτε ἡς νεώτερος ἐξώνυμες σεαυτὸν καὶ περιπάσεις, ὅπου ἤθελες.' ὅταν δε γηράσῃς ἐκτενείς τας χεῖρας σου καὶ ἄλλος σε ζώσει καὶ οἴσει, ὅπου οὐ θέλεις. Τοῦτο δὲ εἶπε σημαίνων, ποιῶ θανάτῳ δοξάσει τὸν θεόν.

⁴⁷¹ Tert., *De Scorpiaco*, cap. 12: "At Rome Nero was the first who stained with blood the rising faith. Then is Peter girt by another, when made fast to the cross. John, xxi., 18, 19, which 18th verse foretells to Peter by Christ himself, the manner of his death."

⁴⁷² *Planting*, Book IV., chap. 1.

⁴⁷³ On this celebrated page of history. Renan, *Hubert Lectures*, p. 70, of *trans.*, says: "The authenticity of this passage cannot be disputed."

⁴⁷⁴ The demand for cremation at Rome was a law of the Twelve Tables. For Cicero's mention of it, see Vol. I., p. 75, note 19, and he says noblemen only could be buried; Gorius, *Mon., Sive Columb.*, p. 2: "Quum Lex XII Tabularum defunctorum corpora in Urbe urere, aut sepelire veltum esset; de quo More Kirchmannus, *De Funere, Rom., Lib., II., cap. 22.*"

Jesus, recognized agent or head evangelist, the "rock" of the whole movement that christians of the early apostolic age were extremely proud of the fact that he was the fisherman, as Jesus had been the carpenter. Peter was the great apostle of economics. We know from Clement, his friend, that the common table with him and his brotherhoods was considered of the utmost importance.

This common table was not only an economic resource for a brother and sisterhood composed of poor people who lived by their toil, but it being the climax of the last supper of their beloved master, was a veritable "cœna sacra," on all devotional occasions. Socrates the great martyr and pre-christian-christian hallowed the cœna sacra in the symposiums of many a thiasos.⁴⁷⁵ It seems not a little strange that Rome, a vast city, at that time estimated to have contained two million inhabitants⁴⁷⁶ should have been so sensibly influenced by these organizations.

But, the real fact is, that the conquests, by which it had been hoped the unions, members and all, should be exterminated, actually concentrated still more; coming as they did from organized regions, dragged ruthlessly thither as prisoners of war. Before those wars Greek was little spoken at Rome. Only the polite and wealthy knew it and that mainly as an accomplishment. At the time we are describing Greek was the common vernacular; and what made it humiliating to the rich and great was that it was used by slaves and freedmen, already accustomed to a first-class unionism in far off Greek-speaking lands, huddling together their old loves and rebuilding their old organizations to Nero's horror and disgust.

Peter, though not, like Paul, a prisoner, was a Greek-speaking unionist. The old unions of the Greek-speaking East had for centuries the *anagenesis* or new birth—a striking instance of the manner in which old tenets cling to the christian plant. Many societies having the new birth, whatever it was, introduced the name of

⁴⁷⁵ *Plato, Pol.*, 1; *Xenoph., Convers.*, 8; where Socrates describing love and mutual fellowship is heard to say: "Πάντες ἐσμὲν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτου δια-
οῶται."

⁴⁷⁶ Consult *Chamb. Encyc.*, art. *Rome*. This is the number estimated for the time of *Vespasian*.

the new anagenesis into old Solonic unions.⁴⁷⁷ Spain had the kuriakos, or if transplanted and set up in Rome, the name is found changed to Cyriacus. Peter and his wife lived in one of these at Rome, in the Via Ostiensis.⁴⁷⁸ The most credible evidence we have regarding Peter's wife shows her to have been a deaconess of this miniature union, in the old road or street leading down the Tiber to Ostia the port of Rome. This great road teemed with trade organizations.⁴⁷⁹ Hundreds of inscriptions showing this are discovered. The cemetery of Peter is on this road. The vast trade union system along the Ostian Way just about this time was one of the wonderful points of neglected history. That Peter and his family were prominent in one of these large unions there can never exist a doubt. Until persecution struck them they could live, preach and prosper; for under the veil there was no poverty and all were equal.⁴⁸⁰ Of course, then, this peculiar family would become the butt of Nero's special wrath. They had introduced a new divinity; they preached and worked and organized, in Greek and Hebrew tongues; they were too prominent to escape the spies of the Roman guard. Indeed they may have been doomed like Seneca before the incendiary struck the flints which fired the city.⁴⁸¹

Unable to find a detailed history of the martyrdom of this pair we can only clutch, in passing, the scintillæ which occasionally fly from the pen of cursory writers. One of these informs us that Peter's wife suffered first. Clement of Alexandria enriches these desultory mentions

⁴⁷⁷ Oehler, *MSS.*, says: "Ὀργεῶνες. Athen., Peiræus, CIA. II., 610; ein νόμος der ὀργεωτών zu Ehren der Bendis, IV Jahrh. vor Chr.—Die Thraker besonders concessionirt als ὀργεῶνες der Bendis in Peiræus: Inschrift des IV oder III Jahrh. vor Chr., ungenau publicirt. Ἀναγέννησις, 1896. For more of these, see *Index*, catchword, *Anagenesis*. There were many of these orgoons whose members believed in and subscribed to the new Birth, ἀναγέννησις, which is still a tenet in the Petrine part of the church.

⁴⁷⁸ De Rossi, *Roma Sott.*, I, p. 583: "Κυριακὸς Ἰλλέρου or Cyriacus Petri Cœmeterium S. Cyriaci via Ostiensis—Petrus Mallius addit ubi est ecclesia S. Cyriaci." Peter was a lord as we have explained; and so he was κυριος over this "House of the Lord."

⁴⁷⁹ See Vol. I., pp. 382-4 and 440-2.

⁴⁸⁰ Lactantius, *Div. Inst.*, V., 14, 15: "Nemo Deo pauper est, nisi qui iustitia indiget..... nemo Clarissimus nisi qui opera misericordiæ largitur fecerit..... apud nos inter pauperes et divites, servos et dominos interest nihil; nec alia causa est cur nobis invicem fratrum nomen imperitamus, nisi qui pares esse nos credimus."

⁴⁸¹ Seneca, *Epist. to Paul*, just after the conflagration: "The christians and Jews are indeed commonly punished for the burning of the city; but that impious miscreant who delights in murders and butcheries, and disguises his villainies with lies, is appointed to, or reserved for his proper time.

in his Hortatory dissertation.⁴⁸² The fine details of these sufferings are covered in darkness, but the main facts have in a wonderful manner come down. We may with precision assume that Peter was married to a kind, sympathetic woman and mother and that she was high in office, performing the practical duties of a motherly manager, and that while her husband was disseminating the Word she was waiting on the common table and making happy the hungry who flocked in those times of danger, to her motherly retreat and were fed and comforted; for such was the early christianity.

The drama here closes to again open upon a death scene. We now hear of Peter's wife that she fell a victim to the merciless rage of Nero. She was led to execution. Her husband was also under arrest. Peter saw her on the march toward the Roman Golgotha, and in his agony cried out to the dying woman words of cheer.⁴⁸³ There were probably also many other women dragged to execution with her and dying on the same gibbet.

And now for Peter himself. In the light of a christian father he was, in the opinion of Nero and his creatures a ringleader; pronounced worthy of death he was led up to the cross. It is well known that this apostle had on the eve of similar suffering denied his master, which seems to have affixed itself upon his mind. He thought it worthy of himself to die on the cross, but when the hour came he doubtless thought that he was unworthy of following him on equal footing, and chose to be executed head downward.

As already observed, the poor and those among the ancient lowly who were obliged to earn their living as they went, were not buried within the city of Rome. Their bodies were usually burned. The burnt cinders of millions of the more wretched were cast out to mix with the dusts of dirty streets. But those belonging to a union with the burial attachment were always pro-

⁴⁸² *Strom.*, VII., Vol. III., p. 253, ed. Klotz, Leipz., 1832; "Φασι γ' οὖν τὸν μακάρεον θεάσαμενον τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα ἀγομένην τὴν ἐπὶ θάνατον ἡσθήναι μὲν τῆς κλήσεως χάριν καὶ τῆς εἰς οἶκον ἀνακομιδῆς ἐπιφωτῆσαι ἃ ἔτι μόλις προσεπτικῶς τε καὶ παρακλητικῶς ἐξ ὀνόματος προσείποντο. μεμνηθῶ αὐτῆ τοῦ κυρίου."

⁴⁸³ *Clem Alex., Strom.*, VII. Neander, *Plant.*, Beck V., chap. i. calls to mind the words of Clement who hands us down the tradition that when Peter saw her being led to martyrdom, he cried out. "O remember the Lord."

vided with an olla or *cinerarium* and niche or miniature vault for its reception.⁴⁸⁴ This accounts for the construction of the columbaria,⁴⁸⁵ the first of which was discovered in 1827, near the Appian Way, and is in a good state of preservation and of prodigious size. The unearthing of the great columbarium so excited the attention of the epigraphical schools that money was appropriated for continuing the research, and Bossius and De Rossi, with Gori before them, devoted their lives to a strictly scientific investigation with the result that a mass of evidence is exhumed proving the truth of the New Testament writings and also of many hitherto doubtful statements contained in the apochryphal contributions and hitherto unfathomable allusions of the profane writers in poetry and prose.⁴⁸⁶ De Rossi declares that the epigraphs and monuments are traced with precision to as early an age as the Flavii, who began their power and influence as emperors and high military leaders in the year 69, while the apostles were yet living. In fact this date fixes the chiselings discovered in the under-ground cemeteries in the days of Claudius and Nero.

After tracing Peter, the beloved and trusted companion of Jesus, to the cross which stretched out his arms as truthfully predicted by his messianic master, and amid his dying wails and those of his dear and innocent wife, we turn from the mournful scene to Paul. What became of him? Here again we are cowed in the precarious scraps and darklings of an aggravating incompleteness. Some say he went to Spain, planting there

⁴⁸⁴ Chrysost., III., p. 109: "Petrus qui Christum negaverat, post resurrectionem pro illo mortuus est, cruce capite in terram verso affixus." Again in Vol. VIII., p. 494: "Petro inverso capite crucifixus." Benedictine, *Trans.* Again, Orosius, VII., 7: "Nam primus Romæ Christianos supplicis et mortibus adfecit, ac per omnes provincias pari persecutione excruciarum imperavit: ipsumque nomen extirpare conatus beatissimos Christi Apostolos Petrum cruce Paulum gladio occidit.

⁴⁸⁵ For an account of the columbaria, see *Index*, in verb. *Columbarium*, pointing to pages containing our elaborate information, with illustrations.

⁴⁸⁶ De Rossi, *Roma Sott.*, Tome I., p. 186, thinks there can no longer exist any doubt as to the accuracy of the information derived from these finds: "L' esame dei titoli istorici citati dal Bossio in favore de documenti ignoti al Bossio illustranti l' esistenza e la storia di questi cemeteri medesimi dovranno a poco a poco essere accuratamente compiuti ai debiti luoghi lungo tutta l' opera della Roma sotterranea. Appunto nei cemeteri, cui la storia o la tradizione assegna l' origine apostolica al lume della più esatta critica archæologica io veggio, per così dire, gli incunabili e dei cristiani ipogei, e dell' arte cristiana e della christiana epigraha; ivi io trovo memorie de persone, che sembrano de tempi de Flavii a de Trajano e per fino dato precise di quegli anni."

the Word, and it is strongly hinted that Nero who seems at first to have fancied him and excused him from trial, actually accompanied him. But if so, he returned before the conflagration. Again, it is told to us by later writers that he was also in Britain and built up the church,⁴⁸⁷ perhaps with Joseph of Arimathea, at Glastonbury.⁴⁸⁸ Although it looks very doubtful whether the apostle could in so short a time have made his voyage with the slow modes of travel of those days, and gotten back as early as the year 64, yet he was a man of prodigious energy and unflinching determination, always full of enthusiasm and practical ideas. The episode of Joseph of Arimathea is going to bear inspection. It is about certain that whether Paul went or not, Joseph must have planted the church at Glastonbury not far from London, and that it was then that the union of carpenters was created, which Pudens planned and helped to organize by presenting them a plot of land, shown by the recent discovery of an inscription among its ruins.⁴⁸⁹ It is recounted of many of these evangelists that they traveled great distances and organized their Word as if by magic, the result of their labors being permanent. So Crescens went northward as far as Lyons and Vienne.⁴⁹⁰ But the fact must be known that a great number of trade unions existed at Vienne as early as Appius Claudius; and Crescens must have been

⁴⁸⁷ Lingard, quoting Theodoret in the *Hist. Anglo-Saxon Church*, App. note A., p. 350, speaking of "Our fishermen, publicans, tent-makers, etc.," quotes Theodoret: Περὶ νόμων, on the Attendance unto the suffering Greeks: "Ἑλληνικῶν Θεραπευτικῆ Παθημάτων." Theodoret here discusses the great evangelizing work of "Our Fishermen, publicans and tent-makers, who brought the law of the Gospel to all men, and persuaded not Romans only and the subjects of Rome, but the Scythians and Sauromatæ, and the Indians and the Seres, and the Hircanians and Bactrians and the Britons, and Cimbrians and Germans and in a word every nation and race of men to adopt the laws of him who died upon the cross. The original of Theodoret runs as follows: "Οἱ δὲ ἡμέτεροι ἀλγεῖς καὶ οἱ τελῶναι καὶ οἱ σκντοτόμοι ἅπαντι ἀνθρώποις τοὺς εὐαγγελικοὺς προσενήνοχασι νόμους· καὶ οὐ μόνον Ῥωμαίους καὶ ὑπὸ τούτοις τελούντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ Σκυθικὰ καὶ τὰ Σαυροματικὰ ἔθνη, καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Αἰθίοπας, καὶ Πέρσας καὶ Σήρας, καὶ Ὑκρανοὺς, Βακτριανοὺς, καὶ Βρεττανοὺς, καὶ Κιμβροὺς, καὶ Γερμανοὺς, καὶ ἀπαξάπλως παν ἔθνος καὶ γένος ἀνθρώπων δέξασθαι τοῦ σταυρωθέντος τοὺς νόμους ἀνεπίεισαν."

⁴⁸⁸ Lingard, *Hist. Antiqu., Anglo-Saxon Church*, app., note A., pp. 354-5: "There remains but one more testimony, that of Venantius Fortunatus, a poet of the sixth century, who in the following lines is supposed to state that St. Paul actually visited Britain:

"Transit et oceanum, vel qua fecit insula portum,
Quasque Britannus habit terras, quasque ultima Thule."

⁴⁸⁹ See *Index*, in verb. *Glastonbury*, referring to where its Latin is quoted.

⁴⁹⁰ Smith, *Bib. Dict.*, p. 506, refers to Paul's mention, *II. Tim.*, iv., 40, that he went to Dalmatia and admits that he may have been the founder of the church in Vienne.

assisted by their milling industries on the river Gère. They were certainly a very active and tireless force of workers.

There is, however, but one assured point regarding Paul after about A.D. 64. He was condemned and suffered death. The manner of his execution was by decapitation.⁴⁹¹ The indications are that Nero, so long as he knew nothing more against him than that he was connected with the Dionysan unions, which furnished him so many entertainments, was favorable; but when, through his spies, he discovered that he was one of the great advocates of the new religion, he became very much enraged and after a mock trial ordered his execution. Being a Roman citizen, he had the honor, however, of being beheaded, rather than crucified.⁴⁹² This unbridled and frightful monster — an undoubted maniac, continued in power for five years his senseless destruction of the human race, proving the absurdity of imperial government, and was at last killed by a conspiracy of his own friends.

There was a rumor current for nearly a half century, that Nero, who had threatened to return and finish his work of assassination, would again emerge from his assumed hiding and come back to resume sway from beyond the Euphrates.⁴⁹³

⁴⁹¹ Chrysost., Vol., IX., p. 407: "Neronis jusu, Paulus capite truncatus est;" *id.*, xi., p. 186: "Nero imperatore in Paulum sæviabat." Smith, *Bib. Dict.*, in verb. *Peter*: "The time and manner of the Apostle's martyrdom are less certain. The early writers imply, or distinctly state, that he suffered at, or about the same time (with Paul), Dionys. Areop., *Opera*; "κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν," with Paul, in the Neronian persecution. All agree that he was crucified, a point sufficiently determined by our Lord's prophecy. Origen, ap. Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, III., 1. who could easily ascertain the fact, and is not inaccurate in historical matters, says that at his own request he was crucified with his head downwards. This statement was generally received by christian antiquity.

⁴⁹² *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VII., 494, note 7. It is one of the two Vienna MSS., and reads: "Paul, the teacher of the Gentiles, having proclaimed the Gospel of Christ to the Gentiles from Jerusalem even to Illyricum, was cut off in Rome while teaching the truth, by Nero and King Agrippa, being beleaded, and has been buried in Rome itself;" Meyers, *Konversations-Lexicon*, in verb. *Paulus*: "Endlich wieder in Rom verhaftet und unter Nero zugleich mit Petrus hingerichtet und zwar enthauptet worden sein. Warscheinlicher schlossen schon die zwei Jarhre der Apostelgeschichte mit Process und hinrichtung ab. Die Kirche hat ihm zugleich mit Petrus den 25 Jan. als Pauli Bekehrungstag gewidmet.

⁴⁹³ Neander, *Plant.*, Book V., and *Hist. Church*, I., p. 137, orig., telling the story written afresh by Lücke, *Einleitung i. d., Offenb., Johannis*, that Nero, was believed by John the Evangelist at the time he wrote the *Revelations*, not to be dead, but escaped to a retreat beyond the Euphrates to save himself from the wrath of the people. *Rev.*, xiii., 3. where Nero is meant, as one of the beasts. He is thought by many to have been the monster of the bottomless pit.

On the spot near where stood the temple of Diana and exactly the area covered by the low dens of workmen along the Tiber, a temple has been built by the irrepressible christians far surpassing the glories of the ancient edifice, who, says Gibbon, "derive their claim of universal dominion from a humble fisherman of Galilee."

History uses its low subterfuge of tergiversation, and makes the encyclopedias to this day, like Cicero of old, fervid in calumnious defamation of Clodius. This champion of labor they accuse of invading the shrine of the Bona Dea. The least insight into facts would disabuse the encyclopedists of their error; since the Bona Dea was none other than Diana, like Clodius protector of the poor and provider for their fortunes, pleasures and joys. Kinship is indeed claimed for her, with Nemesis, the goddess who pursued and scourged with vengeful fury the greedy who grasped and appropriated more than their share. Such is the foundation and origin of the great Vatican cathedral of Rome.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONTINUED.

THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

SECTION IV.,—VESPASIAN—TITUS.

GALBA—Short Reign of Seven Months Closed by Assassin's Dagger—Vespasian—Voted to Power by Prætorian Guard—Story of Narcissus—Vespasian Friendly to the Organizations—A Moment of Safety and Rest—Flavian Amphitheatre or Colosseum—Strange Discovery of a Slab Containing Name of its Builder, a Christian—He was Guadentius, Master Workman of a Builders' Guild—Vespasian's Short Reign—Nine Years of Peace, Comfort and Prosperity—Titus, his Son—Reigned only two years—Continued Prosperity—The Celebrated Eleven Years of Happiness—Titus Continues the Kindness of his Father—Cruel in His Destruction of Jerusalem—Mild in his Government at Rome.

ON the death of Nero, the scepter fell for the space of seven months to Galba when, like Tiberius, Claudius and Nero, he fell by the assassin's dagger.

Vespasian, a soldier without the prestige or power of a great gens family, but extremely popular, was chosen mostly at the instance of the army, to be emperor; and he was raised to that high station in 69, the same year Nero fell. Here comes again into history the strange double-functioned character, Narcissus, the same powerful freedman, who as a favorite of the freedmen of the domus Augustalis and business genius under Claudius, took the contract of cutting the tunnel for letting out

the unwholesome waters of Lake Fucino.⁴⁹⁵ Paul mentions him in one of his Epistles as a christian. In back years when both were young, Narcissus, working his influence on the emperor Claudius, secured Vespasian's appointment to go to Germany as *legatus legionis* and in A.D. 43, this future monarch even went to Britain on a similar mission. Thus Vespasian not only knew the christians and was under great obligations to them for their acts of kindness, but he may have been a convert, like Seneca.

The results were natural. Vespasian treated the new sect with much respect and favor, but was an enemy to the Jews. He repealed the cruel rescripts of Nero, rebuilt the temples burned in the fire, restored the influence of the *domus Augustalis* and reopened the *gynæcia*, and the booths where so many thousands in the umbrage of the old *collegia* had earned a living.

Among other things this emperor did was to build the great Flavian amphitheatre, the ruins of which are still a landmark for curiosity seekers at Rome. There is an inscription in form of an epitaph to the architect, Guadens by name, who built this colosseum and who was a genuine christian.⁴⁹⁶ His name and works are inscribed upon a stone which, as an epitaph, is recorded in the archæological records, and has been commented upon with much interest at the epigraphical seminaries. He certainly worked for Vespasian and Titus, being an architect of merit, else he could not have constructed so vast and famous an edifice. But Vespasian was so relentlessly inimical to the Jews that he forced twelve thousand of them to work as war prisoners on its con-

⁴⁹⁵ The prodigious amount of work is told to us by Suetonius, *Claudius*, 20: "Fucinum aggressus est per tria autem millia passuum, partim ecfosso monte, partim exciso, canalem absolvit ægre, et post undecim annos, quamvis continuis triginta hominum millibus sine intermissione operantibus." After eleven years working night and day the tunnel was opened but the water would not flow. Agrippina, Nero's mother, wife of Claudius was so angry that she caused the murder of Narcissus.

⁴⁹⁶ Orell., 4955—Romæ. The date is that of Vespasian. — *Epitaph of the Man who Built the Coliseum*. Its last few lines read: "Tuo Autori promisit iste. Dat. Kristus." *Id est Christus*, "Omnia tibi qui Alium parabit Theatrum in Celo." meaning that Christ has promised thee the author all things who shall design, prepare and construct another theatre in heaven. The editor's note runs: "Hunc putant architectum fuisse Amphitheatri Flavianæ, a Vespasiano propter Christiana sacra, quibus nomen dederit, supplicis affectum. Sermone barbaro minimeque Vespasiani seculum referenti difficultatem aliquam creari nemo infitiabitur." This man was certainly a member of the Dionysian artists and a *κύριος* or quinquennialis; but he probably outlived Vespasian and Titus and was executed by Domitian. The great Coliseum was dedicated in A.D. 80. See note 498.

struction. Two testimonies prove him to have been a christian; first the epitaph reads explicitly that he died in Christ; again Vespasian was very favorable to the christianized unions of Dionysan artists and awarded them the appointments to perform public work on a large scale. The inference therefore is that Guadentius and his union of skilled masons built the Flavian Amphitheatre; he, as quinquennalis or responsible director, presiding over the architectural work up to its completion in A.D. 80. Following the rule given us by Dr. Ramsay, to the effect that the date of an epitaph is by no means the date of the interment, but that in many cases it was chiseled much later, we have the latter part of the note of explanation in the Orellian collection disentangled: Guadens or Guadentius, the architect, as we have seen, was not executed by Vespasian, but years later by Domitian, who murdered thousands. Those objecting to the statement⁴⁹⁷ in the inscription on account of the "barbarous language not conforming with the politer Latin of Vespasian's time, will find themselves nonplussed by Ramsay's discovery that the epitaph was not chiseled before the death of Domitian, who discouraged letters and whelmed all such artistic work in degeneracy and ruin.

Titus, his son, on the death of Vespasian in 97, took the control of government, and during his two years' reign the same friendship continued toward the christians at Rome. For our history these two reigns are uneventful. They are the celebrated Eleven Years of peace and happiness.

⁴⁹⁷ Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics Phryg.*, commenting on his no. 366: "The dates of this and many other inscriptions is not to be understood as the date of the death of the person buried in the tomb. It was only in the developed christian epitaphic system that the day of death was engraved on the tomb." This very important fact pointed out by Dr. Ramsay is especially true of the early insers., and in another place he admits that secrecy on account of dangers was the cause.

⁴⁹⁸ Orell., no. 4955, note *ad fin.*: "Fieri tamen potest, ut diu post Vespasiani tempora Guadentio tunc jam pro Martyre culto positus, sit titulus." The inscription is in the present church of S. Martina at Rome; see Venuti, *Deser.*, T. I., p. 51. *Roma Sotterranea della Chiesa de S. Martina.*

CHAPTER XVI.

CONCLUDED.

THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

SECTION V.,—DOMITIAN.

DOMITIAN—Another Son of the Generous Vespasian—One of the most Terrible of Tyrants—An Account of his Murderous Havoc—Valuable History of Dion Cassius—Gibbon declares he means Christians though he Calls them Jews—Domitilla—Said to have Lived through Nero's Time—Atrocities of Domitian at Puteoli—Domitilla Persecuted—Her Husband Executed—Persecutions Raged at Rome—Newly Found Inscriptions Prove her a Historical Character—Inscription of Gruter—Wonderful Discoveries in Under-Ground Rome—Elegantly Ornamented Halls, School Rooms, Eating Chambers, Frescoings Sixty Feet beneath the Surface—They were Abodes of Hidden Brotherhoods during Persecutions of Domitian—Inscribed Mausoleums of Nearly all the Celebrated Martyrs Found—Peter, Paul, Domitilla, Pudens, Claudia—Innumerable Hosts of Others Unknown—Vast Revelations of the Excavation Funds—Story of Callistus and Carpophorus—Ashes of Blastus—Under-ground Monuments of the Via Salaria Vetus—The Catacombs of the Appian Way—Great Columbarium—End of the Tyrant Domitian.

Nor so, with the monster Domitian, Vespasian's younger son. He blasted the good name of the Flavian stock. Dion Cassius and Tacitus are our principal chroniclers of this creature's career. For some reason he became incensed against the unions of Puteoli. There is no historical reason given for his especial hatred of the christians of this place. We have, in section Nero

of this chapter and elsewhere, shown that there existed many organizations at Puteoli. It was left for Domitian to systematically persecute them, giving as his reasons that their moral methods did not conform with the established paganism.⁴⁹⁹

On the character and career of this monarch, who reigned A.D. 81-96, every authority is agreed that he terribly persecuted the christians.⁵⁰⁰ It was Domitian who banished John the evangelist, to the Isle of Patmos and about the same time he commenced the persecution of the Jews. Dion Cassius, as Gibbon avers, means the christians, where he recounts Domitian's frightful persecution of the Jews on account of *atheotes* or conversion to christianity;⁵⁰¹ for he certainly could not have meant atheism, although he might have had reference to the perversion of morals, such as christianity used to excite against pagan ethics.

We will now turn back, as we have promised, to Puteoli, the place celebrated by the landing of Paul and his phenomenal reception and entertainment by brothers, on his way to Rome and death. There is a lapse of twenty years. Domitian, another cruel monarch, like Nero, has determined upon rooting out the new "pests." On this we have the fortunate history of Dion Cassius. At the commercial Mediterranean port of Puteoli, once celebrated for its shipping, great numbers of trade organizations existed. A very large contingent of the population of this city was Hebrew-Phœnician, speaking a lingo of the Greek. The Phœnicians had colonized the place with branch unions as positively shown by inscriptions. This was all acceptable enough to the Romans so long as they remained pagan and conformed to the state religion; but the moment it was discovered

⁴⁹⁹ Dion Cassius, LXVII., c. 14: "Ἐγκλημα ἀθεότητος, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἶδη ἐξοκέλλοντες πολλοὶ καταδικάσθησαν."

⁵⁰⁰ Meyers, *Kon. Lex.*, in verb. *Domitianus*: "Vorzugsweise ersah er sich die ausgesuehnsten und bedeutendsten Männer zu opfern seiner Grausamkeit; aber auch Juden und Christen wurden verfolgt, und drei-und-neunzig wurden mit einmal alle Philosophen aus Rom vertrieben."

⁵⁰¹ Neander, *Plant.*, Book V.; *Hist. Chr. Rel.*, I., p. 93. *trans.*, note 3, is the historian who confirms the statement. Again, he says: "The words of Dion Cass., LXVII., cap. 14: 'Ἐγκλημα ἀθεότητος, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἶδη ἐξοκέλλοντες πολλοὶ καταδικάσθησαν.' The uniting of the charge of ἀθεότης with that of an inclination toward Jewish customs, may have allusion to christianity, if ἀθεότης is not to be understood as barely referring to the denial of the gods of the state religion. . . . the charge of ἀθεότης. . . . could, a fortiori, be brought against the conversion to christianity."

that they had become allies with the hated christians who introduced a new divinity in the worship of Christ, there was a great deal of trouble.⁶⁰²

Domitian, through his spies discovered this, and now the history of Dion Cassius avails us. It appears from this author, who begins the fourteenth chapter of his sixty-seventh book with a description of the environs of Puteoli and the neighboring island of Pandataria, where Domitilla was banished, that people here meant as those persecuted, are the same Puteolenses, who, about twenty years before had feasted and favored Paul, and escorted him to Rome. We have already shown abundant evidence proving that they were the membership of a large number of trade and labor unions colonized from Phœnicia, close by Cæsarea, where Paul was tried and where he shipped to meet the sentence of the emperor.

Although not of the noblest Roman stock, like his predecessors Galba and all before Vespasian, still he took upon himself in contradistinction to his father and brother, to wage war on the christians. There is a jumble of meanings caused by the failure of Dion Cassius to mention the name of christians, but calling them all Jews, then the general term by which in Rome the Semitic race was known; and it will be necessary to clear this up by quoting the well-expressed judgment of Gibbon,⁶⁰³ who speaking of the outbreak of this great persecution which seems to have burst forth at Puteoli, says; "Domitilla was banished to a desolate island, on the coast of Campania; and sentences, either of death or confiscation were pronounced against a great number of persons who were involved in the sad accusation. The guilt imputed to their charge was that of atheism and Jewish manners—a singular association of ideas which *cannot with propriety be applied except to the christians.*" Continuing on the same subject the honest historian speaks of this imputation as an "honorable crime," and

⁶⁰² Milman, as editor of Gibbon, ch. xvi., note 117: "Dion Cassius must have known the christians; they must have been the subject of his particular attention: since this author, Gibbon, supposes that Dion wishes his master to profit by these 'councils of persecution.'" Guizot in a note to his *Translation of Gibbon*, says: "It is probable that Dion Cassius has often designated the christians by the name of Jews."

⁶⁰³ *Decl. and Fall*, ch. xvii., with notes 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, and taking his information from Dion Cass., LXVII., Niphilin, who brings in the celebrated christian, Saint Domitilla.

adds: "The church has placed both Clemens and Domitilla among its first martyrs, and has branded the cruelties of Domitian with the name of the second persecution. It was in fact, the third.

Domitilla, although she is canonized among the martyrs, certainly did not lose her life in this banishment, but must have been put to death later probably as an outcome of the conspiracy which worked the assassination of the monarch fifteen years later. The name of the assassin was Stephen, Domitilla's freedman.⁵⁰⁴

The acknowledgment of Gibbon and Guizot is, that the property of those not executed outright was confiscated. It is well established that the unions located at Puteoli were guilds possessing assets in common which amounted to large sums of money.⁵⁰⁵ The disappearance of these associations for about half a century and the non-mention of Puteoli either by the christians or by profane history is proof that they, together with the churches, went out of history, because they were almost completely extinguished. It had been a vast hive of organizations and most of their faithful inscriptions, like those of Rhodes, which met the same fate, were of an earlier date than Nerva. Everything was sunk into oblivion by the inhuman act of Domitian and his truculent military cronies.⁵⁰⁶

Let us now proceed to the real history of this and the other persecutions of this despot.⁵⁰⁷ They also raged at Rome. It looks certain that Dio means Peter's friend.

The best we can do here, is to paraphrase Dion's account in a running form; he says, speaking of Domitian's cruelties a short time before his assassination by Stephen who was Domitilla's household servant that:

⁵⁰⁴ Suetonius, *In Domit.*, 17, where considerable is given of the tragedy. An array of conspirators is mentioned, making it appear that it was connected with gladiatorial games "quidam e gladiatorio ludo vulneribus septem contunderant." See Philostratus, *Vita Apollon.*, I., 8.

⁵⁰⁵ Dion Cass., *tit.*: "Οἱ δὲ τῶν γούν οὐσίαν ἐστερήσαν," clearly explains that it was their property that was seized.

⁵⁰⁶ See the *Inscr.*, Orell., no. 1246, of the date A.D. 117, showing that at Puteoli they had all gone back to the old pagan worship.

⁵⁰⁷ Dion Cass., LXVII., xii. 14: "Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἡ ὁδὸς ἢ ἀπὸ Σινοέσσης εἰς ποντεόλους ἀγούσα λιθοῖς ἐστορεσθῆ. καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν φλάβιον Κλήμεντα ὑπατεύοντα, καίπερ ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα, καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ αὐτὴν συγγενὴ ἑαυτοῦ Φλαβίαν Δομιτῆσαν ἔχοντα κατέσφαξεν ὁ Δομιτιανός. ἐπηνέχθη δὲ ἀμφὸν ἐγκλημα ἀθεότητος, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἤθη ἐξοκέλλοντες πολλοὶ κατεδικάσθησαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν, ἀπεθάνον, οἱ δὲ, τῶν γούν οὐσίαν ἐστερήσαν. Ἡ δὲ Δομιτῆλλα ὑπερωρίσθη μόνον εἰς Πανδατερείαν. Τὸν δὲ δὴ Γλαβρίωνα τὸν μετὰ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ἄρξαντα, κατηγορηθέντα τὰ τε ἄλλα, καὶ οἷα οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ὅτι καὶ θηρίοις ἐμαχέτο, ἀπέκτεινεν."

"About this time the road which leads from Sinuessa to Puteoli was bestrewn with stones,⁶⁰⁸ for the same year Flavius Clemens a consul and relative, the son of Flavius Sabinus, who was married to Domitilla, Domitian's niece, was arrested and executed, together with a great many others. The crimes charged against these persons was treason or blasphemy against the official religion; and on account of this, many others were also pursued and condemned, Domitilla among them. Some of them were punished with death, and others had their property seized and confiscated. Domitilla herself was banished to the isle of Pandataria, off the coast. Glabrio, who had been an archon for a certain Trajan, and many others, were informed against, hunted down, forced to enter the ring as gladiators with wild beasts, and killed."

This, literally rendered, is about the substance of Dion's short-cut but significant words. Now who was this Glabrio and who was Trajan for whom and whose he had served. It would be interesting to know who this Glabrio was. He could not have been a military commander for Trajan, afterwards emperor, for he was of too low a birth—a thing shown by his being condemned in the arena, although Trajan was a grown man at the time. The more probable truth is that the Trajan here meant, was some powerful kurios or archon of the unions, for indeed, Dion as much as says so, and that Glabrio was their business man in charge. Domitian and his greedy creatures were swift to seize and profit by their property. It resolves itself into another of those terrible massacres of the christians where they were flung naked and unarmed, like good old Ignatius, to the fierce beasts on the sands of the amphitheatre.

History is silent, but there is an inscription upon a slab of this date, which is accredited to Naples, about seven miles from the city of Puteoli, showing that those poor wretches, such as were left of them, having lost their manhood in these persecutions, resorted to a flattery of Domitian in order to appease his official hounds during the bloody work and terror at Puteoli, where he persecuted his christian relations, Domitilla and Clem-

⁶⁰⁸ This appears to be an epigrammatical expression; it was a moment of cruelties and great suffering.

eus and thousands of the unnumbered poor.⁶⁰⁹ The archæological records of Flavia Domitilla are numerous and not only establish her as a historical character, but dispel every doubt that she was a directress to a kuria-akos at Puteoli. It is the same Domitilla mentioned by Dion and is counted among the martyrs as having been a christian, persecuted and some think put to death at this maritime city of Campania.⁶¹⁰ Little has been made public regarding this remarkable character. An effort has been made to deny her race as one of the proletarians, and to establish her as a noble. It has been strongly argued that the Clemens connected with the story of Dion Cassius quoted by us, who was put to death by Domitian at Puteoli, was in reality no other than Peter's friend. One thing is certain. He was a christian. According to Dion he was married to Domitilla. But an inscription which we have just quoted shows two Domitillas, and one, if not both, were freedwomen. This woman was Domitian's niece, but only by a morganatic alliance so frequent in those times. Flavius Sabinus was of real gens family stock;⁶¹¹ but the inscription which we quote,⁶¹² gives evidence that these characters are over-strained.

The early christians did not plant their Word of promise among the rich and great but among the poor and lowly who really needed the promised salvation, and that salvation had the economical as well as the spiritual promise. Nevertheless Domitilla, either directly or indirectly came in for considerable sums of money or other goods for in her name we find the most sumptuous equipments of under-ground Rome.⁶¹³ It ap-

⁶⁰⁹ Orell., 1246, A.D. 117. The inscription simply mentions Nerva, but is of little value to our purpose. Much better ¹ Orelli's no 763; it speaks of both Sabina and Domitilla. It reads: "Sabina Aug., Sabina clere. Ser. T. Caes. Aug. ab ornamento sui fecit.—DOMITIANUS DOMITIA FLAVIA DOMITILLA." Rome in urnula. This is a very suggestive one; date of Domitian, since it speaks of Flavia Domitilla.

⁶¹⁰ Gruter, 245, 5: "Flavia Domitilla, filia Flavie Domitillæ, Imp. Cæsaris. . . Ani neptis fecit Glyceræ l., et libertis libertabusque, posterisque eorum, curante T. Flavio Onesimo conjugi. Benemer." Found at Rome in an ear-shaped crypt, and bearing the evidences of being a memento of a college of christians.

⁶¹¹ Gibbon, ch. xvi., note 51.

⁶¹² See *Index*, in verb., *Domitilla*, for our note quoting the *insc.* of Orell., no. 763, where they are clericals, and mere servants. In the no. 245 of Gruter the Domitillas are freedwomen.

⁶¹³ Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.* I., pp. 212, 213, says: "De Rossi, *Bull. Crist.*, 1865, p. 95, Renan, *Marc Aurèle*, p. 537, a découvert à Saint Domitille une vaste salle, ornée de peintures et entourée de bancs en pierres; à côté, on remarque un puits et une citerne c'était la schola où les chrétiens

pears that Domitilla in those dangerous times was a great power. She must have been of considerable consequence, for there have been found many suggestive inscriptions pointing to her influence and support and it is history that a man named Stephen, who was either a slave or freedman of Domitilla and who had recourse to the palace, crawled into Domitian's private presence and murdered him, whether with the knowledge of his mistress or not is not positively known. There is an inscription, found near Puteoli, which exhibits Domitilla as a priestess, proving that she was a great *kuria*, or mistress of a *kuriake* at that place.⁵¹⁴

Although this once important benefactress and comforter of the persecuted unions is made prominent mention of at Puteoli, yet she survived her banishment in the isle of Pandataria and when she returned to her work at the town and found naught but desolation, the members all dead or scattered and the property in the hands of their enemies she must have returned to Rome. So fierce had been the persecution here, likewise in the city, that whatever she did to restore happiness and order is unknown except through recently discovered inscriptions. But the fact that she is on the Breviary of martyrs at Rome, gives us a very strong and darkling hint that she must actually have suffered a violent death under Nerva or Trajan.⁵¹⁶

In the words of De Rossi given in our notes in this s' assemblaient leurs agapes." De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, I., pp. 184-185, found her in the Via Ardeatina: "Cæmeterium s.s. Hermetis et Domitillæ (Petrus Mallius addit: est foris portam Pincianam, ubi est ecclesia s. Hermetis martyris). Urbis Romæ cæmeteriorum mirabilium." *id.*, p. 177. Callistus and Peter are in the same cemetery, Via Ardeatina. As to the secrets of this cemetery, he says, p. 168: "in uno di quali vidi nella volta le imagini de martiri storici di quel cemetero, designate dai loro nomi, Pietro Marcellino, Tiburzio, Gorgonio." He further states that more excavations may show other valuable things and that, to prove that the cemeteries were not unknown in the 2nd century, pictures of the 2nd century were found there. The despoilers did work of years as late as A.D. 150. But every appearance proves the great secrecy that was kept up.

⁵¹⁴ Orell., 740, 741, 742, 743, 744. The number 740, speaks of the House of eternal peace. It was during Domitian's frightful reign, when it is known nearly all the christians were murdered. The fine inscriptions are christian. Some of the poor fellows belonged, or had belonged to the emperors as slaves or freedmen. They were mostly christianized collegia. The legends show this. No. 747 speaks of Domitilla and is christian.

⁵¹⁵ Orell., 2231: "C. Asconio C. F. Fab. Sardo. III., Vir. I. D. Præf. Fabr. fratri Cusinæ M. F. SARDI MATRI ET SIBI ASCONIA C. F. AUGURINI SACERDOS DIVÆ DOMITILLÆ."

⁵¹⁶ De Rossi, *Rom. Sotteran.*, I., p. 186, has established that Domitilla, together with her *κuriakē* are in the cemetery of the Via Ardeatina; "Fatte queste osservazioni sui pochi monumenti che oggi conosciamo del cemetero di Lucina passo a quello di Domitilla sulla Via Ardeatina, e che questo cemetero sia la necropoli, cui il Bossio con i Suoi seguaci quasi per auton-

chapter, mention is made of an extra pagan inscription found in the interior of the ciriacus or in Greek kuriakos or chapel of this under-ground Mausoleum of Domitian and this "una lapide profana contemporanea," is held by a geologist who was engaged in the excavations of the spot in 1860, to be proof positive that this is the burial place of Domitilla.^{516, 517}

It appears, that the excavations presided over by De Rossi and others have uncovered from a great depth a huge ciriacus, or kuriakos or subteranean church. All customs and habits have a legitimate origin, and the origin of a graveyard around a church lies in the burial clause of the ancient law of the collegium funeraticium, or collegium tenuiorum, the meaning of which was a society of the poor and degraded. Solon gave those the right to organize for mutual help knowing the great power of socialism as a purely economic means; that right during the Roman conquests was stripped from them by the pusilanimous aristocrats, with the exception of the clause permitting organization for burial purposes. The unions then, hid their economic phase while they sedulously kept it in spite of all attempts to put them down, and continued to all outside appearance under the legalized burial clause, sanctifying their confraternity with a temple and placing their graveyard around it. Here we have the chapel and churchyard and it is so to-day. There were no such institutions known to earlier pagan times.

But during the fierce attacks of Claudius, Nero and Domitian, even the law permitting this ambiguous association did not enough shield them from the grip of Roman law, and they then dived under ground, maintaining still, and according to law, a graveyard around their chapel. As the ground for many feet in depth

cmassia ha dato il nome di Callisto, lo dimostrerò con ogni certezza in questo volume. Ma preverò anche un altro punto assai più importante, che cioè il nome di Domitilla datogli nei documenti ecclesiastici è autenticato da una lapide profana contemporanea a Flavia Domitilla. Qui adunque le origini del sepolcreto contemporaneo al primo secolo dal solo nome di Domitilla sono a bastanza certificate."

⁵¹⁷ This curious tablet reads: "M. Antonius restitutus felicit Ypo gev. sibi et suis fidenti. in Domino." It reads like an epitaph speaking in very strong language of the faithful brotherhood in the Lord. The remarks of De Rossi, *Rom. Sott.*, I., p. 109, are: ".....ed assai più antico è il seguente prezioso titolo rinvenuto nel 1853 dentro il cimitero di Domitilla, (See above just quoted.) La bella formula 'fidentibus in Domino' in questo latissimo titolo aggiunta al 'suis' ci spiega, che il 'sibi et suis' nelle epigrafi cristiane non può averi quel largo senso, che ha nello pagano."

is planed away, these otherwise phenomenal sepultures appear. So Domitilla had her *kuriaké* or in Latin *cyriacus*, with her chapel.

But in her case it was a splendid abode, Hades-like, though it was.⁶¹⁸ De Rossi, as we have shown, described a vast hall ornamented with paintings and surrounded with stone seats. On one side there is a well and also a cistern. This is the *schola*, a large room the christians used in secret, to assemble and enjoy their love-feasts, listen to sermons, deliberate upon and arrange for the economical means of the day and the morrow, and enjoy the common meals together. So they had not only this of Domitilla, which so fortunately answers as a splendid and undeniable specimen, but many others, some of which we shall be able to show. De Rossi⁶¹⁹ has been able, partly with his own labor and partly through the aid of his brother, Michele Stefano, a geologist engaged in these excavations, to bring to light two other important specimens of historical characters of the time of Paul, buried or conserved in two different under-ground cemeteries; those of the *Agro Verano*, and of *San Valentino*.

One of the martyrs whose ashes now lie in the under-ground Rome, is *Callistus*. This is another strange double-dealing character of these tempestuous and dangerous times when a dense secrecy was an absolute necessity. He is recorded in the *Ante-Nicine Breviary of Martyrs*, and his name appears in connection with a strange story. He first appears as a christian slave of a man named *Carpophorus* at Rome, and probably a heartless slave driver who thought of nothing beyond making profit out of the labor of his wretched chattels.

⁶¹⁸ De Rossi, *Rom. Sott.*, Vol. I., p. 168: "Con le piante del Bossio in mano tentai de ritrovare e riconoscere il sito d'uno di principali ingressi e delle principali cripte del cimitero, che allora si chiamava di Callisto, e che vedremo essere di Domitilla. Nel labirinto di quella spaventosa necropoli m'inaltrai attraverso gl'interramenti e le rovine rinvenni el punto indicato nella pianta del Bossio," etc., and he cites his note 3 (Rossi): "Vedi la pianta dell'ordine inferiore del cimitero di Callisto, no. 3."

⁶¹⁹ See *supra*, note 513.

⁶²⁰ *Roma Sott.*, I., p. 60, of *Analysis* of his brother Michele Stephano de Rossi, a geologist detailed in the excavations at Rome: "... ora accennerò soltanto tre esempli assai dimostrativi, che mi sono forniti dall'agro Verano, dal cimitero di S. Valentino e da una regione del cimitero di Domitilla. Sulla Via Tiburtina presso l'agro Verano il colle, ov'è il vasto cimitero di *Ciriaca*, negli ultimi anni naturalmente, brano nella sua ultima lacinia mèrèdionale,..... che quelle gallerie e cubicoli secondano perfino la sinuosità dell'esterna costa del colle. Nel cimitero di S. Valentino sulla Flaminia si accede ora ai piani diversi, non per scale interne, ma per apertura orizzontali," etc.

But in Callistus he found one not so easily handled; he was indeed outwitted by him, for the slave wimbled himself into his master's confidence and soon became private secretary and treasurer. Here the scale turns against him, for the next we hear is that he is in a *pistrinum* or treadmill, having been sent there by Carphorus for the alleged crime of embezzlement. This, it is charged, was a *fraudis pia*, by his many friends in the guild of the house of the Cæsars, secretly christian. Their influence secured his freedom. After he had manifested his ability in the secret union, we find him again arrested by the Roman police and sent to far-off Sardinia as a public convict, to work in the mines. But the christians had by this time a regular discipline established in their unions, to cover such cases.⁵²¹ Callistus was a second time assisted by some secret means, which is however, explained by Tertullian a century later in his apology, declaring that his union or corpus collected money for such purposes. The next we hear, is that Callistus is made a bishop and finally we have him recorded as a martyr in the Roman Catholic Breviary. So we have Saint Callistus.

Examining the subterranean inscriptions exhumed by the epigraphical seminaries, we find this same Callistus to have been cremated and his ashes preserved in the same cemetery along with many others in the Via Appia at Rome, now protected under cover of the church of San Sebastiano which we visited on a memorable occasion, in the year 1869.⁵²²

Another New Testament character is exhumed and rises to the surface, in the name and person of Blastus, a christian Phœnician, who was chamberlain to King Herod at Tyre and Sidon.⁵²³ This is interesting to those

⁵²¹ Tert., *Apol.*, xxxix., later, and as soon as it was safe to divulge, lets out the whole method, and Mommsen, Waltzing, and Oehler admit that it was a regular collegium or trade union: "corpus sumus de conscientia religionis et disciplinæ modicam unusquisque stîpem menstrua die apponit Nam inde non epulis, nec potaculis, nec ingratiis voratrinis dispensatur, sed egenis alendis humanisque, et pueris et puellis re ac parentibus destitutis, jamque domesticis senibus, item naufragis, et si qui in metallis, et si qui in insulis vel in custodiis, deuntaxat ex cause dei sectæ, alumni confessionis suæ fiunt."

⁵²² De Rossi, *Rom. Sott.*, I., pp. 184-5, Relics of two apostles in the Via Appiana deposited a short time after their death: "E fosse anche il cimitero di Callisto appellato altresse di Lucina," and again in his *Index Itinerarius*, p. 180: "Cœmeterius Callisti ad S. Xystum, Via Appia" and much of value on p. 232 "*Callisto—San Sebastiano—Via Appia.*"

⁵²³ Acts, xii., 20: "Ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἠρώδης θυμομαχῶν Τυρίους καὶ Σιδωνίους· ὁμοθυμαδὸν δὲ παρήσαν πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ πείσαντες Βλάστον, τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ καϊτῶνος τοῦ βασιλέως, ἤτοῦντο εἰρήνην διὰ τὸ τρέφεσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν ψυχὰν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς."

wishing to know why so many Phœnicians flourished among the early christian unions. The story of Blastus connecting him with the escape of Peter from prison, and his influence with Herod at Tyre and Sidon, is told us in the twelfth chapter of the Acts. But our interest is aroused by the evidence it furnished that the Phœnicians, who possessed such powerful colonies at Puteoli, were so early converted to the Word of promise.

Blastus went to Rome; for his ashes are preserved among the martyrs with an unmistakable inscription in the ecclesia Johannis, Via Salaria Vetus.⁵²⁴

Priscilla was a great character. She died the martyr's death like all the others under circumstances long unknown, but recently coming to light. The discoveries of under-ground Rome much resemble those of Pompeii. They are both products of government conducted excavations of the repositories holding human remains deposited by accident or purpose at about the same period, in the same necropolis. Urns, catafalques, funeral sites and many evidences of ancient custom evince themselves through these modern exhumations. Both sets of labors also bring forth objects of common living, and are means of instruction for those seeking the knowledge of how men once lived.

Priscilla or Prisca, as she is called in Paul's Epistle⁵²⁵ to Timothy, though boldly appearing several times in the Testament, is nevertheless very obscure, being unmentioned in many of our great cyclopedias. Since the exhumation of a large basilica with a magnificent cubiculum in under-ground researches at Rome, it is probable that this neglect will be rectified in future editions

⁵²⁴ De Rossi, *Roma Sott.*, I., p. 176: "Deinde vadis ad orientem donec venias ad ecclesiam Johannis martyris Via Salaria; ibi requiescit Diogenus martyr sub terra; sub terre quoque Blastus martyr; deinde Johannis martyr; postea Longinus martyr, etc.; Gorius, *Mon. sive Columb.*, p. 139: An inscr. shows that he is in an olla of the columbarium, having been a bondman of Nero who probably killed him at the conflagration: "Hujus pariter nominis in Florentino Ceppulo Musei Suburbani Surozii, p. 371, no. 122, ubi legitur 'Blastus Caesaris servus Neronianus et in Actis Apostolorum cap. XII., 20, Blastus præpositus Cubiculo regis Herodis.'" The inscr. is broken but enough remains to show that Blastus was by trade a lampendarius or wool-weaver, of course engaged in the imperial gynæceum which is to say, a member of the collegium Domus Augustatis and furnishing the spinning and weaving for Nero's household. See the inscr. itself, under the niche receiving the cinerary urn. De Rossi, *id.*, p. 177: "Tertia porta Porticiana, ibi prope in loco qui dicitur Cucumeris requiescunt martyres Festus, Johannis, Liberalis Diogenes, Blastus, Lucina et in uno sepulchro CCLX., et in altero, XXX."

⁵²⁵ *II Tim.*, iv., 19; *Romans*, xvi., 3; *I. Cor.*, xvi., 19; Cf. Smith, *Bib. Dict.*, p. 2588.

as the results of our modern study become gradually understood.⁵²⁶ De Rossi is by no means the only investigator of these revelations. She is mentioned by several others.⁵²⁷ Gorius, and after him Bossius, William of Malmsbury, Gruterius and the Berlin Academy have all entered valuable data upon their pages. De Rossi enters more elaborately into the subject than any other author whose works we have consulted.⁵²⁸ This strange subterranean basilica or cathedral of Priscilla is not only occupied by her, but the urns with their unmistakable epitaphs in Latin or Greek, containing many others mentioned in the New Testament, are also there. The ashes of Pudens are among others.⁵²⁹ His career and historical acquaintance with Seneca, Paul and the poet Martial, we have given in our account of Nero's conflagration of Rome.

⁵²⁶ De Rossi, *Roma Sott.*, I., p. 189: "In fatto, a quella distanza medesima ci è additato il celebre cemetero di Priscilla, ottimamente riconosciuto dai prime autori della Roma sotterranea, alla sinistra della via sotto la vigna de Cuppis." But she is not alone; *id.*: "Ivi stesso sotto una vigna alla destra, il Bossio vide un altro cemetero separato da quello di Priscilla. Oggi ambedue sono collegati per moderne cave di pozzolana; ma l' antica esistenza dell' uno indipendentemente dall' altro, mentre ambedue sono posti alla distanza medesima dalla città, fe argomentare al Bossio, che se il prime dee essere chiarimento di Priscilla, il secundo lo dee essere di Novella."

⁵²⁷ Bossius, *Roma Sott.*, from which all the more modern hypogeists are extracting, on p. 438, says: "Senza lume di candela si vede una gran nicchia a modo di tribuna lavorata di stucco a fagliami, e intorna alla nicchia si vedono alcune lettere rosse che per essere quasi affatto scancellate non si sino potuto leggere, quelle poche però che vi rimangono, sono benissimo fatte, sotto la qual nicchia doveva essere anticamente l' altare, essendo il luogo assai spazioso." The color of the ink or material with which these niches were decorated is an indelible red. De Rossi, p. 191, says he saw Priscilla's in the Via Salaria Nova and that it was exactly similar. Bossius, perhaps, did not know that it was Priscilla.

⁵²⁸ De Rossi, *Roma Sott.*, I., 171: "Nelle cripte del cemetero de santi Pietro e Marcellino e in quelle de Pretestato vidi qualche grafito, ma non me sembrarono della classe, di che ora tratto. Incerto anche rimasi sul' acclamazione NAVIGI VIVAS IN che se legge nella così detta cappella greca del cemetero di Priscilla, la quale mi pareva senza dubbio un' istorica cripta."

⁵²⁹ De Rossi, *Roma Sott.*, I., p. 188. PUDENS, PRISCILLA, *Via Salaria Nova*: "Vengo al cemetero di Priscilla sulla Via Salaria nuova. Molto dovrei dire intorno a questo cemetero; ma poichè lo qui attendo alla somma possibile brevità, rimetta per ora il lettore a quel poco, che ne ho scritto nel dichearare Imagini scelte della B. Virgine Maria tratta dalla catacombe romane, p. 15-9. Ivi ho reipilogato aliquanti degli argomenti dimostranti la somma antichità della regione di quel cemetero, nel cui centro è la casi detta *cappella greca*; regione, che ho dicariato essere la primitiva ed originaria, quella ov' ebbero sepoltura i prima PUDENTI ed i martiri insigni, onde tanta rinomanza venne alla necropoli di Priscilla." Pudens is in the necropolis of Priscilla.

CHAPTER XVII.

TRAJAN.

THE PLINY EPISODE.

PLINY and Trajan's Celebrated Persecutions—Ignatius Christophorus—Great Master Had Caressed Him When a Babe—Trajan's Sentence—Thrown to Beasts in Amphitheatre—Value of His Repudiated Epistles—One to Mary Shows She was a Member—Ancient Syriac Version Proves that Christian Eranos Emancipated Slaves—Order of Widows—Pliny appointed Governor in Asia—The *Hetæraë*—Pliny found them Converted Guilds—Members Refused to Buy Sacrifices—Would not Render Tribute to Cæsar—Crime Punishable with Death—Nest of such Criminals Discovered by Government Spies—Pliny's Letter to Trajan—Ordered Many to Execution—Tortured and forced Them to Curse Christ—Praised their Honesty and Virtue—Lex Julia—Trajan to Pliny—Pliny Himself Converted—Tries to Organize a Union of Firemen—Trajan Refuses, Fearing that They would Turn Christians like the Rest—Original of Letters Quoted—Frequent Mention of Words Christ and Christian—These *Hetæraë* had already been converted many years—Pliny in Contrition Gives Sums of Money to Children of Families he had Murdered—Inscription ad Trajanum Amisorum in Proof—The Lesson.

THE REIGN of Trajan is signalized in the history of socialism through the remarkable episode of the Plinian persecutions and judicial massacres of the ancient poor. We are fortunate enough, secret as were the wretched members below, and niggardly of news as was the great Roman state above, to have a considerable amount of monumental and literary evidence which the cringing historians never brought to the front, but which now serves our purpose in proving that just at the close of the apostolic age, even before the last companion of Jesus was gone, the pure trade union, or, so to speak, socialistic trade and labor alliance, was flourishing in Asia Minor, enjoying in common many comforts at the com-

mon table, in the shops of their co-operative commonwealth and in their mutual protection under the secret veil; and that they had endorsed and were practicing the plan of salvation as laid down by the great master in the Word of promise.

Before entering upon the Pliny episode let us first mention the martyrdom of Ignatius, the Christophorus, or the man who, when a babe, Jesus had lovingly caressed and kissed in Palestine, saying, "suffer little children to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of God."¹ Little is known of this man who had evidently devoted his life-time to preaching the Word of promise in and around Smyrna, when the emperor Trajan arrived here on a flying visit through the various sections of his enormous realm. Ignatius was preaching in a loud voice at Smyrna where he was faithfully presiding over the flock. Through his spies, Trajan received information against him and had him ordered into his presence. Here the emperor questioned him regarding the work he was doing, which the old man did not deny, but most courageously acknowledged. Hearing the bold language of Ignatius, already about eighty years old, Trajan became enraged and on the spot sentenced him to be transported in chains, between a guard of about a dozen soldiers, to Rome and thrown to the raging wild animals in the enclosure of games during a gala function of the great Flavian amphitheatre.

On the way thither, escorted, as he writes, by ten leopards,² he wrote the celebrated epistles, which for many centuries were spurned as spurious by the prelates, who for toward two thousand years have rendered the original socialism of christianity useless by their greed and subserviency to kings. Their hiding of the truth of the Ignatian letters through multifarious Latin and Greek interpolations, however, proved futile on a long-time estimate, for the recent discovery by Cureton, of the lost Syriac originals in an old Armenian convent restores them as true. Ignatius was the follower of the

¹ Gibbon, *Decl. and Fall, Vindication*: "According to the tradition of the modern Greeks, Ignatius was the child whom Jesus received into his arms." See Tillemont, *Mém., Eccles.*, tom. II., part ii., p. 43.

² Ignatius, *Epist. to the Romans*, chap. ii., 8: "From Syria even unto Rome, I fight with beasts both of sea and land, both night and day; being bound to ten leopards, which is to say, such a band of soldiers," etc.

ebionitic socialism of Jesus.³ On the way to execution, after a tedious journey, the escort arrived at the old town of Puteoli⁴ in Southern Italy, but to his chagrin could not land, owing to a storm which kept them at sea. They kept on northward to the Port of Ostia, seven miles from Rome, and to one of the gates, there to meet a detachment of the old prætorian guard which escorted them to the amphitheatre at Rome, where were gathered and in breathless waiting, sixty thousand betting, gambling, wine bibbing debauchees and lovers of blood-spilling scenes and sights of horror and suffering. No time was lost for the expedition was late and Rome had turned out to behold another martyrdom.⁵

This man, of all others whose writings were not destroyed, has best described the true nature of the ancient church and its resemblance to the original unions into which it planted. In his epistles, he portrays the true position of the deacons, who, as we have shown, were waiters on the common tables. Ignatius speaks of them as a factor of the economic department which had always existed during the early christianity. The modernized church has transformed the deacon of the good old times into a mere official of the spiritual formula, obliterating his functions. He is nothing. In the old times he was a waiter, and his labor was helping to prepare the meals, and when prepared, he assisted the partakers as his proper calling. Ignatius, in his letter to the Trallians, treats the waiters with the utmost courtesy, but ascribes them to their place.⁶

This old martyr recognized also the prime factor of love among the brothers and sisters together with the

³ In a manuscript of an earlier date, Ignatius in his *epistle to John*, speaks of: "Many of our women here who are desirous to see Mary the mother of Jesus, and wish day by day to run off from us to you, that they may meet with her and touch those breasts of hers which nourished the Lord Jesus, and inquire of her respecting some rather secret matters." In other words, they dared not write openly for fear of the spies of the emperor. This confesses that everything was behind the densely secret veil.

⁴ See *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. IV., p. 130. He desired to land and see what was left by Domitian, of the brethren, but was prevented by a heavy storm. Regarding the plant at Puteoli, its treatment of Paul, *vide* Chap. xvi., Section *Nero* and Section *Domitian*, for great persecutions.

⁵ Chrysostom, Vol. II., p. 593: "Ignatius.....in medio theatro feris objectus, martyrum obit."

⁶ *Epistle to the Trallians*, c. I., 7: "The deacons, also, as being the ministers of the mysteries, must by all means place all. For they are not only deacons of meat and drink, but of the church." In verse 8, he writes: "in like manner, let all reverence the deacons.....bishops..... presbyters... as the college of the apostles. Without them there is no church." In this letter the genuine ancient college is recognized.

great necessity of mutual aid and especially providing each other jobs whereby to earn the dribblets of money to be paid by each member in the form of assessments, exactly as was the case in the old Solonic unions.⁷ This old preacher was constantly talking and writing of the economies derivable through his organized brotherhoods, both for the flesh and spirit.⁸ In his epistle to Mary, strong mention is made of her secret order, so dark and obscure that she dared not speak. One gathers that the "secrets" were within the veil and that they had no right to convey their thoughts from one to another by means of letters; in fact, it was, as Ramsay has remarked, "very dangerous." In one of the best letters to Polycarp, Ignatius speaks out plainly regarding the unions or brotherhoods. The commonly known versions evidently garbled the meaning, but the newly found Syriac version brought to light by Dr. Cureton, conforms with the ancient conditions. Here the "commune" is the old *eranos*.⁹ There were, as in the more ancient unions at Delphi where the *eranos* used to purchase the liberty of slaves by their sale to a god, many bondmen in the Ignatian brotherhood and it was a common thing; but he seems to imagine it was too much for the christian unions to purchase their liberty through loans by the society for the purpose, fearing lest it might exhaust their funds.¹⁰ Thus our assertion is verified that the christians first planted among the economic unions existing under the law of Solon, following their methods of emancipating slaves and otherwise doing good during the whole of the first century.

⁷ *Apocryph. N. T.*, Lond. ed., 1728; *Epist.*, Ignat., *Phillippians*, ch. iii., 10, 11, 12: "Stand, therefore in these things... be immutable in the faith, lovers of the brotherhood, lovers of one-another, companions together, kind, gentle to each other, despising none." Verse 12: "Be all of you subject to one-another."

⁸ *Epistle to the Trallians*, ch. xii. His Eucharist had the common table.

⁹ Ignat., *Epist to Polycarp*, IV., Syriac version: "Assemble together often. Keep an account of all the members by name. Despise not the slaves, male or female. Do not encourage their desire to obtain their freedom at the expense of the commune." This shows that, like the old *eranos*, they were unionists.

¹⁰ It is reluctantly admitted that emancipation of the slave members was one of the functions of the early church. Ignatius, *Polycarp*, 4, wrote: "Μη ἐράτωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐλευθεροῦσθαι." Dr. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishops of Phrygia*, II., p. 516, notices this, and quotes the *Apostolic Constitutions*, IV., 9: "Τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν, ὡς προειρήκαμεν, ἀτροιζόμενα χρήματα διατάσσετε διακοῦντες εἰς ἀγορασμοὺς τῶν ἀγίων, ῥυθμενοὶ δούλους καὶ αἰκαμαλώτους, δεσμίους." κ.τ.λ. So Lightfoot, *Coloss. Phil.*, p. 324: "One of the earliest forms which christian benevolence took, was the contribution of funds for the liberation of slaves."

Again, Ignatius speaks of the order of Widows, and there is evidence that a society existed composed of poor women who had lost in the wars their husbands and friends. The mention of this company of widows also appears elsewhere; and it was an important part of the early organization.¹¹ After the death of Paul, Ignatius declares that this evangelist of the Gentiles was an initiate into the mysteries, made so because he had been chosen. Many suggestive remarks come to us from his pen, tending to clear up things mysterious. Among others, is one in the letter to the Smyrnians who had refreshed him, soul and body, referring to the friendly meals in the communal brotherhood. While reminding them of his personal gratitude, he touches upon the duties of deacons. They with the elders are to be "compassionate and merciful toward all, turning them from their errors, seeking those that are weak, not forgetting little ones, but always providing for them what is good." All are to refrain from covetousness. Such was old man Ignatius, who was thrown to the starved wild animals in the amphitheatre as one of the early martyrs of Trajan's persecutions, to die an awful death.

About the time this terrible judicial cruelty occurred, A.D. 107, according to Gibbon, who discredits Pagi's *Chronicon* and stands by Baronius, this same emperor Trajan, appointed the celebrated Pliny, a nephew of the great scientific author, C. Plinius Secundus,¹² to a high position of power in Asia. The Plinys were of an optimist family, owning estates at Como. This Pliny was naturally a benevolent and thoughtful gentleman and the world has gladly given him credit for it. Made governor of Bithynia, he came in contact with a most saddening duty. It was no less than that of torturing and killing great numbers of christianized trade unionists, who as we have already shown, swarmed, like a republic in miniature, right in this part of Asia Minor,

¹¹ Ignac., *Epist. Phillippians, Company of Widows*, chap. xv. Salutation to the Company of Virgins and Widows, Order of Widows.

¹² Baronius places it in the year 102, which would be years before the martyrdom of Ignatius. We quote Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xvi., note 157: "Pliny was sent into Bithynia, according to Pagi, in the year 110. Now that accurate chronologer (meaning Baronius) places it in the year 102." See the fact recorded in his *Critica Historica Chronologica*; but in *Annales*, C. Baronii, A.D. 102, p. 99, Sect. 11., § 3. The words of Pagi, tome 1., p. 100, are: "Plinius igitur anno Christi centesimo decimo Bithyniam intravit." Quite likely Baronius is right. This would make the Plinian epistles still more valuable.

at the very time, and as the Plinian letters prove, even many years anterior to Pliny's appointment.¹³

Bithynia was a strip of a rich, well watered, densely populated country, covered with towns and rich in agriculture, manufactures and trade.¹⁴ It was flanked on the north by the Byzantine Europe and stretched along the Bosphorus from the Sea of Marmora and along the Black Sea, with that magnificent stream skirting its whole length on the north, facing in plain view of what is now Constantinople, its beautiful green hills and valleys the joy and glory of Anatolia. As we proceed with this almost marvellous Plinian episode, the reader will ripen an acquaintance with the number and value of the Solonic unions which were precisely the factors this almost converted governor was dealing with, their christianized temples, their mutual loves, their communal table and their prosperous though secret ranks.

We have already abundantly shown that the *hetæra* were genuine trade unions. The union of firemen which Pliny asked Trajan's permission to organize was to be a *hetæra*. Trajan refused fearing they might, if organized, be too prone to christianize and thus make trouble. But they were already numerous, as their inscriptions show.¹⁵ The trouble with them was that they refused to pay tribute after their conversion. This stopped the buying of lambs at the sacrifice, throttling the provision rings. The true cause of the Roman persecutions was seen by Gibbon, though he knew nothing of the sources of information furnished by the inscriptions. Yet he was right in charging against the christians that after conversion they refused to attend pagan worship. Pagan worship was at that time reduced to a groveling subserviency to the money power. The priests, answering to our modern lobbyists and representatives favored with special advantages, and idly reveling in the interests of certain rich people, principally army officers and others who amassed fat fortunes out of the Roman conquests,

¹³ Walzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, I., p. 514: "Pline le Jeune, ne dit il pas que pour les esclaves la maison ell-meme est comme une république et comme une cité: 'Servis respublica quedam, et quasi civitas domus est.'" *Epist.*, VIII., 16.

¹⁴ Bithynia was a Satrapy of Phrygia. Its chief river was the Sangarius. It was bounded N. by the Euxine, S. by Phrygia and Galatia, E. by Paphlagonia, W. by the Propontis or Sea of Marmora and Mysia.

¹⁵ Oehler, *MSS.*: "Bithynia, Bryllion, jetzt Triglia; *Θεσωται*, durch die Relief-darstellung als Thiasoten des Zeus erklärt. *Bull. Hell.*, XVII., 1893, p. 573, no. 32, Unions of Jehovah!

worked hand in hand with the emperors in building up splendid establishments.

Among other supposed duties of the people was a strict attendance at the pagan worship. In the official temples there were fixed days of assembling, although they had no Sunday. On such occasions it was common for the priests to give banquets. As all, rich or poor, bond or free, were invited to partake and pay, it served as a revenue to the state, because the officers of the law collected a tithe of the incomes. Then again, these meetings answered as a sort of public market. The priests obtained lambs, sheep, poultry, calves, fish and other provisions and the worshipers at the shrines purchased them and took them home to their own families, after paying therefor an exorbitant price. According to the teachings of the priests, these prices were but a sacred contribution to the great official religion.

When, however, the christians made their appearance and refused to buy the high priced luxuries from such markets because they were poor and could not afford it, and because they had their own common table which they furnished with cash through their monthly assessments¹⁶ then the Roman laws struck them a deadly blow. The accusation against them was that they refused to pay tribute to Cæsar. Of course it was true as we may well imagine, that the priests working with the provision rings which were thus extorting enormous prices from the poor through their credulity and blind faith, being intercepted in their profit-making career by the growing faith in the new Word of promise, were so incensed that their rage knew no bounds. They combined their influence with every other, including that of the profit incentive, brought it as a grievance before the emperors, on the plea that these sects were an outrageous, blasphemous, unheard-of innovation against the Roman state, and argued that they should be treated with the utmost rigors of the law.¹⁷ This had also been exactly the case on their first public appearance at Jeru-

¹⁶ See *supra*, pp. indicated in our *index*. The sacrifices are already quite fully explained; but the Pliny episode is the most remarkable history of this on record, which makes repetition necessary.

¹⁷ It was the old *lex Julia*: Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, I., p. 160, quoting Pliny, *Epist.*, 96: "Quod ipsum facere desisse post edictum meum quo secundum mandata tua heterias esse veteram." Here it is shown. "first that the christian ecclesie and the Asiatic heteræ were one and the same, second that Pliny suppressed them, under the *lex Julia*, revived by Trajan as "suspected."

salem. Jesus, who was kurios or lord, not only refused tribute, but he went boldly into the booths in the great temple which had been desecrated by these gamblers in stocks, adulterated foods, chipped coins, jewels of the sectaries, animals of the sacrifice, paraphernalia of the priesthood and all the bric-a-brac and abracadabra of their profit-yielding trade. In both cases the craving for accumulating profit by means of the vantage-lever of religious superstition lay at the bottom of the whole trouble.

There was a temple at Nicomedia, as well as at Chalcedon, Astacus, and every other town and village in Bithynia. Under the usages of the old official religion, each temple was dedicated to some one of the recognized divinities, and each had its set of priests and mysteries. The people in their so-called pagan state of mind, were taught by those priests to save up their earnings as sacrificial tribute "to the holy altar of their god." What of these incomes not filched by the priests, went to the public treasury. Attendance was compulsory and dereliction punished.¹⁸ Struggling against the law compelling them to attend these feast days and religious occasions to be fleeced of their hard savings, the christians, when persecutions came, slunk back into the secret recesses behind their veil.

Pliny made a research into their condition and after finding them innocent and correct, he wrote to the emperor whose personal friendliness he enjoyed, for instructions. The letter is extant and we produce Whiston's rendering in which it is shown that, among other things, the christians were already numerous and had been so for years. Pliny mentions Christ three times and calls the christians by name ten times; while Trajan's answer mentions the christians twice. We here reproduce both:

¹⁸ Gibbon, *Decl. and Fall.*, ch. xvi, over note 14, setting aside the sentiment and principle involved in socialism, pronounces the christians guilty, and like Tacitus, wants to see them punished: "The personal guilt which every christian had contracted in thus preferring his private sentiments to the national religion was aggravated in a very high degree by the number and union of the criminals. It is well-known and has been already observed that the Roman policy viewed with the utmost jealousy and distrust any association among its subjects; and that the privileges of private corporations, though formed for the most beneficial and harmless purpose, were bestowed with a very sparing hand. The religious assemblies of the christians who had separated themselves from the public worship appeared of a much less innocent nature." Here Gibbon sees the Solonic union as an innocent corporation but when it became christianized it lost its innocence.

Pliny's letter to the emperor Trajan.

"Sir:—

It is my constant method to apply myself to you for the resolution of all my doubts; for who can better govern my dilatory way of proceeding, or instruct my ignorance? I have never been present at the examination of the christians, on which account, I am unacquainted with the points to be inquired into, and what, and how far, they are to be punished; nor are my doubts small, whether there is not a distinction to be made between the ages of the accused and, whether tender youth ought to have the same punishment with strong men; whether there be not room for pardon upon repentance, or whether it may not be an advantage to one who had been a christian, that he hath forsaken christianity; whether the bare name without any crimes, or the crimes adhering to that name, are to be punished. In the meantime I have taken this course about those who have been brought before me as christians. I asked them whether they were christians or not. If they confessed that they were christians, I asked them again and a third time, intermixing threats with the questions. If they persevered in their confession I ordered them to be executed;¹⁹ for I did not but doubt, let their confession be of any sort whatever, that this positiveness and inflexible obstinacy deserved to be punished. There have been some of this mad sect whom I took notice of in particular as Roman citizens, that they might be sent to that city. After some time, as is usual in such examinations, the crime spread itself, and many more cases came before me. A libel was sent to me, though without an author, containing the names of many persons accused. These denied that they were christians now, or ever had been. They called upon the gods, and supplicated to your image which I caused to be brought to me for that purpose, with frankincense and wine; they also cursed Christ; none of which things as it is said can any of those who are really christians be compelled to do; so I thought it fit to let them go. Others of them who were named in the libel, said they were once christians but had ceased to be so; some

¹⁹ The humane translator here remarks in a note: "Amazing doctrine! that a firm and fixed resolution of keeping a good conscience should be thought, without dispute, to deserve death.

three years, some many more and one there was that said that he had not been so these twenty years. All these worshiped your image and the images of your gods; these also cursed Christ. However they assured me that the main of their fault, or of their mistake, was this, that they were wont, on a stated day, to meet together before it was light and to sing a hymn to Christ, as to a god, alternately; and to oblige themselves by a sacrament or oath not to do anything that was ill, but that they would commit no theft, or pilfering, or adultery; that they would not break their promises, or deny what was deposited with them when it was required back again. After this it was their custom to depart and to meet again at a common but innocent meal which they had left off doing upon that edict which I published at your command and wherein I had forbidden any such conventicles.²⁰ These examinations made me think it necessary to inquire by torments what the truth was, which I did of two servant maids who were called deaconesses; but still I discovered no more than that they were addicted to a bad and extravagant superstition.²¹ Hereupon I have put off further examination and have recourse to you, for the affair seems to be well worth consideration, especially on account of the number of those that are in danger; for these are many of every age, of every rank, and of both sexes, who are now and are hereafter likely to be called to account, and to be in danger; since this superstition is spread like a contagion, not only in cities and towns, but into country villages also, which there is still reason to hope may yet be stopped and corrected. To be sure, the temples which were almost forsaken begin already to be fre-

²⁰ Here Dr. Whiston, not understanding the meaning of the exact text "hetærias," which is precisely the trade union we are energetically proving that the christians planted into, makes the dismal and misleading blunder of calling them conventicles. The original of Pliny reads: "Quod ipsum facere desisse post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua hetærias esse veteram." This mandate of Trajan was the revival of the old conspiracy law of Julius Cæsar. The hetæras were regular trade unions, as we have abundantly shown.

²¹ The reader will here easily perceive that Pliny is giving Trajan the tenets of the regular eranos then flourishing throughout Asia Minor, especially numerous in Phrygia, and its satrapies, Bithynia and Pontus; the secret veil, the *ἀγάπη*, the high honor and truthfulness, the *cœna sacra*, the approved character, the *ἀγαθός, εὐσεβής, ἅγιος*, (See ch. vii.) and finally the office of deacon and deaconess through whom as humble waiters, the common tables were served. Some of their secret membership, after conversion, had ceased to be christians, but they remained in the unions as before.

quented; and the holy solemnities which were long intermitted begin to be revived. The sacrifices begin to sell well everywhere, of which very few purchasers had of late appeared; whereby it is easy to suppose how great a multitude of men might be amended if place for repentance be admitted.²²"

Now the national statute under which Pliny "ordered them to be executed," was none other than the old *lex Julia* which Trajan had revived to fit these cases. The punishment was either crucifixion or throwing them naked to famished wild beasts of the amphitheatre and invariably in the presence of a great crowd of sight-seers who, if there was such a terrible scene announced, would pay large fees for admission, thus filling the pockets of the men who furnished the people with amusements. The craze for gratifying this inhuman and pitiless frenzy grew more and more insatiable until Honorius, a christian emperor, suppressed it by an edict.²³ The law Pliny and Trajan enforced was that of Julius Cæsar against the trade unions. This is borne out by Asconius,²⁴ Mommsen²⁵ and De Rossi,²⁶ also by Suetonius and Tacitus and it may be necessary to give some account of the origin and career of this early conspiracy law called the *lex Julia*.

Julius Cæsar's law against Solon's great scheme of organized labor, generally called Cæsar's conspiracy law, was enacted and went into force B.C. 58. It extended to Delos and indeed throughout pro-consular Rome.²⁷ It was particularly severe against the *collegia*, the *thiasoi* and the *eranoi*.²⁸ After restitutions by Clodius and his memorable conflict with Cicero, the law remained a dead letter until Trajan, who re-issued it in the rescript that

²² Pliny, *Epist.*, X., no. 97.

²³ *Cod. Just.*, xi., tit. xliiii., 1: "Cruenta spectacula in otio civili, et quiete domestica non placent quapropter omnino gladiatores esse prohibemus."

²⁴ Ascon., *In Cornel.*, p. 75: "Frequenter tum etiam cætus factiosorum hominum, sine publica auctoritate malo publico fiebant. . . . propter quod postea collegia sancta et pluribus legibus, sublata sunt." Vide Vol. I., p. 317.

²⁵ Momms., *De Coll. et Sodal. Rom.*, pp. 93-5.

²⁶ De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, I., p. 102: "Plinio nella celebre epistola a Trajano tra gl' illegittimi convegno di Cristiani proibiti dalle antiche leggi e dai recenti editti contra le eteri non annoverà i loro funebre riti." etc. Here De Rossi fully admits, as he does later, that the trade unions called by the Greeks, *εταίραι*, were christianized organizations.

²⁷ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, XIV., x., 8. shows that the Hebrews were excepted.

²⁸ Suet., *In J. Cæs.*, 42: "Cæsar cuncta collegia præter antiquitus constituta distraxit." " ut sodalitates decuriative discederent " Vide Momms., *De Coll. et Sodal. Rom.*, p. 50, and his explanation.

Pliny obeyed, when he executed all the christians he could lay hands on if they would not curse Christ. Hadrian revived it again under a rescript of his own and caused the death of many more christians. But the most celebrated resuscitation of the *lex Julia* on record, that which caused it to be registered in the *Digest*, is in form of the well-known rescript of Septimius Severus.²⁹

It appears that the subject of suppressing the unions had been brought to the attention of the Roman senate before this law of Cæsar was enacted; for it is certain that as early as B.C. 64 a measure was passed crippling them which Mommsen discusses as being motivated by the propensity of the unions to become a political power by the votive franchise, which we think was a right and privilege accorded in the wording, now lost, of the original Solonic law.³⁰ This old law, on account of the secrecy of the poor strugglers, often temporarily fell into disuse only to be revived as a last pretext and we find Augustus, with all his mildness, issuing the earliest rescript.³¹

Having touched upon the old conspiracy law powerfully defended by Cicero and as valiantly fought by Clodius, which statute seems to have been the outcome if not the triumph of the Roman conquests, and shown the ground-work of the various rescripts which subsequent monarchs of Rome issued to drive the voting unions to the wall, we may return to the momentous letters.³²

Trajan's epistle to Pliny, in reply:

"My Pliny;— You have taken the method which you ought in examining the causes of those that had been

²⁹ *Digest*, XLVII., *Tit.* xxii., i. 1: "Mandatis principalibus præcipitur præsidibus provinciarum, ne patiantur esse (collegia) sodalitia, neve milites collegia in castris habeant; sed permittitur tenuioribus stipem menstruam conferre: dum tamen semel in mense coeant, ne sub prætextu hujusmodi illicitum collegium coeat; quod non tantum in urbe sed in Italia et in provinciis, locum habere, divus quoque Severus rescipit."

³⁰ Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, I., p. 177: "Aussi pensons-nous que la plupart des collèges d'artisans furent supprimés en l'an 64 comme contraires à la sûreté publique." and cites Mommsen, *De Col. et Sodal. Rom.*, p. 75; Drumann, *Arbeiter und Kommunisten*, etc., p. 155; Wallon, *Esclavage*, III., 97, and 460-1.

³¹ Suet., *Aug.*, 32: "Plurimæ factiones titulo collegii novi ad nullius non facinoris societatem coibant; igitur collegia præter antiqua et legitima dissolvit."

³² For a full account of Cicero and his war with Clodius, the powerful tribune who took sides with the unions and restored them to a temporary right to organize, and for the manner in which both lost their lives in the struggle, see Vol. I., pp. 422, 344, 363, 474.

accused as christians; for indeed no certain and general form of judging can be ordained in this case. These people are not to be sought, but if they are accused and convicted they are to be punished; but with caution, that he who denies himself to be a christian and makes plain that he is not, by supplicating to our gods, although he has been one formerly, may be allowed pardon on repentance. As for the libels sent without an author, they ought to have no place in any accusation whatever; for that would be a thing of very ill example and not agreeable to my reign."³³

Almost at the same moment that Pliny received this rescript contained in the above letter from Trajan a fire broke out in the city of Nicomedia, which for want of a proper fire extinguishing department could not be repressed until great damage was done. Such work, controlled by the agoranomion or ædilship, a sort of board of public works under the official, political control, was nevertheless almost always performed by the trade unions. The law of the Twelve Tables held good in Rome, through the law of Solon, as well as at Athens, Asia Minor and Macedonia. Its old trade unions were largely employed by the state and by municipalities to do the public work, and this made them, in a certain degree, political; since they were, even in those early times, endowed with the right to vote. By referring to these statements the reader will readily perceive that the system redounded copiously, not only to the advantage of these workmen, but to the state direct; because the then organized mechanics and workmen scientifically and practically carried out the great system of government life.

Again, they were paid for all this under the general proverb that the government is the better boss, and so it is.³⁴ In Rome, Pompeii, as shown by great numbers of newly-found inscriptions, and in Asia Minor, especially the provinces of Bithynia and Pontus where Pliny was, this system prevailed; but doubtless owing to the previous persecutions, this Nicomedia was without the

³³ Whiston, in his *Translation of Josephus*, Lond., Chatto & Windus, Vol. II., pp. 604-6. *App., Dissertation*, 111.

³⁴ See Vol. I., pp. 381, 416, 495, 535, showing how municipal and government labor in vast amount was given over to the unions, and even the provisioning of the population. Indeed the supply of the great cities of provisions as well as the making of bridges was always done by them.

system, and in consequence suffered a great loss by the fire.

Pliny who had a practical insight, perceived that what was wanted was a union of firemen. There were great numbers of workmen desirous of joining the firemen's union and anxious to fall into line for the public good, as well as their own. The old conspiracy law of Julius Cæsar, however, stood in the way, and it was necessary to obtain permission for Pliny to organize such a union or *hetæra* by special word from the emperor.

Accordingly Pliny wrote a letter to Trajan asking permission to organize a needed union of firemen. He represented that only smiths, and other skilled workmen should be chosen as members and that he would himself see to it, that not more than a hundred and fifty be initiated.³⁵

Mr. Danziger, who has recently written a valuable article for the *Cosmopolitan* on Ancient Trade Unions, mentions this circumstance, and we shall prefer his translations to our own. The letter of Pliny runs as follows:

"While traveling in a remote part of the province, I witnessed a conflagration at Nicomedia that destroyed many private residences and two public buildings, the Gerusi and the Isson, although a long square ran between the private and public buildings. The fire gained in destructiveness, partly on account of the strong wind and partly because of the inactivity of the populace. But the people could have done nothing had they desired to be of any assistance, there being no fire engine or buckets or any other of the utensils necessary to extinguish the flames.

"I have at once given orders for the purchase of fire engines and all other implements needed in a similar emergency. I now beg leave to suggest to you, my lord, the advisability of organizing a fire company, to consist of about a hundred and fifty members of the carpenters' guild. I would make it my business that none but artificers should be eligible as members, and that no one

³⁵ Pliny, *Epistle ad Trajan*, x., no. 33 *ap* Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, I., p. 159: "Après avoir parlé d'un incendie qui avait causé de grands ravages à Nicomédie, Pline ajoute 'Tu, domine, dispice, an instituendum putes collegium fabrerum dumtaxat hominum CL. Ego attendam ne quis nisi faber recipiatur neve jure concesso in aliud utantur: nec erit difficile custodire tam paucos.'"

should misuse his membership. I think that such a small number of men, could easily be kept in order and in service."

The emperor Trajan replied:

"You have conceived an idea that we could organize a fire company in Nicomedia, the men to be of the carpenters' guild; you have seen similar organizations in other cities. We must bear in mind, however, that frequent disturbances in said cities caused by such corporations, have led some to regret their existence. Whatever might be the cause, aim or name of such unions, the danger of political agitation is always near. I should consider it, therefore, far better to spare no cost in ordering fire engines and such things as are necessary to quench a conflagration, and to remind the inhabitants of houses to lend a helping hand in time of need, and if necessary to compel the populace to assist rather than organize a guild with political possibilities."

Pliny, on reading this letter, appears to have at first considered it favorably, but on reflection he was reminded of the trouble which the christian heteræ or unions had already caused and in it saw a monarch's refusal to allow such a society to be organized. His language is respectful, but terse and decided.³⁶ In terminating this letter which always amounted to something equivalent to a ukase, he advises Pliny to impress firemen into the service, but not to organize a trade union, intimating as his reason that they would "briefly" fall into the christian rut, dissent from paying tribute, cease to attend the sacrifices as before, and thus become rebels against the state, making themselves criminals liable to be punished by persecution and death. This accords with the wisdom of Gibbon who declares that at heart the emperors were kind in their reluctance to permit these bloody deeds; but that refusal to pay tribute as Jesus indirectly and ambiguously advised³⁷ and as, there-

³⁶ The original answer of Trajan to Pliny. *Epist.*, x., no. 34. runs: "Tibi quidem, secundum exempla complurium in mentem venit posse collegium fabrorum apud Nicomedenses constitui. Sed meminimus provinciam istam et præcipue eas civitates ejusmodi factionibus esse vexatas. Quodcumque nomen ex quacumque causa dederimus his qui in idem contracti fuerint. . . . heteriaque brevi fient. Satis itaque est comparari ea quæ ad coercendos ignes auxilio esse possint," etc. Here he plainly refers to christians who torment the unions with vexatious factions.

³⁷ *Matth.*, xvii., 24: Jesus prevented Peter from paying tribute. meaning apparently the membership, on the ground that the children were free: *xxii.*, 17; *Luke*, xxiii., 2: *Τούτων εὔρομεν διαστρέφοντα τὸ ἔθνος καὶ κωλυοντα*

fore, the christian tenets upheld, was a crime punishable with death under the law; and the duty of an emperor was to carry out the laws of the nation. This was all in perfect accord with the old pagan scheme of justice. Pliny's wisely projected organization of firemen for the city of Nicomedia was nipped in the bud, by the short-sighted jealousy of the monarch on the throne. Christianized or not, his society of skilled workmen, splendidly organized as they knew how to be, would have made their city safe from the ravages of fire. But the jealous Trajan, afraid of the christians and fearing that the members might not pay tribute to Cæsar, refused. Much that is otherwise bedimmed, is cleared up by these letters.

But there is still another statement among the Plinian letters which we have not yet seen — that of the "Amisos erani." The name eranos, like thiasos, is the type of the ancient Greek trade union. Wherever it occurs the archæologists concede that a true union existed under terms of the Solonic law of labor organization, and it is unmistakable. The city of Amisos was situated in Pontus, a division of the satrapy of Phrygia, being attached to Bithynia and was included in Pliny's jurisdiction as governor of Bithynia. Dr. Oehler cites an inscription, a fragment of which is legible, which appears to be the source of this veritable Plinian letter to Trajan. It is therefore of great importance, verifying our wonderful discovery that those early, indeed apostolic christians planted into the eranos.³⁸ Those reading the letter, which we have already quoted, informing the emperor that he had sent many christians to execution, perhaps thousands, will perceive that he speaks of some when put to the torture to force confession, admitted that they had been members twenty years before. This was confessing that this country had been peopled by christians from the middle of the reign of Domitian; but probably no doubt they had been there as early as Claudius and Peter, Paul and John.

Now the inscription cited by Dr. John Oehler is found

Καίσαρι φόρους δίδουσι, λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν Χριστὸν βασιλεὺς εἶναι. The general inculcations of Jesus were against carrying out the law demanding the payment of tribute.

³⁸ Oehler, *MSS.*, Amisos erani. Pliny, *Epist.* 93 und 94, I. Jahrh. n. Chr. "Eranos, Amisos." Source not given; see Orell., no. 1172.

to be as early as the first century. The eranos mentioned is likely to have been formed by the people expelled from Rome by Claudius, and had flourished for more than half a century. Under the cruel edict sent to Pliny by Trajan, which he acknowledges he had carried out thus disbanding the eranos to destroy the christians, he had produced fearful havoc among many innocently organized people who depended for their living upon their mutual reciprocity and support. To deprive them of the economies derived from union and mutual brother and sisterhood was in those days of terrible persecution almost coequal with starvation. From reading the letter Pliny wrote to Trajan almost begging him to let them reorganize, one sees that this officer's heart was touched. He beheld, especially at Amisos, little children in rags, their fathers and mothers thrown to wild beasts, their endeared association suppressed and no asylum or orphanage, whither to flee to find refuge.³⁹

The rather grateful answer of Trajan sparingly gave him permission to reorganize them,⁴⁰ but evidently he felt that although this might ultimately heal some of the ghastly wounds he had been compelled to inflict, yet this was not quick enough to save the poor little ones already cast out to die; for he made them a bequest of a sum of money out of his private purse.

We quote this telling inscription⁴¹ from Pontus reg-

³⁹ Pliny, *Epist.*, x., 92: ad Trajanum: "Amisenorum civitas libera et fœderata beneficio indulgentiæ tuæ legibus suis utitur. In hac datum mihi libellum ad eranos pertinentem his litteris subjecti, ut tu, domine, dispiceres quid et quatenus aut permitendum aut prohibendum putares."

⁴⁰ Pliny, *Epist.*, x., 93, Traj. ad Plinium: "Amisenos, quorum libellum epistolæ tuæ junxeras, si legibus istorum, quibus de officio fœderis utuntur, concessum est eranos habere, possumus quominus habeant non impedire, eo facilius, si tali conlotione non ad turbas et ad infelices cœtus, sed ad sustinendam tenuiorum inopiam utuntur. In ceteris civitatibus, quæ nostro jure obstrictæ sunt, res hujusmodi prohibenda est."

⁴¹ Orell., *Inscr. Lat. Select.*, I., pp., 255-256, *Historia Literaria*, No. 1172: C. PLINIUS L. F. O. V. F. CAECILIUS || AUGUR. LEGAT. PROC. PR. 1) PROVINCIAE PONT 2) || CONSULARI POTESTATE IN EAM PROVINCIAM ET 3) || IMP. CAESAR. NERVA TRAIANO. AUG. GERMAN 4) || CURATOR ALVEI TIBERIS ET RIPARUM. . ET || PRAEF. AERARI. SATURNI. PRAEF. AERARI. MIL. || QUAEATOR. IMP. SEVIR. EQUITUM . . || TRIB. MILIT. LEG. III. GALLICAE || X. VIR. STLITIB. IUDICAND. THERM. . . || ADIECTIS IN ORNATUM HS CCC. AMPLIUS IN TUTELA HS CC T. F. I. . . || — E. LIBERTOR. SUORUM NOMIN. HS. || XVIII. LXVI. DCLVI. REI. . . || INCREMENT. POSTEA AD EPULUM PLEB. URBAN. VOLVIT PERTIN . . . || AMPLIUS DEDIT IN ALIMENT. PUEROR. ET PUELLAR. PLEB. URB. HS || CCC. IN TUTELAM BYBLIOTHECAE HS C. — Mediolani. Grut. 454, 5. 1028, 3. Murat. 732, 1. accuratius ab. Zachar. *Exc. tit.*,

istering this gift, which speaks of the boys and girls of the poor families who were in want and showing that the good man was touched by the disastrous work of his own hand. So important is this inscription regarded that an author of the eighteenth century wrote a dissertation upon it which was published at Mantua in 1773, and contains all collectable information regarding it. The name of this author was C. Octavius Boarius.

"If they persevered in their confession, I ordered them to be executed." This is the significant statement of Pliny's celebrated letter to Trajan. We have preferred to give Whiston's rendering because he is the translator of Josephus, so calm, long-trying and classical that no one will question its glowing words.

How many did he order to execution, and what was the nature of that death? We have already seen that under the Roman law the punishment of death for the lowly and poor was either the ignominious cross or the still more hideous one of being stripped, on days of the public festivities and thrown to the starved lions, tigers and serpents of the amphitheatre. Pliny is silent regarding these horrors.

But the actual numbers thus killed by him is a subject which has caused no little speculation among thoughtful people. Pliny is also silent here. On the massacre of Diocletian for the same crime in the same country, Lactantius stingily says, "great numbers." Now comes the profound archæologist Dr. Ramsay, who, searching for their stone monuments there, traces the mementos of a vast population with epitaphs and chiselings of a multitude of forms down to the fatal date of that massacre, and strikes an end of them so definitively, that he is forced to the shocking conclusion that on that fatal night the whole population, embracing a large portion of Asia Minor met a horrible and violent death.

Who knows then, but that Pliny's cold executions covered a population. Certain it is that he was him-

p. 98., cuius typum exhibemus. Omnes celebratissimæ huius inscript. recensiones collegit C. Oct. Boarius: *De Plinii Secundi Testamentaria Inscript.* — *Dissertatio.* Mantuæ 1773, 4. nunquam mihi visa.

1) PRO. PR. Murat. melius. Paulo ante O. V. F. est; OV-Fentina tribu. 2) Supple: Ponti et Bithyniæ, Marini Atti. p. 758. 3) et in Thraciam ab. id. 3) Germanico Dacico missus. id.

self deeply distressed; and it all proves that it was possible in those days of unscrupulous tyranny, to cover the earth with blood, while the historians, glad to shield themselves behind the buttress of acquiescence, obsequiousness and flattery, allowed their pen to perjure itself as a suborned instrument of darkness and falsehood.

But the striking and remarkable point to be here recorded is the fact that Pliny's conscience forced him to be the originator of the great system of asylums, charities and orphanages. Before this bloody persecution which took place at the early beginning of the second century, there were no charitable institutions of any kind. Under the great Solonic law, on which those christians planted, everybody had work and plenty, and no begging, no charity, no want existed. Pliny had killed out and cut down those staunch elements of self-support and his wretched conscience constrained him to make the original proffer of money from his private purse, which proved the foundation of the vast eleemosynary and beggarly system of charitable institutions, which now cover the earth with shame.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ORIGINS OF THE HOUSE OF THE LORD.

HOUSE OF THE LORD—A Phenomenal Institution—Authorized in the Twelve Tables—Secret and Invisible Union—Meeting-house, Temple, Refuge, Public Kitchen and Hospital Combined—Mary's Grotto, the Refuge, in One—Infant Jesus Shielded in It—Proof—Herod's own Son one of the Slaughtered—Macrobius Quoted—House Took Form of the Prytaneum—Always Belonged to the Unions—Many Inscriptions as Evidence—Harmony and Success of the Centuries—Many Bible Characters Now Found to be Crowned and Garlanded Lords of Such Houses—Crescens—Narcissus—Titus—Stephen—Crispus—Tychicus, Paul's Courier—Name in Two Inscriptions—Onesimus—Ramsay on Occultism of The Secret Veil—Philemon—Epaphros—Papias' Lost Book—Explained the Economical and Ignored Paul—CIG 3865.—Three Celebrated Names, Papias, Trophemus, Tychicus—MM. Ramsay and Perrot—Their Splendid Find of a Union of Masons with Tatias and Onesimus—The Union's Rules Against Quarrelling—Their Own Inscriptions Found—The Enigmatical Door of Jesus—No Quarrel of Paul With Immediate Companions of Jesus—Full and Lasting Agreement at Jerusalem—Wrangles of Imagination—Metonyms of Important Members on Conversion—Pro-Consular Spies—Luke as a Member—Important Inscription—Also Called Nicias—Taught in Schools of Tyrannus—Ashes of Both Lately Found in Columbarium—Strange Tablet—Quoted Verbatim—Cinerary Urns Preserved Deep in Hypogeuum—Description of Find—Greek of Franz Quoted—Though a Hot Communist, Paul's Substantial Friend—Gerusia—Mistake about It—Now known to be Another Name for Union—Red Dyers' Heroon to Menisippus—Luke Proved to be an Ambassador from Rome—Probably Exiled—His Colony—Epitaph of Luke at Tlos—Remarkable Inscription of Philip—Law of Compulsory Inscriptions—Forced amid Dangers to Chisel Philip—Inscription Agrees with Eusebius—Hierapolis—Similar Trouvaille of Avircius Marcellus—Epitaph of the Mariner Xenxis—His Sixty Voyages—Belonged to Union of Sailors—Avircius Speaks of the Thirteen-Years' Cessation From Persecution—This Lacuna Cleared Up—Paraphrase of the Lithoglyph—The Plutonium—Complete Transcript—Jason of Thessalonica—Bridge-builders at Rome.

WE have hitherto given an occasional mention, but no adequate analysis of the phenomenal House of the

Lord. Long before the Advent this institution existed among the ancient lowly. It was the direct outcome of the great law. That itself, ordained it. This great ancient statute, destined to live forever, holy, religious and just, distinctly specifies in one of its fragmental clauses,¹ in which *kurion einai* occurs, that in each trade union there should be one responsible person who was to be answerable for the whole brotherhood. The outside public law knew nothing of the deftly invisible brotherhood secretly organized in an inapproachable nook. It specified that one individual representing the members alone having the direction within and without should be ever visible, and personally responsible for the whole. Should a riot or turmoil occur, the officers of the law did not immediately arrest the rioters themselves, but they approached the kurios, who was obliged to call a council of the inner brotherhood, and work with the official authorities of the state as a representative of the secret and invisible union. This man was the kurios. In the Roman tongue he was the quinquennialis. But we are now in the Greek-speaking world. Here he was the kurios, cure, high priest or lord.

The little temple, such as each trade union owned as a possession, situated on a plot of land, which we know by the inscriptions contained a graveyard, was at once a shrine with its altar, a school house and a church. As a church, it was not only a place of worship of their tutelary divinities, but a place of amusement and entertainment. Here were enjoyed the frequent communal meals, to which the entire membership resorted to partake of the plentiful, common bounties. No want, no suffering, no starvation, no charity of the eleemosynary order existed, whereat the deserving are humiliated to the degradation of accepting proffers of the compassionate. The Solonic dispensation knew no charities. Every member was furnished with work. Every one *must* work, otherwise go without. Every member was especially employed for this object, and if he or she secured by this labor more or less, so long as it covered the monthly assessment, it made no difference: they were all alike in this elysian abode, and all enjoyed freely together.

¹ *Digest*, LXVII., xxii., 4.

The House of the Lord, then was the poor man's temple of ancient times, and was the natural result of the old, original law of Solon, which had been sanctioned by Numa, and stipulated the functions and responsibilities of the lord or kurios.

Now what sort of an establishment was the House of the Lord?² In addition to its being a meeting house, a retreat for fugitives,³ a cœnobium for the common meals and a large home-hall in general for the brothers, it was also a pharmacopœia and sometimes furnished with beds and accommodations for the sick. The humble grotto-like apartment for Mary's accouchment was one of these in its crude and ancient form, being both a stall and booth, and it had a brotherhood; for Origin's plausible story of the secret initiation of the three by the wise men makes this certain. Nothing would do but this quick initiation into the secret brotherhood so that they could take them off to Egypt by night, as it were, on the "under-ground railroad;" for the edict issued to assassinate the babes was all-sweeping and so unexceptionally carried out that it even cut the innocent throat of Herod's own son!⁴

This curative function was adopted by the christians in the very earliest times. They did not follow a highly ethical plan of life laid down by some of the gnostics afterwards. They simply endorsed the modes and practices of the Solonic unions. They converted the unions to their own Jesus or Messiah; were taken body and soul into their temple and into the membership, and en-

² Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, II., p. 357, in addition to our own descriptions assures us that it had a medical attachment: "At Dionysopolis we saw abundant proof that Asklepias, Dionysos and Apollos types on coins like these express merely different aspects of one ultimate divinity, not different gods. In ordinary life the medical power of the god was naturally the one most frequently appealed to; and we may feel certain that, as at the hieron of Men Karou, a medical establishment was attached to the temple." etc.

³ See Vol. I., pp. 217, asylum of refuge of the Palikoi; 143-1, note 34, asylum of the castle of Sunion where the runaway slaves received succor; 257: "Forest asylum amid the roar of waters and the gloom and fumes of sulphur." Such a refuge for the poor in distress appears to have been peculiar to the Solonic institution and we know that the law provided for this refuge, in the shape of the ancient temple; for as it was dedicated to one of the protecting goddesses or gods who held tutelage over the inmates no one ever dared to touch a refugee so long as he remained within the enclosure.

⁴ See *Index* referring to note quoting Macrobius. This remarkable statement of Macrobius—short and irrelevant as it is; merely anecdotal and in illustration of another trifling matter—is an invaluable coincidence to prove the rescue of Jesus a historical event. Macrobius is known as high authority.

dorsed and all agreed to conform to the aged rules of the revered statute of the Prytaneion. This is fully acknowledged by the accurate Mosheim,⁵ and we now proceed to give the reader an overwhelming array of proof, believing it best for this purpose not to adhere too closely to consecutive and chronological arrangement, but to choose such examples from a large mass before us as well as secure the best effect, and borrowing our statements from every geographical source in pro-consular Rome, in anecdotal form, from A.D. 33 to 300. This includes the story of the Crispins.

An almost invaluable evidence for our argument that the early christians planted into, and owed their phenomenal success to their great and all-prevailing labor brotherhoods, is found in an inscription for which we are indebted to Dr. Ramsay, and which we here quote in a note, together with its sister inscription confirming that both are purely christian, although much disagreement exists.⁶

The learned Dr. Ramsay, on page 549, fully admits that this is a trade union; that it was christian; that it is from near the city of Laodicia, accredited to Heropolis, and that it was one of the benefit associations under the *lex collegia tenuiorum*, which, though he can seemingly understand nothing of what we are proving, and what he himself is inadvertently proving, yet it is exceedingly probable that it is the very union to which Lydia belonged and for which she was acting agent in the sale of its wares at Philippi, when Paul converted her.

The few terminal lines, of No. 411, here quoted, show that the carpet-weavers likewise were connected, in the

⁵ Mosheim, II. Cent., Pt. ii., Sect. 5, confesses that the christians adopted heathen forms of organization, including initiations and mysteries. Dr. Cagnat, *Vie Contempor.*, Jan. 1896, goes farther and declares these organizations were none other than the unions.

⁶ Ramsay, *Cil. Bish. Phryg.*, I., p. 545, no. 411; ref. to Wagner, *Revue de l'Instruction Publique en Belgique, Nouv., Série*, xi., pp. 1f; *Philologus*, xxxii., p. 379. The inscr. reads: "Ἰοπλίῳν Αἰλίου Γάλικου — Ἀμιανοῦ τοῦ Σελευκου' ἐν ἣ κηδεθήσονται αὐτὸς καὶ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ.....καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν' ἐτέρῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐξέσται κηδευθῆναι· κατέδωκεν δὲ καὶ τῇ σεμνοτάτῃ προεδρίᾳ τῶν πορφυροβάφων στεφανωτικοῦ δην' διακόσια πρὸς τὸ δίδοσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν τόκων ἐκάστω. ΝΜΖ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν Ἀζύμων' ὁμοίως κατέλιπεν καὶ τῶ συνεδρίῳ τῶν καιροδαπιστῶν στεφανωτικοῦ δην. ρ' ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα ἀπὸ.... a line lost.... ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ Πεντηκοστῆς. No. 412, which we need not give proves 411 to be a christian union of dyers and carpet-makers. It is in vol. I., and is no. 58, p. 119

⁷ See Oehler, *Eranos Vindobonensis* pp. 277, 279: "So hat die προεδρία der πορφυροβάφοι in Hieropolis von M. Aur. Diodorus 300 Denare erhalten mit bestimmter Widmung, Le Bas, III., 1687."

same brotherhood with dyers. A large number of these unions existed there on the Lycus River, in what was called the Pentapolis. This was a tract of territory coursed by the Meander and its tributary, the Lycus, and on which stood five celebrated cities, three of which were in sight of each other—Hierapolis, Laodicia and Colossæ. Laodicia was one of the cities of the seven churches. As the epigraphical critics advance in a scientific conception of these stone relics they open up surprising words of acknowledgment that the presbyters of the Ignatian epistles are none other than presbyters of the unions.⁸ And so indeed, it will be easily seen that all the officers and all the members were alike in name and function; the unions holding tenaciously to their old plan of mutual economies while the evangelists of the Word of promise labored for the spiritual. Under this arrangement there was perfect harmony and amazing growth and success for a period of three centuries.

Archæologists discover that the celebrated Crescens, founder of the church at Vienne, a few miles below Lyons, on the Rhone, was one of these Greek "responsible and crowned directors." He was merely a slave who by a remarkable natural ability exercised in an intelligent way, became a freedman, in which social estate we know him. Paul⁹ mentions him as the man sent to Gaul while Titus went to Dalmatia, and Demas, now known to have been Democrates,¹⁰ forsook him entirely. But let us follow Crescens. This strange character appears in the inscriptions, and the excavations of De Rossi, and the researches into the columbarium at Rome. Crescens must have been a distinguished and accomplished personage. He was a Hellenistic Greek and

⁸ Ramsay, *Cil. Bish. Phryg.*, II., p. 548: "The *συνέδριον τῆς γερονσίας*, or τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, CIG, 3912, 3916, 3417, 3222, is analagous to the *συνέδριον τῆς προεδρίας τῶν πορφυροβάφων*—a unique expression which seems to mean 'the Council of Presidence,' i.e., Proedroi of the society of Porphyrobaphoi. The term *πρόεδρος τῆς ἐκκλησίας* was used of the Bishop; and the Council of Presbyters, *συνέδριον τοῦ ἐπισκοπου*, Ignatius, Philad., 8, might be termed *προεδρία*." Dr. Ramsay here appends the following suggestive words in note 2: "Compare *Magn.*, 6, *συνέδριον τῶν ἀποστόλων*, *Magn.*, 13, *στεφάνου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου*. In *Apostolic Constitutions*, II., 28, presbyters are *σύμβουλοι τοῦ ἐπισκοπου καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας στεφάνου*." Thus the old crowned *κύριος* or responsible overseer directing this union of dyers provided for in the Solonic law, holds good in the church without change of name, degree or form.

⁹ *11 Tim.*, iv., 10: *Δημᾶς γὰρ με ἐγκατέλειπεν, ἀγαπήσας τον νῦν αἰῶνα, καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς Θεσσαλονικίην· Κρήσκης εἰς Γαλατίαν, Τίτος εἰς Δαλματίαν. κ. τ. λ.*

¹⁰ See our account of the affair, *supra*, Chap. xvi., Section *Tiberius*.

hailed from Phrygia in the Pentapolis.¹¹ The inscription given below plainly shows that Crescens was an official of the emperor at Lugdunum, now Lyons. Whatever the date of the inscription, this man was as early as Claudius and he must have been sent to Lyons on duty as a public officer and in this was like Narcissus, who, because of his abilities, acted in a political capacity for the emperor, while at the same time working for the membership of his kuriakos or church. Prof. O. Hirschfeld correctly finds that Crescens was an important member of the domus Augustalis. This clears up the whole mystery and is proven by a number of inscriptions besides this which we quote for Phrygia, in under-ground Rome.

Now while in Phrygia, Crescens was a steward at the military camps. So says the inscription; he was in a similar capacity at Lyons and Vienne,¹² and he became procurator castrensis, "doing duty in fit measure, administering to our affairs. And we erect this statue, in the faith of final resurrection, to said Crescens, the emancipated slave of Zosimus."¹³ These mentions and those of De Rossi and Gorius are not of the Crescens who later suffered under Decius, but the same Crescens living under Claudius, mentioned by Paul.

The fact that Crescens was attached to the domus Augustalis settles all cavil as to his being a member of a union, for these were the unions themselves; and as he was a courier who like Tychicus, carried letters, he may have worked for Paul in that capacity. Crescens, according to De Rossi, was buried near Pudens in the cemetery of Priscilla, which is in the Via Salaria Nova.

¹¹ Ramsay, *Cil. Bish. Phryg.*, II., p. 704, no. 641, reads: "Ἡ Β. καὶ ὁ δ. ἐτείμασεν, Μ. Αὐρ. Σεβαστῶν ἀπελευθέρων Κρήσκεντο, ἐπίτροπον φρυγίας καὶ ἐπίτροπον Καστήρων, ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ ἐνεργηθέντα τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν. τοῦ ἀιδριάντος τὴν ἀνάστασιν ποιησαμένου. Μ. Αὐρ. Σεβαστῶν ἀπελευθέρων Σωσίμου." CIG, 3888.

¹² *II Tim.*, iv., 10: "..... ἐπορεύθη εἰς Θεσσαλονικίην· Κρήσκης εἰς Γαλιάν, Τίτος εἰς Δαλματίαν."

¹³ De Rossi, *Rom. Sott.*, I., p. 192, giving the inscription found in the Cœmeteria Priscillæ. Clodia γ Ispes γ Clodi γ Crescens. Apostolic Age. The letters are colored with the never-fading red minium or Cinnabar. Again: "L. Clodius Crescens, Clodiæ Victoriæ, Conjugi incomparabili," showing that these freedmen married in spite of the law. But Gorius, *Mon. Sine. Columbar.*, p. 168, *epitaph*, cxliv., finds that he might have been a courier, and adjoins Tiberius Claudius, which was not his name, only his title, because a servant of the emperor: "Ti. Claudius Crescens dicitur cursor. Actes Libertæ, id est Clodiæ." etc. Fabretti, p. 350, no. 33; 333, no. 497; Gor., 107, show an *epitaph* of the same Crescens, in the Columbarium, remarking: "Ita quoque Creses legitur in alio lapide, in memoriam liberti Claudii," and explains the variation in the spelling.

There appear evidences that these masters of unions who were, in Rome the crowned quinquennales, and in the Hellenic countries the crowned and honored kurioi or responsible agents under the law were known as the lords of the business house for the conduct of manufacture in the unions; and thus Crescens was another lord of the House.

Titus was another and similar crowned lord and he is made historic by the mentions of him in the New Testament and several corroboratory inscriptions. Any person reading the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, eight chapter, eleventh to the twenty-fourth verses, will perceive that what is here spoken of Titus is to the effect that he was a member and that, like Stephen, he was engaged in transporting supplies of provisions from one place to another. The doctrine inculcated in these significant verses is that of socialism. Titus, though faithful and influential, was a very mysterious character. It is consistent with our scheme to assume that he was another lord of the House. There can be no doubt of it, as we study the evidence. He is acknowledged to be the Justus, who at Corinth, gave Paul his "House," when the synagogue was refused him.¹⁴

The Cyclopaedia of Biblical literature unwittingly proves Titus to have been an officer whose mission was to work out the economic functions of this evangelical work in which Paul was engaged. The English translation, for some reason, neglects to give the true name of Titus to the episode of Paul's plant in the little House "joined hard to the synagogue," after he had been refused admission to it. This convenient House was the temple of one of the many unions at Corinth, then a hive of organized industries. Paul took up his abode in this kuriakos, worked and preached there, and the same became the church of Corinth. The church could not have been the synagogue referred to because

¹⁴ *Acta Apost.*, xviii., 7: Καὶ μεταβὰς ἐκεῖθεν ἦλθεν εἰς οἰκίαν τιτὸς ὀνόματι Ἰουστου, σεβόμενον τὸν θεόν, οὗ ἡ οἰκία ἦν συνομοροῦσα τῇ συναγωγῇ. Κρίσπος δὲ ὁ ἀρχισυναγωγὸς ἐπίστευσε τῷ κυρίῳ συν ὅλω τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν Κορινθίων ἀκούοντες ἐπίστευον καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο. But in this St. James rendering there appears a seemingly dishonest tergiversation; for the new translation rectifies this statement from the original Greek Manuscript, which reads: ἦλθεν εἰς οἰκίαν τιτὸς ὀνόματι Τιτοῦ Ἰουστοῦ, κ.τ.λ. clearly showing that Justus was Titus, i.e., Titus the Just.

its membership was Gentile, while that of the synagogue was Jew, and they persecuted and would have overwhelmed and driven him and the band of brothers from Corinth, had Seneca's brother, the major, not interfered. The Crispus, who took Paul into the little House hard by, was Titus himself, and the reported name, Justus, was only an adjective qualifying him as Titus the Just.¹⁵

This Titus was a Hellenistic Greek and not a Jew. He was very active in the spread of the Word of promise and is supposed to have traveled a good deal for the cause. The rational view is that he was one of the crowned lords or responsible managers for a guild, doing business in those parts and that he used his influence wisely in the spread of the new doctrine among the converted unions. He is now supposed to have ended his life in Crete.¹⁶

This senseless tergiversation which should rank with the pious frauds, and is excused only in the "harmonistic renderings," which mollify a lie into a policy, is outdone in several places where the lord is turned into a God.¹⁷ This is precisely what we should have looked for, coming as it did, from the prelates who had ruled out Clement, and the Logia of Matthew, because they treated the real, original, economic christianity.

From a point of view of our argument the name Tychicus is one of the most remarkable as evidence of the christian plant into the Solonic brotherhoods and the economical uses to which christianity turned the kurios and the House of the Lord. We have just seen

¹⁵ "Τιτοῦ Ἰουστοῦ." Cf. Smith. *Bib. Dict.*, pp. 3266-3270, who, for some unseen cause, fails to admit this, though, at the same time, showing that he is endorsing a bad or perhaps dishonest translation from the original, which has Τίτου. It should read: "And he departed and went into a certain man's house named Titus the Just, one who had been converted." Titus was not a Jew, but a Hellenistic Greek, both parents being Gentiles. He was an advocate and doer of the economic. He was a worker. He sided with Paul afterwards in putting down the Corinthian abominations. See our careful statement pointed to in *index*. Titus made it his great mission to relieve wants: Smith, *Bib. Dict.*, p. 3267, and managed most of the contributory labor, lending aid to Judea, etc.

¹⁶ Paskley, *Travels in Crete*, I., 6. 175 "On the old site of Gortyna is a ruined church of ancient and solid masonry, which bears the name of St. Titus, and where service is yet celebrated." Titus was in close organization with Paul and Barnabas.

¹⁷ Critical readers, such as scholarly ministers, may find plenty of instances where κύριος is rendered by θεός. The tergiversation is harmonistic with the church but not with christianity. For often the word κύριος is thus changed from its original meaning as a man directing the union and actually has no reference to God whatever.

that Crescens, instead of being as some commentators imagine, a personage of high estate and an officer in the optimist ranks, was a slave or freedman and also a courier for the army of Rome; but at the same time a man of high estate in the plebeian fraternities. Exactly the same can be said of both Tychicus and his friend Onesimus who acted as carriers for Paul's letters. The three men worked together. Onesimus was the slave of Philemon. He procured his emancipation probably through the coöperation of the guild or union over which Philemon presided, in compliance with the aged methods of such organizations.

To Tychicus is accredited the work of distributing, and even of helping to write the Pauline epistles.¹⁸ As a matter of fact, however, he did not write them. The particular one here meant is the epistle to the Ephesians. We begin by referring to the correct estimate made by Dr. Ramsay regarding the danger of attending to such work. All through pro-consular Rome there were at that time military spies ferreting out the christians of whom the Romans were becoming very jealous. Many had already been driven out of Rome and it was known that such exiles were settling down among the unions of Asia Minor.¹⁹ M. Le Blant has also seen with a keen insight that in order to avoid the searching espionage both the unions and the christians had to live under a set of signs and a system of occultism or they might at any moment be arrested. To read their inscriptions correctly, as they are still found, the epigraphists have worked out a full set of their signs and symbols whereby to analytically do it and thus distinguish whether they were christian or pagan. A fine illustration of this tendency on the part of the christians to outwit the spies, is recorded in the Body of Greek Inscriptions of the Berlin Academy of Sciences,²⁰

¹⁸ *Coloss., ad fin.*: " Πρὸς Κολοσσαεῖς ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ῥώμης δια Τυχικοῦ καὶ Ὀνησίμου." On this, see Lightfoot, *Coloss.*, pp. 37 and 231-2, text and note.

¹⁹ Ramsay, *Cit. Bish. Phryg.*, II., pp. 488-90, and in many other places; *CIG.*, 3857^t. "Ὁ δεῖνα ἢ οἱ δεινὲς τῷ δεῖν. καὶ Δόμνη γονεῦσι γλυκοτάτοις μνήμης χάριν." This epitaph wants to hide from the police and the outside world, the fact that its tablet stands for a membership of some brotherhood, whose trade and whose list of names, together with their beloved manager, a female, no person is permitted to know except the survivors themselves.

²⁰ *CIG.* 2857^t. Ramsay, *Cit. Bish. Phryg.*, II., p. 489, in showing their secret and hiding propensities, cites *CIG.* 3857^t, L.W. 780, which appears to be an ordinary inscription as at first published. It reads: Εὐφρων κε Τατ

and admirably exhibited by Dr. Ramsay, who explains that they resorted to the occultism of the secret veil and splendidly succeeded in fooling the sneaking spies. The statement bearing such information as is given in our note is unsatisfactory; but fortunately M. Perrot made a more searching examination of the stone and observed a cross at the top marking the religion of the deceased, while masons' tools lay inscribed at the bottom of the stone, indicating the occupation. We then observe that Euphron and Onesimus are christian names; while Tatias and Asclepiades, though only ordinary pagan names, are often used by christians. In Gaul, M. Le Blant mentions a number of slabs²¹ and endeavors with a good deal of success, to work out their system of hiding, both in life and death.²² In further illustration of this hiding, necessitated by great dangers attending and always threatening these poor downtrodden people, we may here give as examples, the styles of monogram and other blinds which the christianized unions used.

With our description of Tychicus the news and letter carrier, we shall have to carry with us Onesimus, the runaway slave. He had left Philemon of Colossæ, escaped to Rome, had fallen in with the now imprisoned Paul which is A.D. 62, during the reign of Nero. Their province of a post office function was Asia Minor, Phœbe, a woman, carried his letter to the Romans from Cenchrea near Corinth; Titus and Luke did it for the Corinthians and Epaphroditus did the work for his letter to the Philippians. The utmost secrecy was especially necessary at this moment.²³ Paul, who for a

ἰὰς Ἀσκληπιάδῃ τῷ τεκνῷ κὲ ἑαυτοῖς ζῶντες. 'Ονήσιμος [καὶ . . .] this lacuna included the names of the members of which we are unfortunately deprived. There was fear of the police. Then the inscription continues: τοῖς ἑαυτῶν γορεύει καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐτείμησαν. So again in the CIG., 3957^c, Δάδας φιλέρωτος καὶ ἡ δέικα αὐτοῖς ἐτὶ ζῶντες καὶ Τυχικός καὶ Ἀμμιά τὰ τεκνα αὐτῶν' καὶ Δημήτριος ἀδελφῶ, καὶ Ζωτικῆ καὶ Ἀταλαντῆ τεκνῶ μνημῆς χάριν' Ἰλλίος λαγύπος, Τυχικὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐτείμησε. In the same Book of Greek Inscriptions, no. 3857^c: Τατιάς Τυχικοῦ τῷ δέειν ἀνδρὶ. It has about the same explanation as for 3857^b, i. e., it belongs in the same place.

²¹ Le Blant, *Inscr. de la Gaule*, Vol. II., pp. 197, 255, 146 283, 211; Vol. I., p. 365, showing his scrutiny in working out these secrets.

²² CIG., 3857^c reads: "a. Εὐφρών καὶ Τατιάς Ἀσκληπιάδῃ τῷ τεκνῷ καὶ ἑαυτοῖς ζῶντας" b. 'Ονήσιμος τοῖς ἑαυτῶν γορεύει καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐτείμησαν."

²³ We cannot better illustrate this significant though little known method of covering the agitators' propaganda and screening them from danger, than by presenting Dr. Ramsay's carefully elaborated explanation in a full page plate. *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, Vol. II., pp. 530^b, 531. A 1882 (1887). Isckli. CIG. 3902^o. Cument. 137. 'Αγρ. Μηροφίλος β' τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου

short time enjoyed some favor with Nero, had made friendship with the great and gifted Seneca destined to die under this monarch's jealous rage, was at this moment losing hope and had but a few more weeks to live. The two letter carriers performed their work faithfully.

But how did they do it? This is the important question. They could not have gone forth boldly on the high roads with a considerable bundle of papyrus or of pergamen in their hands which written in plain Greek, would have cost them dearly if detected. Even to this day such a carrier in that same part would be arrested unless furnished with a strong passport. How did they get their passports? They were both of lowly degree, Onesimus, nothing but a runaway slave; the government rangers were constantly looking for and arresting such. Nothing of the kind. Under the great Solonic statute there was, as we have abundantly shown, one powerful officer representing each trade union, eight of which were enumerated, and each one so specified having a number of kindred trades. Those men represented the valuable industries of the country and each of them was honored with splendid crowns, and exempt from most of the manual work, but legally responsible before the police and the law for everything his union did. They were the celebrated immunes of the ancient world.²⁴ It is thoroughly recorded that the immunes under the great Solonic dispensation were exempt from military duty and that they were accorded many privileges.

Dr. Lightfoot, after remarking that Tychicus was charged by Paul to deliver his messages in Asia Minor

βουλευτῆς κατεσκεύασα τὸ ἔμπροσθεν σύνκρουστον ἑαυτῷ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ νιῶ, καὶ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Μελίτῃ, καὶ Μηροφίλῳ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ ἐγγύνοις, καὶ οἷς αὐτὸς περιῶν Βουληθῆ. Εἰ δὲ τις ἐπιχειρήσει θείναι ἕτερον, ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν χριστόν.

²⁴ Gorius, *Mon. sive Columb.*, p. 65, in quoting the inscription of Tyrannus, the emancipated slave who during the reign of Claudius was an immune who gave and dedicated the columbarium: "Tyrannus Verna. Tab. apparitor sacris omnium immunis." etc. On the quality of the immune, Gorius remarks: "... ac propria significatio hujus vocis immunis afferatur. Neque enim ea nunc primum prodit in lucem; quum in vetustis inscriptis saxis, plures immunes facti legantur verum in quo consistat immunitas libertatis data, de qua hactenus viri docti siluere, profecto haud facile dictu est. Immunitas igitur duplici modo considerari potest; vel in quantum ad rem civilem; vel ad rem sacram; plures vero sunt causæ quibus variis personis dari potuit..... Immunitas quoque dabatur non modo Provinciis, municipiis, coloniis, magistratibus, collegiis, verum etiam viris optime de iisdem meritis; vel pro aliquo temporis spatio, vel perpetuo."

or proconsular Asia, says: "The two names, Tychicus and Onesimus occur in proximity in the Phrygian inscriptions found at Altentash, Benisoa."²⁵ Now, if the churches of proconsular Asia were planted in the era now as claimed, Tychicus, as well as Onesimus after his enfranchisement, could have been very important and responsible kurioi, not only at Colossæ and the towns on the Lycus, but all over Asia Minor, and so come into the inscriptions of the masons, dyers and others.

Our suspicion that the House of Philemon, the reputed owner of the slave Onesimus was not a private one but the temple of a guild, is strongly borne out by the fact that he had been converted under some occult circumstances by Paul; but as this apostle refused to have anything whatever to do with the economic side of the movement, carefully confining himself to the spiritual although obliged to use, plant into and receive sustenance from these unions, we are left quite in the dark. It has been shown that these secret societies, besides furnishing their members, male and female, bond and free with food at a common table, clothing, work, housing and entertainment, likewise secured the enfranchisement of their slave members, long before and long after the Advent. Philemon was a responsible director of some powerful guild or union at Colossæ. He was lord of a household,²⁶ and certainly in the capacity in which we find him, a great man. Nothing can be plainer than that he was invested with this power by the law, making his dignity, "kurioi," under the Solonic dispensation as seen in the fragment preserved in the Digest.

Another great character who must likewise necessarily go along with us is the celebrated Papias, whose book, the *Expositio Oraculorum*, is completely lost. Every evidence extant shows that this lost work must

²⁵ Böck., CIG., 3857 r, "Δάδας Φιλερωτος και η δεινα αυτοις ἐπι ζῶντες και Τυχικός και Ἄμμια τὰ τεκνα αὐτῶν" Καὶ Δημητριος ἀδελφῶ, και Σωτικῆ και Ἀταπαντη τέκνῳ μνήμης χάριν. "Πίλιος λατυπος, Τυχικὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐτειμησε." More than a dozen inscriptions already found at Altentash Benisoa, all representing unions, show that this place was a hive of industry.

²⁶ Lightfoot, *Colloss.*: τῆ κατ' οἶκον σου ἐκκλησία. "Philemon had placed his house," i.e. οἶκία, honored and enlarged in the *N. T.* with the title of ἐκκλησία, "at the disposal of the christians at Colossæ for their religious and social gatherings." But this very House was standing and also probably the temple and out-houses and the grave-yard, when Theodoret wrote, about A.D. 440: "Πόλιν δὲ εἶκε Ἰβ Φιλῆμωνι τὰς Κολόσσας. Καὶ ἡ οἶκία δὲ αὐτοῦ μεχρι τοῦ παρόντος μεμεκε.".

have expounded the full economic scheme of the early christianity as originally formulated in the plan of salvation of Jesus. A fragment of this book attributed to Epaphros, or as some say Papias, comes down to us through Eusebius, who quoted the passage relating to the great advantages of socialism over competing individualism.²⁷ The valuable book of Epaphros gave the rules of socialism as laid down by Peter and John, and which we are afraid Paul suppressed or if not Paul himself, the prelates who afterwards came and drove out and burned the vestiges of that grand culture planted by the early fathers.

This Epaphros or Epaphroditus was a christian orator at Colossæ, under Philemon and his church was a union of the brotherhood. It is believed that he converted the freedman Epictetus who gave philosophical dissertations which, for a time, seemed to make of this cluster of manufacturing cities on the Lycus, another Athens. However, it is not certain that the great lame orator was ever converted. Epaphros is credited with the dangerous but honored task of carrying Paul's letter to the Philippians, and thus, like Tychicus, of being another post office messenger for the early movement.²⁸ An inscription has been found, and is much commented on of late years, which is recorded in the body of Greek inscriptions under number 3865i. It was discovered at Trajanapolis, is very aged and winterworn, but legible enough to exhibit three important names, two of which are in our canonical scriptures and the other apocryphal. These names are Papias, Trophymus and Tychicus.²⁹

²⁷ Epaphros, *Lost Book, Fragment*, iv., *trans. of Ante-Nicene Fathers, Fragment*, iv., speaks of the good time coming in which "vines shall grow having each 10,000 branches, and each branch 10,000 twigs; and each true twig 10,000 shoots; and every one of the shoots 10,000 clusters; and on every cluster, 10,000 grapes; and every grape when pressed will give 25 metres of wine. In like manner a grain of wheat will produce 10,000 grains, and every grain 10,000 more. The whole is intended as a wild and exaggerated estimate of the immense fruits of socialism as compared with the stingy things the workman now realizes.

²⁸ Philippians, Epaphroditus carried this message from Rome, A.D. 62

"Πρὸς Φιλιππησίους ἐγγραφὴ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης δι' Ἐπαφροδίτου.

²⁹ CIG., 3865i: "Παπίας Τροφίμου καὶ Τυχήως." Waddington, in *Le Bas, Inscr.*, 718, tells us that it is from Trajanapolis, and belongs to the year 199; but according to Ramsay, this by no means implies that the heroes of the epitaph were of that date. On the contrary this inscription set up in A.D. 69 or 70, *etc.*, have caused the arrest and crucifixion of the whole brotherhood. But the calm of 199 just before the persecution of Severus broke out in 202, gave the unions boldness to set up the epitaph.

Tychicus, as we have seen, was Paul's letter carrier, and journeyed the distance from Rome to Ephesus for that purpose. Trophemus is a well-known name in the Bible, being mentioned repeatedly. He traveled with Tychicus and Paul on long journeyings. He was in Jerusalem at the time of the great riot when Paul was denounced as a ring-leader of the sect of the Nazarenes. It is now as much as proved that the two names occurring on the inscription 3865*i* are no other than genuine mentions of these men. Furthermore, they blindly bring out the information that they represent a guild of the dyers.³⁰ We shall now bring in evidence as proof of the dense mist under which these labor organizations were befogged, the already celebrated and much debated inscription of one which is described by Dr. Ramsay.

This is No. 3857*t* in the Body of Greek Inscriptions. Similar specimens have been found by M. Le Blant in Italy and Gaul. There was found at Altentash Benisoa the ancient ruin in southwest Phrygia, near Palestine and not far from the sea, in what we have distinguished as a hive of christianized trade and labor unions all destroyed and annihilated as we shall show, by the terrible massacre of Diocletian, a stone, whose lettering from outside appearance was read as a strictly pagan inscription.³¹ Closer inspection, however, showed that it had a cross on the top, proving it to be christian and certain mason's tools such as the trowel which lay at the bottom, proved likewise that the Euphron, Tatias and Onesimus it mentioned were not only masons but represented the masons' trade organization in considerable numbers. Thus the christians were glad to find refuge and a pleasant, congenial and inviting nest among the old Solonic unions, driving at that time the industries

³⁰ It has been found that CIG., nos. 3857 c, 3857 r, 3865 i, 2918, 3965, 1625, 3495, 3173, 3304, dyers, 3846, 3846 a, 3847, 3827, 3846 p, 3879, 3983, 3902, 3962, 3962, as well as Muratorius, pp. DCCCCXIII., MCCCXCIV., MMLV., are all unions under the Solonic law. The archæologists err a trifle in denominating them guilds. The term should be trade union.

³¹ CIG. 3857 i: "Εὐφρών κε Τατίας Ἀσκληπιάδῃ τῷ τέκνῳ ζῶντες. Οἰησίμος καὶ ——— τοὺς ἑαυτῶν γονεῖς καὶ ἀδελφῶν εἰεμίησαν. "At first," says Ramsay, *Cit. Bish. Phryg.*, II., p. 489, no. 306, "it was passed off as in ordinary pagan inscription." But fortunately, M. Perrot., *Exploratio Arch. de la Galatie*, p. 125, made a fresh copy, and observed the cross at the top, marking the religion of the deceased, while mason's tools at the bottom indicate the occupation. In *id.*, 3857 c, Τατίς or Τατίας is the son of Tychicus. This makes the family to have been masons by trade. The union which honors them in this epitaph was a masons' union.

of the world and living in a perfect socialism, which after two thousand years, is destined, as Jesus intimated, to swell out and cover and engross political economy and end in the perfect political state. These beautiful specimens show the true origin of socialism in our vale of tears.

Thus we have, in bringing to the front this one man Tychicus, accompanied by Onesimus the post office officials of primitive life, an epimelites or trade union manager of that great power recognized under the Roman law as authority working in an occult function with christianity, for the spread of its doctrine that no man or woman who joined its scheme of salvation need suffer if he would work, earn, feed and be happy at the common board.

In our dissertation on Tychicus, we must therefore train such Biblical characters as Trophemus,³² Apphias, Onesimus and Philemon into line because they were in a certain respect, all associated together. We are leaping into no wild conclusion when we argue that these men had each his functions mapped out to him by the business union over whose economical interests he presided, and that when that warm, thrifty, nest-like brotherhood became converted to the new Word of promise and undertook the unctuous work of culture, in addition to their regular old-time habits, they were more than ever obliged to avail themselves of their burial clause in the law and present in their visible phases of life only the sepulchral drapery of death and the tomb. Dr. Lightfoot has deftly told us that: "the christians were first recognized by the Roman government as colleges of burial, and protected by this recognition, doubtless held their meetings for religious worship." And he clearly recognizes in the same sentence that they held these meetings in their own temples with which they were invariably provided, when he adjoins, that: "there is no clear example of a separate building set apart for christian worship within the limits of the Roman empire before the third century."³³

³² See *index* to this Vol. Trophemus etc., for inscriptions found mentioning these names as officers in trade unions. They are now regarded by several of the most penetrating inscription readers, as the very same mentioned in the Bible.

³³ We cannot do better for our argument than to here repeat this author's own illustration substantiating this. *Acts*, xiii., 72. Συνοδὸν τε ἤλαθον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς Μαρίας..... αὐ ἦσαν ἱκανοὶ συνηθροισμένοι, κ.τ.λ. and

The new word of promise had one of its principal and greatest charms, in that it gave all the down-trodden branch of mankind a soul, a right to marry and have a family, and a right to aspire to full man and womanhood—great thoughts, fraught with hopes and blessedness. The old gods and goddesses adorned by these Solonic unions from early ages down, and subscribed to as divinities, had never offered them this. They had dared to hope for the advent of their long-expected pagan messiah, but alas, he or she had never come and their condition, especially just at the close of the conquests, was getting worse instead of better. They were disappointed. They were reasonable and listened to the glad tidings of great joy, and endorsed the new Word of promise which Cybele, Minerva, Kotytto and Dionysus never gave. Thus it was the poor and lowly and not the high-born and wealthy class who constituted the original christianity. It was not in finely built churches they planted, but in the old, omnipresent pre-christian kuriakæ, one of which, as thousands of their chiseled monuments testify, belonged to each of the brotherhoods under the Solonic law.

But, as it was extremely difficult to find entrance into a Solonic eranos, and impossible, unless the candidates, after a veritable dokimasia or scrutiny, proved, that, he or she was hagnios, eusebes, and agathos,³⁴ or morally pure, honest, not covetous, but good, he could not enter any more than a camel could enter through the eye of a needle. But fortunately for the aspirant there was a door. In the union this door was the thura tou kuriou, passage to the lord. In the later initiation it was the thura tou kuriou, the door of Jesus.³⁵ Until this

Rom., xvi., 14, 15: τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀδελφοὺς, τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς πάντας ἁγίους. Here the ἅγιος of the old pre-christian unions comes in. See Chap. XIII., *passim*. And yet again, Clement, *Recogn.*, x., 71: "Theophilus. domus suæ ingentem basilicam ecclesiam nomine consecraret." These basilicæ are now coming to light from under-ground Rome, as the secret school rooms of these very burial unions, a thing made possible by the above-mentioned burial clause already described.

³⁴ "Ἄγιος καὶ εὐσεβής καὶ ἀγαθός." This law of the unions, was discovered on the now celebrated stone, Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, no. 881. lines 9, 24. *Supra*, p. 260; CIG., 126. It is the great Νόμος ἐρανιστῶν, Fouc., *Ass. Rel.*, no. 20, p. 202. It reads: "Ὁ ἀρχιερασιτῆς καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ οἱ ταμῖαι καὶ σύνδικοι' ἔστωσαν δὲ οὗτοι κληρωτοὶ κατὰ ἔτος χωρὶς τοῦ προστάτου ὁμολετωρ δὲ εἰς τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ ὁ ἐπὶ ἠρώων καταληφείς· αὐξανέτω ἕξ ὁ ἐρανὸς ἐπὶ φιλοτεμίας· εἰ δὲ τις μάχας ἢ θορύβους κεινῶν φαίνοιτο, ἐκβαλέσθω τοῦ ἐράνου, ζημιούμενος ταῖς διπλαῖς. κ.τ.λ. The stone is here broken and illegible.

³⁵ Ignatius to the Philippians, chap. II., 23; "He is the door of the Father: Θύρα τοῦ πατρὸς ἐστίν."

memorable revolution in human ethics the poor had no Father. The Roman gens law of primogeniture was opposed to it. It would lead to equalization. The touch of a workman was regarded as a taint. He had not even a promise of immortality. He was cursed. Jesus, the new and last messiah, was his first promise and it yielded the socially submerged millions a mighty comfort.

Uprightness was the prerequisite as in contrast with our present political thieves and legalized rascals. Legalized under the common generalities of Solonism, they tended toward purity. They had laws of their own; were governed by rules of their own; and even had strict laws against immorality, conspiracy, all forms of wrong doing and were growing to be self-ruling and correct.³⁶ Their celebrated *thura tou theou*, door of Jesus, as it was later known in christian times, meant in reality, nothing other than this leaping the rigid and to some, impassable bar of initiation;³⁷ and it is now known only in the spiritual sense as conversion and joining the church. In the days of Tychicus, Philemon, Trophemus and Epaphros it meant more; it meant the economic membership as well; for those who were so fortunate as to succeed in passing the *dokimasia* were ushered into the presence of the brotherhood, furnished immediately with something to do, and invited to the common table and all the bounties of fraternity. This

³⁶We have several inscriptions which lay down their inside law against disorders. They were willing under the original terms of the Solonic law, to follow that statute; they followed the civil and political existing forms; they used νόμος for law or rule; ἀγορά for meeting; ψηφίσματα for decisions and resolutions; managers and rulers were ἄρχοντες. Demosth., *Pro Corona*, § 259. Dr. Oehler has kindly furnished us, in his manuscript, the following references:

In der Itanos lesen wir im Eide der Bürger: οὐδε σύλλογον οὐδε συνωμοσίαν ποιήσω ἐπὶ τῷ κακίῳ τὰς πόλεος ἢ τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐδε ἄλλω συνεσσεομαι οὐδενί." But this must have been some resolution against them or prescribing for them by outside citizens. For the one of their own, regarding political action, see *supra*, p. 617, note 78. For an inscription of an eranos, giving its self-constituted rules against riot, see Foucart, *Ass. Recl.*, p. 42: "Si quelqu' un excite des batailles ou des tumultes, qu' il soit chassé de l' érane." For the Greek text of this important find, see *id.*, no. 20, lines 40-2: "Εἰ δε τις μάχας ἢ θορύβους κεινῶν φαινοίτο, ἐκβαλλεσθω τοῦ ἐράνου." The same severe rule of the Roman collegia appears in the typical inscription of Lanuvium: "Si quis autem in opprobrium alteralterius dixerit, aut tumultuatus fuerit ei multa esto, IIS. N." and considerable more. See Vol. I., p. 357. Again, Oehler, *MSS.*: "Erlähnt werden: συνωμοσίαι in einer Inschrift aus Kythrea auf Kypros: Le Bas, III., 2767, dann in Kibyra: Le Bas, III., 1212: Καταλύσαντα συνωμοσίαν μεγάλην τὰ μάλιστα λυπούσαν την πόλιν."

³⁷It meant what it said; *thura tou kýriou*, i.e., the door to the lord, way to the man at the helm of the union where plenty was, and dangers were past.

great economy, was, carried out as afterwards agreed upon by Peter, James, Paul and Titus at Jerusalem.³⁸ There they all agreed, after the experience with Demetrius and the silversmiths whose unions had protested against the narrow and bigoted preaching of Paul, threatening to throw the multitudes of workmen out of employment. They agreed and Paul dropped it. The episode of Diotrefes belongs here. At that moment there was started a great wrangle about the gnostic homousian or which in fact was little other than a discussion protracted for more than a hundred years, over this word. It meant equal distribution of property; for *ousia* is the Greek for possessions or property, and *homos*, also *homoios* prefixed makes this remarkable word which caused a discussion lasting centuries with the Gnostics. It was a compound, born at that very time; for though we have the two words in common use in the classics, we fail to find the compound in use before the wrangling over it set in. The whole Gnostic embroglio was fallacious, misleading, useless and not worthy of our consideration.

The old Solonic law which centuries before had created and legalized the unions, made a special provision that the property belonging to them should be held in common and should belong to no one person but to all alike. It was ratified at Rome and occupied a line of statutory scripture in the Twelve Tables.³⁹ When probed down it will be found that about this time the guilds of the Solonic and Numan dispensation were possessed of much property. Dion Cassius has told us that Domitian and Nerva⁴⁰ killed the members, as we have proved, and confiscated their *ousia* or property.

³⁸ Acts, xv., 19, 29. The Epistle of James touches strong'y upon this celebrated agreement and reconciliation.

³⁹ Dirksen, *Zwölf Tafeln*. "Der Römische Staat vergönnte ursprünglich lediglich den Gewerben, die den Bedürfnissen des Krieges und des Gottesdienstes zunächst fröhnten, seinen unmittelbaren Schutz und eine selbstständige Communalverfassung."

⁴⁰ Dion Cass., LXVIII., 1. The modern writers are all agreed that he means the chr. It was immediately after Domitian's persecution quoted in Section *Domitian*, from Dion, LXVII., 11, and shows that Nerva also persecuted, or at least, killed many chr. In the quotation referred to, plain mention is made of their property. Dion calls *ousia*: "Καὶ ὁ Νέρωνας τοὺς τε κρινομένους ἐπ' ἀσθεῖα ἀφήκε, καὶ τοὺς φεργοῦσας κατήγαγε· τοὺς τε δούλους καὶ τοὺς ἐξελευθέρους, τοὺς τοῖς δεσπόταις σφῶν ἐπιβουλευσαντας, παύτας ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τοῖς μὲν τοιοῦτοις οὐδ' ἄλλο τι ἔγκλημα ἐπιφέρειν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεσπότας ἐφῆκε τοῖς δὲ δι' ἄλλοις οὐτ' ἀσθεῖας, οὐτ' Ἰουδαϊκοῦ βίου κατατιτᾶσθαι τῆρας συνεχώρησε πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν συκφαντησάντων, θάνατον καταδικασθήσαν· ἐν αἷς καὶ Σέρας ἦν ὁ φιλοσόφος.

So here in Asia Minor they owned many small properties because there were many organizations. The sum of these petty, innocent properties was an immense property which the grasping potentates got. A principal office of the deacons was to hold sacred this property belonging to each union.⁴¹ Emile Levasseur hints to us that the Roman trade unions were planted into by the christians down to the days of Gratian and Honorius. He further thinks it was enormous, and quotes the law, suppressing the yet remaining paganism in the unions of wood-workers, and others still paying homage to pagan divinities.⁴²

Philemon was a metonym for play-actor and occurs quite frequently in the inscriptions, so that only one or two are recognized belonging to this individual character now being considered.⁴³ The opening of Paul's noted letter to Philemon.⁴⁴ A short distance from the old and now demolished city of Colossæ, in a town called Aphrodisias where these pleasurable unions were plentiful is found an inscription containing the name of Philemon as well as Onesimus, and it is considered suggestive of the former influence of these men in that region. In the same manner, these ancient records occur, bearing the names of Epaphros, Trophemus, Tychicus, and some of them are quoted by the epigraphical critics of our seminaries as having been the identical characters of Bible mention. Their children and their childrens' children who, more tenderly than is usual, loved the precious names of the original founders, come like-

⁴¹ Origen, *In Matth.*, tom. xvi., §22, speaking of the functions of the διάκονος, says: "Οἱ διάκονοι διακούντες τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας χρήματα." This was the same hundreds of years before the christians began to plant into them; and the same names were used. The deacons had charge of the property.

⁴² Levass., *Hist. Class. Ouv.*, I., p. 57: "Il est certain que les collèges possédaient des temples et des terrains consacrés au culte d'une grande étendue puisque Gratian et Honorius eurent soin de les mentionner en ordonnant la confiscation de propriétés qui servaient encore à la religion païenne: "*Cod Theod.*, xvi., tit. x., l. 20, ann. 415: "Omnia loca quae frediani, quae dendrophori, quæ singula quaeque nomina et professiones gentilitiae tuerunt epholis (epulis) vel sumptibus deputata, fas est, hoc errore subnota, compendia nostrae domus sullivare." Cicero distinguishes between the gentile and the slave races as follows: "Gentiles sunt qui inter se eodem nomine sunt, qui ab ingenuis oriundi sunt, quorum majorum nemo servitutem servivit, qui capite non sunt diminuti." Cic., *Top.*, vi., 29.

⁴³ Φιλήμων in Greek was a play-actor. Aristot., *Rhet.*, III., 42.

⁴⁴ Lightfoot, *Coloss.*, p. 331. Greek text, reveals that Philemon's House was no other than an ἐκκλησία of the old initiates, apparently Dionysan, of which Philemon was an archon or bishop. CIG., 2782: "ΟΑ. Ἀπφίας ἀρχιερείας Ἀσίας, μητροῦς καὶ ἀδελφῆς καὶ μάμμης συνακλητικῶν, φιλοπάτριδος." κ. τ.λ. Apphias was chief priestess of the union, at first a strictly pagan, business concern, but afterwards christianized.

wise later, in the tombs prepared for them. It is a strange history of departed socialism.

In winding up our notes on Tychicus and his celebrated companions, we must again refer to Epictetus the cripple and emancipated slave of Colossæ. Epaphras, his christianized friend, was a fellow prisoner of Paul at Rome, though he planted christianity among the unions of Hierapolis. In A.D. 66 he was again with Epictetus the moralist, who approached very nearly to christianity. Though a native of Hierapolis, only seven miles from Colossæ, they often met and knew each other. It looks as if they were both fellow initiates of Cybele. They both underwent long suffering for their almost similar faith; in such sad, struggling advocates we find these origins of socialism always in the poor, the unrecognized, the lowly. All are seen to have been low, poor and mean, though they announced the revolution. Many other very suggestive inscriptions⁴⁵ occur which are being lately pointed out by the epigraphists as containing scripture names and are listed as guilds or unions.

Let us now undertake a synthetic analysis and history of Luke. Were it not for the late discovery of much monumental evidence, and had we nothing more than what has come down to us through the New Testament with comments by the early fathers and historians, we should be unable to tell this story. But fortunately for us, there have sprung into light several statements about him, which tell in epitaphic fashion much to excite interest. Ernest Renan obtained for his researches enough to cause his remark that Luke was an ebionite who thoroughly opposed the holding of individual property. He also says that he was a full-blood Jew.⁴⁶ Paul called him his fellow-laborer; indeed they must have been together, and none could have been more intimate with the apostles.⁴⁷ He knew all the details regarding the work of the immediate companions of Jesus and so

⁴⁵ CIG., 3857^b: "Ονήσιμος Φιλέρωτατος ἐπὶ ζῶν συν τοῖς παιδίοις μου Φιλίππῳ καὶ Καλλιγενεῖα καὶ Ονησίμῳ, συν τῷ γαμβρῷ Εὐτυχιῷ, μετὰ τοῦ ἐγγονοῦ Βασιλίου ἐποίησαμεν μνημῆς χάριν." On one apparently very valuable reference to Luke, if we read aright, See Dion Chrysostom, quoted by Th. Reinach, in *Bull. de Cor. Héliénique*, 1896, p. 380.

⁴⁶ Renan, *Life of Jesus*, p. 36, of Eng. trans.

⁴⁷ *Epist. Phil.*, 24: Μάρκος, Ἀριστάρχος, Δημάς, Λουκάς, οἱ συνεργοὶ μου. *Coloss.*, iv., 11, where he is spoken of as the "beloved physician." That Luke was quinquennial to the order of medical doctors, we now proceed to prove by the ancient carvings on the ~~stone~~

likewise of Paul, being able as their historian to write an account which has been declared by eminent critics, (Guizot among the rest, to be a compend of true history.

But although Hebrew, speaking that tongue, he was a native of Asia Minor and probably of Tlos, in Cilicia and possessed a good knowledge of at least three languages which he constantly used; the Greek, Syriac and Hebrew. In the Acts of the Apostles he often speaks in the second person, showing that on the voyage through Macedonia he must have seen and known Lydia, the member of the dyers' union⁴⁸ and traveled with the evangelist party to Troas. If Demas was Demetrius, as critics say, then Luke knew him; and the great length and care devoted to the story of the strike of the image makers at Ephesus under the direction of Demetrius, shows that he in all probability was present, and lent his influence in a wise direction, rescuing his friends from harm. But being with John and Peter in sympathy, he must have sided with Demetrius against Paul's bigotry and in favor of upholding the workmen of the image makers' society in maintaining their means of earning a living.

But we have other remarkable proof of Luke being not only a friend and co-worker with Paul, but an otherwise historical character. One epigraph recorded in the Body of Greek Inscriptions brings this out. But in addition to this we have two others, and no two of all anaglyphs are recorded by the same archæologist. Before proceeding to a reproduction of these three gems of history in the corroboration of our argument that true christianity was planted in the ancient Solonic unions, it is well to remind the reader that on account of the dangers from ever-present spies of the proconsuls and their police, the poor fellows were constantly obliged to hide their names and identity under the veil proffered by a studied occultism. Thus Luke had many names. He went as Loukos, Loukios, Lucanus, Leukas, Nicias, and several other metonyms to suit various immediate necessities.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ See *supra*, by referring to *index*, where an account is given of her, together with inscriptional evidences.

⁴⁹ Lightfoot, *Coloss.*, p. 230: "Lucas, meaning St Luke, is doubtless a contraction of Lucanus. Several old Latin MSS. write out the name Lucanus in the superscription, just as elsewhere Apollos is written Apollonias. On the frequent occurrence of this name, see *Ephem. Epigr.* II., p. 28 1874."

This is one of five inscriptions memorialized by Dr. Franz in a monogram on Five Inscriptions and Five Cities. Dr. Wolf discovered it in the Anatolian town of Ahatkoi, once Trajanopolis, where many interesting ruins are being studied.

The rubric of this great inscription reads *agathe tyche*, and is an invariable christian sign. Again, it introduces Luke as Nicias the conqueror, meaning it perhaps in a spiritual sense. Before giving the full inscription in our note a running paraphrase is necessary, leaving our more correct translation for the appendix:

The members in general and council or synod of the *koinon* hereby honor Nicias the adopted of Esculapius, god of medicine and surgery, and whose Latin name is Luke, with the gift of an altar, under the august imperial care; the same to be a testimonial of ours during his whole lifetime. For a long time he has ministered in charge of the public works, governing with integrity and efficiency. He was during two quinquennial terms, master of the gymnastic schools and exercises being connected with the schools of Tyrannus.⁵⁰ He also acted faithfully in the capacity of secretary, and was useful in other work.

The reference made in this inscription to the resurrection is a sure proof that it is christian; the word being *anastasis*, which is unmistakable. Besides, the fact that he is president of the body to which he belongs and which he serves, points to that body as being a *thiasos* or *koinon*. The great activity of a life-time of Luke here acknowledged, together with the date, his being one of the physicians, and all other harmonies combined, show the recipient of the honors to be Saint Luke of the Gospel.

Now one more word in regard to the schools of Tyrannus⁵¹ mentioned in this inscription and then we will produce in a foot-note the exact original of the tablet itself. This Tyrannus, whoever he was, appears in a mul-

⁵⁰ This remarkable fact brings forth additional proof of what we have already said regarding the *Schools of Tyrannus*. See our *Index*, catchwords, *Tyrannus*, *schools*, etc. There is a fund of curious information in this school of Tyrannus, mentioned in the *Acts*, made still more important by the recent discovery in the Columbarium that Tyrannus rendered a great service to Rome.

⁵¹ *Acts*, xix., 9: "Ὅς δὲ τινες ἐσκληρύνοντο καὶ ἠπειθοῦν, κακολογούντες τὴν ὁδὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πλήθους, ἀποστάς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀφώρισε τοὺς μαθητάς. καθ' ἡμέραν διαλεγόμενος ἐν τῇ σχολῇ Τυράννου τινός,

tiform manner throughout the Greek epigraphs and is at the head of a great columbarium at Rome as the man who dedicated, if he did not build the structure. As many scholæ are found by De Rossi in under-ground Rome, known to have been the secret retreats where the hiding unionists, deep in subterranean vaults, had schools, occult meetings, and even common meals, so also are similar scholæ found in some of the deepest recesses or hypogea of this columbarium over whose main portal is inscribed the dedication of Tyrannus. It is reasonable therefore, to suppose that he is the same Tyrannus whose schools Luke mentions in his history of the Acts of the Apostles.⁵² He was himself a freedman of the emperor Claudius. He might have been so at Ephesus where the Asian school of Tyrannus was. The time agrees in all the inscriptions and in the Bible mention as being the second half of the first century,⁵³ and it must have extended, at least from the days of Tiberius, during whose reign, Jesus had lived and labored, down to the reign of Trajan. Luke, though a communist was so intimate with Paul that he accompanied him for years and it was he who, in company with Titus, acted as post messenger, carrying the second epistle to the Corinthians, from Philippi to Corinth, as early as the year A.D. 57.⁵⁴

We now come to our account of the second archaeological tablet containing the name of Luke. For this we are indebted to Dr. Ramsay who first put us on the inspection. In the first inscription which we have just

⁵² Gorius, "Mon. sive Columb.," p. 65. The inscription reads:

"Tyrannus, verna Tab. Apparitor.

Sacris omnium immunis.

Is dedit. Ti. Claudio Aug. L. Veterano.

Columbarium totum.

Is intulit Zanthum. Aug. L.

Fratrum suum.

Ministri."

⁵³ CIG, 3858: "Ὁ δῆμας καὶ ἡ βουλὴ εἰείμησεν Νικίαν Ἀσκληπιαδῶρου τὸν καὶ Λουκίον, ἱερέα Σεβαστῆς Εὐβοσίας διὰ βίου, ἀγορανομήσαντὰ πόλυτε-
λώς καὶ στρατηγῆσαντα ἀγνώως καὶ γυμνισιαρχῆσαντα τοῦ πεντετηρικοῦς ἀγώ-
νας ἐπὶ Ιουλίας Σεουήρας καὶ Σερουηίου Κλαπίτωνα, καὶ γραμματεῦσαντα
πιστώως τὴν ἐπιμελειαν ποιησαμένου τῆς ἀναστάσεως Συμμάχου. ἐφηβάρχου
καὶ ἱερέως, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ. Collected by Böckh. The Latin remarks of
the editor, Dr. Frazier are to the effect that this Nicias called also Lucias
meaning Lucas, was priest to Agrippina, wife of Claudius; and refers to
coins of Akmonia. "Est igitur sacerdos Augustæ cujusdam. Jam quum in
nummis quos diximus Aconensium Agrippinæ fuisse sacerdotem." Place
where found: "In vico Athakoi, in cœmetero reperit Baro Wolfius Rus-
sus. See Franz Fünf Inschriften und Fünf Stilde in Klein Asien, p. 6.

⁵⁴ "II Epist. Cor.," at close: Πρὸς κορινθίους δευτέρα ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Φιλίππων
τῆς Μακεδονίας διὰ Τίτου καὶ Λευκά.

given, it will be remarked that the actual parent was not mentioned, but in lieu of this, his tutelary divinity, the god of medical professions. Agreeing with Paul's mention, Luke was a physician. In the second epigraph his father's name was also Luke. We can agree perfectly with Dr. Ramsay in his suggestion that the circumstance belongs to the middle of the first century. The work of chiseling it, however, was not under Claudius; for that would have been very dangerous. But this author fails to understand the true Phrygian meaning of the word *gerousia* which occurs twice in the inscription. He wants it to mean some sort of council of elders or great men. It means nothing of the sort. It means a trade guild, as Dr. Oehler found by close inspection; a body of associates conducted the details of a considerable industry that had employed Luke as a business agent, just as the red dyers of Laodicea employed Lydia, or the dyers of the same place employed, honored and crowned Menippus,⁵⁵ whose christian inscription has recently been discovered at Mount Athos. Dr. Oehler who visited them in various parts of Asia Minor, found, as he informs us through valuable epistolary correspondence, that the word *gerousia* had the full import of a union or *thiasos*; and he justly complains of the misconstruction put by excellent savants upon the term, not comprehending that it is a corporate body of workingmen.⁵⁶ The *gerousia*, twice mentioned in this inscription chiseled to the honor of Luke, is a labor union⁵⁷ and certainly one of those most venerated, frequently met with among the thousands of multiform

⁵⁵ Oehler, "MSS.": "Interessant ist auch die Inschrift aus Thessalonike: Duchesne-Bayet, "Mémoire sur une Mission au Mont Athos," p. 52, n. 83: die *συνήθεια τῶν πορφυροβάφων* hat den Menippus aus Thiateira ein Grabmal errichtet; es liegt nahe anzunehmen, dass auch dieser Menippus ein Πορφυροβάφος gewesen sein und zu vergleichen die Purpurhändlerin Lydia aus Thiateira, welche in Philippi vom Apostel Paulus getauft wurde. "Act. Apost.," xvi., 14."

⁵⁶ Oehler, "MSS." "Grabmulden d. h. Geldhussen, welche wegen Verletzung eines Grabes zu zahlen sind (Menadier, "Qua Condiçione Epheser." u.s.w., p. 59), behauptet unrichtig: 'Ex qua natura gerusiæ pendere arbitramur, quod totius sepulcrorum lesorum pœnas gerusiæ solvendas esse statuitur. Asia enita in oppidis privatorum hominum collegio, nisi omnino fallimur, nunquam hoc evenit.'" It is here seen that Dr. Oehler, on the contrary, believes that the *Gerusia* in Asia Minor, was a collegium, and he has elsewhere cited a dozen specimens.

⁵⁷ This is admitted by Lévy, "Revue Et. Gr.," 1895, p. 249, who says of the *συνήγορον* occurring in same inscr, that the *συνήγορος* was a "sorte d'ambassadeur chargé d'aller défendre au dehors les intérêts de la corporation." In French, the word corporation is understood to be trade union. Thus the *συνήγορον τῆς γερουσίας*, the terminal words of the inscription, must be understood to mean agent of the union.

palæoglyphics which research is gradually bringing to the light of science.

Luke, the dominant character in this inscription, is recognized, as in the other one, to be a priest of the Augustan lord's house and engaged in the colonization scheme which transplanted thousands of Roman christians from their unions in Rome over to Asia Minor, where they could better breathe the air of freedom. The ktisis mentioned is a colony of unionists driven from Rome by the ukase of Claudius. They went over in large numbers, to Phrygia. We have already found them at Apameia and have shown the colony of shoemakers of Shoemakers' street in Kelainos. It was a ktisis or colony from Rome. This of our inscription is another. The exact place where they settled is Apameia, perhaps Kelainos. Among the *progonoi*, the fathers or founders, was Luke without doubt; for he was a big man in those dangerous, troublous times. They were working at some manufactory at the time this inscription was chiseled.⁵⁸ Not Dr. Oehler only, but others, now seem to think that the word *gerousia* is simply another of the many names by which the Solonic unions were known.

We may paraphrase this inscription in words about as follows: The elders of the *gerousia* hereby honor Luke or Atilios, whose father's name is also Luke. He was priest to some one of the Augustan princes. He was a lover of good management, admired the fatherland, acting as ambassador and taking precedence as an elder, always in gracious comity with the Cæsars. They honor him with a gift; since he is ranked above the others in the city and union who have striven to establish a colony; and he is above the other founders, working in a statesmanlike manner, well and reverently, for the business interests of this guild.

It is important to state that Luke was sent from Asia Minor to Rome to see Paul just at the time of his execution by Nero, A.D. 64, and the embassy mentioned may have reference to this. Certain it is that the inscrip-

⁵⁸ Ramsay, *Cities Bish. Phryg.*, II., pp. 468-9: "Οἱ Γέροντες ἐτίμησαν Λούκιον Ἀτίλιον Λουκίου υἱὸν Παλατίνα Πρόκλον νεώτερον, ἱερέα τῶν σεβαστῶν φιλογέροντα καὶ φιλοπατριῆ, πρεσβεύσαντα πρὸς τοὺς σεβαστοὺς, δωρεᾷ ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς τὴν κτίσιν διαφερόντων, ἐν τε ταῖς λοιπαῖς τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς γερουσίας χρεῖας ἄγνωσ καὶ δικαίως ἐκ προγόνων πολιτευομένων, συνήγορον τῆς γερουσίας." Legrand et Chamonard, *Bull. Corresp. Hellenique*. 1893. p. 247.

tion could not have been chiseled before the peaceful season under Vespasian and this would bear out the remark of Dr. Ramsay putting its date at A.D. 70-79, a space covering the reign of Vespasian. What makes the names so blind is just what we have all along been endeavoring to explain. The original cause was danger. If they did not conceal name, identity and literary documents, including epitaphs, they were exposed to persecutions.⁵⁹

We now come to the third inscription which is an epitaph and records Luke's death. It is not very clear. It appears that in the ancient cemetery of Teos, a town in Lycia, not far from the Phrygian scenes we have described, there has recently been found an epitaph bearing very boldly the name of Luke. It is entirely Jewish but nothing appears to stand in the way of his having been a christian. A running paraphrase of this monument would read something as follows:

Ptolemy, the son of Luke, being an inhabitant of Tlos, has himself constructed this sepulchre or sepulchral chapel from foundation to roof, out of the funds of the union,⁶⁰ and also for the son of Ptolemy, that is, Ptolemy number two, son of Luke, who has fulfilled the term of his archontate or presidency of the union among us Hebrews, so that this sepulchral chapel is for all the Jews; and no other person from outside is permitted to obtrude himself within. Any one found encroaching shall pay to the plebeian members owning this enclosure a fine of drachmas.

That this monument is of a family of Lukes, is conjectured, apparently, by Hula himself; for he brings as testimonies in this article, a passage from Chryso-

⁵⁹ Ramsay, *Cat. Bish. Phryg.*, II., pp. 491. "..... it is certain that the christians at baptism commonly took an additional name." Again p. 501: "..... The christians put nothing in public documents, such as their epitaphs, which could be quoted as evidence of christianity." On many other pages, this astute observer, who drew his conclusions from the stones he analyzed in their distant abodes, shows many deceptive signs, only understood by the initiates, and that for centuries they evaded the spies.

⁶⁰ Lines 2, 3: *ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων*. Nothing proves more definitely than this expression, that an *eranos* is always understood by this mention. It is a specification in the Solonic *jus coeundi*, *Dig.*, III., iv., 1, § 1, "arcam communem." *Dig.*, XXXVII., 3, § 4: "bonorum possessio societas et corporibus adgnosci potest." Oehler, *Eran. Findob.*, p. 279: "Die Genossenschaft-en habeneine gemeinsame Casse: τὰ ἴδια, aus der Ausgaben in dem Namen der Genossenschaft bestritten werden und können Schenkungen, Grabmulden, u.s.w. erhalten. So hat die προεδρία der παρόντοβαφοι, in Hierapolis von M. Aur. Diodoros 300 Denare *ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων* mit bestimmter Widmung, *Le Bas*, III., 1687."

tom where in the old Paris edition of 1687 is a reference to the fact that Luke wrote a homily,⁶¹ as if it were a conceded fact that the two stories were written of one man.

But there is another reason for not discrediting the probability that this heroon belonged to Luke of Bible celebrity. He was a Jew, and so communistical, that Renan declares he belonged to the ebionitic branch and this would make the socialistic donation of his Gemeinde or union of a common sum out of its treasury in perfect accord with the Solonic dispensation. Again the learned Hula admits, drawing his conclusion from the general appearance and diction of the epitaph, that it was erected in the first century, or in the apostolic age, and and cites Salomon Reinach's rule that about the time of Claudius, Luke was always found spelled exactly as in this inscription.

Thus Luke, all through his valuable life was lord of a great eranos and indeed a great character. It has already been shown that a union's manager arose in quinquennialian civil service to be an immune, and received his crown of honors under the Law; he was an apostolos, even in pagan times, and he often went vibrating from place to place carrying, wherever the unions of labor were, the glad tidings that at last, the great Saviour had arrived on earth, fully believing in Jesus, as the promised messiah. Luke, in accordance with this statute, rose as an ambassador, the highest honor conferable through the law, to be an apostle; and of prechristian apostles there were many. Luke was one and being an educated gentleman in the medicinal art, won the favors of all mankind. He associated with Paul, traveled as an evangelist with him, wrote the Acts of the Apostles for him, which were canonized as Holy Writ; and in his declining years, went back to Tlos, the town of his nativity to die and be greatly honored by the se-

⁶¹ In a note, p. 101, it appears that the Chrysostom quoted may be the one who lived in Rome during the first century. At any rate this author and orator was the only Chrysostom who, though Greek, could write Latin; and he certainly mentioned the christians. Dr. Hula says: "Auf meine Bitte hat H. Weigel die Ausgabe in Paris eingesehen und die Stelle in Tom. II. derselben, S. 521 in einer 'Homilie' gefunden, welche als erste einer gemeinsamen Gruppe steht mit dem gemeinsamen Titel: 'Homillae in loca quaedam S. Lucae.' Sie beginnt mit den Worten: 'De subtilis et acquirereis et nativitate domini nostri Jesu Christi et Johannis Baptistae nescio an quoniam ausus sit arcanum, fratres, ante Christi nativitatem intelligere.'" *cf.* Wessing. "De Aulorum Archontibus."

eret communistic association to which he had⁶² hitherto belonged.

There is a remarkable monumental history of Philip, the founder of the church of Hierapolis, on the Lycus, in the close neighborhood of Thyateira, one of the celebrated seven churches of Asia. These two cities, Thyateira and Hierapolis, were hot-beds of the Solonic unions, swarming with innumerable organized industries. Of these unions are red dye manufacturers, the wool-workers, great numbers of carders, carpet makers, organizations of grocers, fishermen who had probably, in addition to the catch in the small River Lycus, flowing past Hierapolis, extended their nets, lines and seines to the Meander and thence down to the sea. Then there are slabs indicating the existence in this vicinity, of cotton manufacture, huntsmen's unions, masons, and other builders in abundance, quite a number of which cite the time of their highest activity as the apostolic age.⁶³

We have two, or perhaps we might better say two sets of wonderful inscriptions from the ancient church

⁶² "Eran. Vindob.," E. Hula, "Eine Judengemeinde in Tlos.," p. 101:

Πτολεμαῖος [Λ]ε[υ-
κίου Ἰαυεύς κατεσκεύασεν ἐκ
τῶν ἰδίων τὸ ἥρώων ἀσὸ θεμελίωv αὐ-
τὸς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαίου β'
5 τοῦ Λευκίου ὑπὲρ ἀρχοντείας τελο-
μέγας παρ' ἡμῶν Ἰουδαίοις ἄστε αὐ-
τό εἶναι πάντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ
μηδένα ἐξόν εἶναι ἕτερον τεθῆναι
ἐν αὐτῷ· εἰάν δὲ τις εὐρεθῆι τιγὰ
10 τ[ῶ]ν. ὀφειλέσει Τλ[ω]έων τῷ δῆμῳ
[δραχμὰς.

Der Name Λεύκιος Z. 5, der Schrifthearakter, orthographische und lautliche Erscheinungen (ἥρώων Z. 3, αὐτῷ Z. 9, τῷ δῆμῳ Z. 10, ἡμῶν Z. 6 ὀφειλέσει Z. 10, — eine Form, die auf lykischen Inschriften öfters begegnet — τῶων Z. 10) wohl auch der dem römischen "a fundamentis" nachgebildete Ausdruck ἀπὸ θεμελίωv Z. 3, weisen die Inschrift in römische Zeit, in das Ende des ersten Jahrhunderts nach Christus. Ueber dieses hinauszuweichen hält die Sorgfalt ab, mit der die ganze Inschrift geschrieben ist, vielleicht auch die Form Λεύκιος statt Λούκιος. Freilich findet sich die Form Λεύκιος noch in christlichen Inschriften: C. I. Gr., 9165, 9423; im Allgemeinen aber scheint für die Länder mit regerem römischen Verkehr Salomone Reich Recht zu haben, wenn er "Traité d' épigr.," S. 520 die Regel aufstellt: "vers l' époque de Claude, la transcription Λουκιος predomine de plus en plus en dehors d' Athenes." Vergl. Michel Olerc, "Bull. corr. hell.," X S. 401; Viereck, "Sermo Graecus.," S. 49.

⁶³ Oehler, "Eranos Vindob.," pp. 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282; "id., MSS.," "In Laodicea am Lycus finden wir eine ἐργασία τῶν γραφέων τῶν ἀπυουρῶν (fulfers.) für glatte Stoffe CIG. 3938." Again: "In Hierapolis in Phrygien bekränzt die ἐργασία τῶν καφέων ein Grab: Le Bas, III., 742., CIG., 3924. In Thyateira hatten die βαφεῖς grosse Bedeutung, gewiss auch grosses Vermögen. "In Thyateira werden wir οἱ τοῦ στρατάρχου ἐργασταὶ καὶ προξενηταὶ σωματῶν genannt. "Athen. Mitth.," xxi., 1896, p. 262. In Philadelphia ist eine ἱερὰ φυλὴ τῶν ἐριουργῶν bezeugt. CIG., 3422. Wäscher, ἐριοπλυτοὶ mit ihrem Werkmeister, πρώτος ἐργάτης, lehrt uns eine Inschrift aus Hierapolis in Phrygien kennen; ihre Vereinigung wird als ἐργασία bezeichnet: Μουσικ βιβ., V., 1884-5, p. 79."

of Hierapolis. But inasmuch as three celebrated cities in Bible mention stand within sight of each other, all on the Lycus a few miles above the mouth of that stream into the Meander, we shall see that so far as their monuments are concerned they are all blended together by their proximity and the thick population along these beautiful banks.

In introducing the inscription commemorating the apostle Philip, the same who was made a deacon at Jerusalem by the pentecostal brotherhood along with the proto-martyr Stephen, to manage the common table or "daily ministrations,"⁶⁴ it is necessary to give the erastian law and rule making the chiseling of inscriptions compulsory even in very dangerous times.⁶⁵ It had to be done to conform with the law which the unions through six hundred vicissitudinal years, sedulously complied with; and when the dangers attending the obnoxious christian plant set in, they still observed the old law as far as they dared. This must account for the exceptional inscriptions we are going to produce. But an element of political power existed in these unions of the Lycus, even in the early ages. They voted and controlled elections, and were political. Herein lay much power and dignity. But in later years the christians took footing among them,⁶⁶ and contrary to the ethics of the old unions, refused to pay tribute, incurring the capital penalty. Pliny found that they would not go to

⁶⁴ Acts, vi., 1: 'Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις πληθυνόντων τῶν μαθητῶν ἐγένετο γογγυσμὸς τῶν Ἑλληνιστῶν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑβραίους, ὅτι παρεθεωροῦντο ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ τῇ καθημερινῇ αἱ χήραι αὐτῶν. . . . διακονεῖν τραπέζαις. κ.τ.λ. and in verse 5, Stephen, Philip, and five others are chosen as deacons "to serve the tables,"

⁶⁵ Foucart, *Ass. Rel.*, p. 13, His no. 7, gives the rule, lines 19-21: "στέφανον δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν καθ' ἑκάστην ὄυσίαν καὶ ἀναγορεύειν ἀναγραφὴν τῶν στέφανον αὐτῆς τοὺς ἐπιμελητὰς ἀναγράψαι δὲ τοδὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τοὺς ὄργεῶνας ἐν στήλει λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ τεμένει." Again Foucart, p. 25: "Ils étaient chargés de la gravure des décrets honorifiques et de l'exposition de la stèle etc.;" no. 6, line 26: 'Αναγράψαι δὲ τοδὲ τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλει λιθίνῃ τοὺς ἐπιμελητὰς καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ Μητρώων.' κ.τ.λ. *Archæol. Anzeiger*, 1855, p. 83; *Le Bas, Attique*, no. 382. Found at Moulins du Pirée in 1802; now in the Petit Musée du Pirée. Dumont, *Essai sur la Chronologie des Archontes athéniens*, p. 46.

⁶⁶ Oehler, *MSS.*: Πορφυροβάφοι. Eine Innung derselben in Hierapolis ist bezeugt durch eine Inschrift, welche vielfach behandelt ist; *Le Bas*, III., 1687, las: τῶ συνεδρίῳ τῆς προεδρίας τῶν πορφυροβάφων, was als Unterstützungskasse für die ärmeren Mitglieder der Gennossenschaft erklärt und dem Einflusse des Christenthums zugeschrieben wurde; Vgl. auch *Wagenet, Revue de l'Instruction publ. en Belgique*, n. s. XI., 1869, p. 348, die richtige Lesung; τῆς προεδρίας und Erklärung gegeben; vgl. *Journal of Philol.*, xix., p. 100; *Ramsay, Amer. Journ. of Archæol.*, III., 1887, p. 343 eine richtige Lesung; τῆς προεδρίας etc. Here Oehler complains that Menadier has misconceived the true import of this important monument, the προεδρία being a christian council

the pagan sacrifice and buy sheep, lambs, beeves, poultry and vegetables of the old provision dealers, but followed the tactics of their master and drove them out of their temples by practicing against them a sort of boycott. It was then that the unions were in great danger. There is an inscription showing how they used politics and even as christians secured favor thereby. By this means, and on a large scale, they were performing government work under their individual name. This recognized name was that of their legalized kurios, governor or president.

One of these names at Hierapolis was Philip. Another one at the same place was Avircius Marcellus, for both of whom splendid inscriptional history has come to light.⁶⁷ Waltzing failed to understand that this is from the direct specification, comprehensible in the kurion einai of the law of Solon. This one individual alone was recognized for nearly a thousand years, while the membership under the secret veil, and out of sight, did the work and their secret proedria stood behind this one man who alone was in sight of the open world, elected him, crowned him, performed the government work from all outward appearances, for him, and when he died, built for him an honorary heroon out of the common fund. There is sufficient assurance that at Hierapolis and Thyateira these guilds possessed extensive accumulations which they held and enjoyed in common.

Behind the sacred veil of these secret unions there was no mendicancy, no charity, no lack of plentitude, no prostitution.⁶⁸ Woman, enfranchised from the economic horrors which in our days of boastful christianity drive her to despair, rose to the grandeur of her nature and stood above taint. She will do it again if this pure

⁶⁷ Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, II., p. 195. Krauze is right; Waltzing, 164, says: "On a voulu faire aussi des collèges.... des associations industrielles, constituées pour exercer leur métier en commun sous la direction de leur chefs... à tel point que quand les membres de certaines corporations se mirent au service de l'État; ce fut longtemps en leur nom privé, et non comme corporations."

⁶⁸ Julian, *Inscr. de Bordeaux*, p. 950: "La création des collèges eut une assez grande conséquence dans l'histoire de la plèbe, où ils se recrutaient exclusivement. Les plébécien étaient, d'après le droit ancien, des hommes qui n'avaient ni famille ni religion; ils ne formaient aucune société, ni religieuse, ni civile, ni politique. L'institution attribuée à Numa fit précisément de la plèbe une société, en les groupant en collèges, sous la protection d'une même divinité elle donna aux plébécien l'unité religieuse que leur manquait..... cette institution de Numa établit entre les plébécien un premier lien politique."

and ennobling socialism shall ever be brought back to the light of its true and beneficent civilization.

Such was the true condition of things at the time Philip was managing one of those influential unions at Hierapolis. The danger of inditing the inscription we are about to adduce was greatly softened by the wealth and dignity of the brotherhood. But there is a strong probability that it was not actually chiseled until the peaceful and safer days of Vespasian, as Dr. Ramsay has pointed out. Some instances are known where even a hundred years elapsed before the union dared to erect and expose such a monument.

Smith affirms this in his biblical literature.⁶⁹ Notwithstanding his long, dark sequestration in Cæsarea, where he continually taught the Gospel among the secret unions, converting and building among them, the potters, dyers, tanners, as in the case of Simon recently found to have been the kurios of the tanners' guild at Cæsarea, he is likewise found at Colossæ and with his daughters; two of whom remained with him in this city while one went to Ephesus. While Philip was building up the new faith he had a foothold also upon the great church of Hierapolis, the closely neighboring town, and he died in the embrace of that renowned and pioneer church.⁷⁰

Dr. Ramsay who brings some history of Philip to view, remarks: "In this inscription we have a clear proof that a church (doubtless *the* church) of Hierapolis was dedicated to St. Philip."⁷¹ Here and in this vicin-

⁶⁹ Smith, *Bib. Dict.*, p. 2488, gives us a synopsis of PHILIP: From the city of Samaria; *Acts*, viii.; Samaritans' Messianic hope, *John*, iv., 25; iv., 40; went down from Samaria to Cæsarea, p. 2488; lost for nineteen years at Cæsarea; Saul of Tarsus saw him after his conversion, *Acts*, ix., 30; Cæsarea the center of his activities; Paul visits him at his House in Jerusalem as one of the Seven, *idem*; had four daughters, *Acts*, xxi., 8, 9; died bishop of Tralles, *Acta Sanctorum*, June 6. The House where he and his daughters lived, seen by travelers as late as the time of Jerome, A.D. 400; *Epist. Paulae*, § 8; Ewald, *Geschichtliche*, IV., pp. 175, 208-14; Baumgarten, *Apostelgeschichte*, § 15, 16. Smith does not speak of the inscription.

⁷⁰ The wonderful recently deciphered inscription on the tomb of Philip at Hierapolis, *CIG*, 8779; Ramsay, *Cit. Bish. Phryg.*, II., p. 552, no. 419; Cockrell, *J.H.S.*, 1885, p. 346; Cumont, 131, reads:

Εὐγένιος ὁ ἐλάχιστος ἀρχιδιάκονος κὲ ἐφιστῶς τοῦ ἁγίου κὲ ἐνδόξου ἀποστόλου κὲ θεολόγου Φιλίππου.

Under this is a garland, with the monogram: Χριστός, almost and purposely concealed, written between Alpha and Omega, the initial and terminal of the Greek alphabet, "Α και Ω," which is known to be an unerring christian sign.

⁷¹ Here Dr. Ramsay refers to Lightfoot, *Coloss.*, p. 45, who quotes Poly crates, *ap.*, Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, III., 31; V., 21: "Φιλίππου τὸν τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων ὃς κεκοίμηται ἐν Ἱεραπόλει, καὶ δύο θυγατέρες αὐτοῦ γενηρακῆαι παῖδες, καὶ ἡ ἑτέρα αὐτοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ποδτευσασμένη, ἢ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀναπαύεται."

ity, under protection of the secret brotherhood he labored during the remainder of his life. Three, or at least two, of his devoted daughters remained with him to the end; one having gone to Ephesus, but as the distance between the two cities is not great, she may have visited her father and sisters at Colossæ and Hierapolis at least once a year. Notwithstanding the discovery of a fragment of the ancient Solonic Statute making these anaglyphs compulsory for the sake of reference in cases where the public laws and the inspection of the police required it, the day came when they were obliged to practice intense secrecy, sometimes through ambiguities and sometimes through deception. These days covered the actual period of Philip's residence in Asia Minor. It was during the time of the persecutions of Claudius and Nero, when on account of the edicts of Caligula and Claudius they were exiled from Rome in great numbers and went over to the old brotherhoods of weavers, spinners, shoemakers as at Akmonia, dyers as at Thyatira, woolworkers as at Hierapolis, and settled the Romano-Hellenistic colonies called the ktises. Those poor evangelists well understood the injunction of the master: "let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth."⁷² They engaged in the hazardous work of turning the old establishments with their numerous membership over to the new plan of salvation through the hated Logos or Word of Jesus. At that trysting moment such a command was quickened in pithy meaning; in the later days of christian degeneracy the meaning is lost. He was talking to the initiates who stood around him, and it looks as if Philip might have been one of them. He was teaching them how to go forth and plant. All seem to admit that this has now no meaning. The modern world has lost it. At the time it was uttered a large percentage of the poor of the earth were under secret pledges with their unions and brotherhoods as initiates, safely ensconced behind the mysterious veil. The world was a valley of mystery. To divulge was not only treachery and disgrace, it was often death. To divulge or, in fact, not to hide and cozen by tergiversation, or veer away suspicion and arrest by ambidextrous guile, would have brought a legion

⁷² *Matth.*, vi., 3,

of Roman spies and pro-consular satelites into their camp and broken up the mysterious individuality of ancient brotherhood. It would have sent, as in Pliny's case, "many to execution." It was during those frightfully dangerous days of the early planting that the habit of pious fraud came into the world and humanity has not yet outgrown it. Men like Philip and Avircius whom we are now going to introduce to the reader, were in two worlds at once—the outside and the penetralia. They could be true and faithful to each other under cover of brotherhood, and co-operate for protection; but what they said and did and how they lived, they dared not divulge. In the safe umbrage of this loving retreat, after a long life of hard work and usefulness, we leave Philip the good old apostle and companion of the originals to wax aged and die, and his loving friends and brethren to vote him a heroon with a garland and secret password cozily entwined between the Alpha and Omega, which was to be used to secure his admission, past the roaring pyriphlegethon, through the shining portals of hope, into Elysium.

A running paraphrase of this historical palæograph may be useful to readers too busy to turn to the appendix or to trust to their own classics for a more tasteful rendering. It is short and simple.

"PHILIP, the select, large-minded chief waiter and arch-deacon, of high standing in authority, devoted and famous as an apostle and champion of the divine nature."

In introducing to the reader the celebrated inscription of Avircius Marcellus, a Roman-Greek, who, like the others, had suffered on account of the edict of Claudius driving the trade unions out of Rome over to Apameia, Ephesus and Hierapolis, we feel obliged to present as a parallel illustration, the case of the old man Zeuxis, who, in a similar manner, prescribed his own epitaph long before his death.

Flavius Zeuxis, a ship's captain, belonged to the order of the Collegia Nautiorum. We give in a note⁷³ the epitaph, and in our text a paraphrase of the general meaning, leaving to the more critical reader our translation

⁷³ Rams., *Cl. Bish. Pteryg.*, II., p. 553, no. 420: "Φλαούιος Ζεῦξις ἐργαστὴς πλεῦσας ὑπὲρ Μαλιάν εἰς Ἰταλίαν πλοῦς ἐβδομήκοντα δύο κατεσκεύασεν τὸ μνημεῖο ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις φλαουίω Θεοδώρῳ καὶ φλαουίῳ Θεῦδᾳ καὶ ᾧ ἂν ἐκείνοι συνχωρήσωσι."

in the appendix. Flavius Zenxis, a man loving hard toil at his trade, engaged, in the good business of mariner between Malea the dangerous Cape Mary and Italy, having made in his lifetime seventy-two voyages, causes the erection of this memorial sepulchre. It is to be the tomb of himself and his children, by name, Flavius Theodore, and Flavius Thenda; and indeed, when the time comes, also for the comrades united in the brotherhood with him.

Here we have an old man who is combined with many associates of the union or unions of mariners with headquarters at Hierapolis. After seventy-two voyages over the dangerous cape, always feared by the ancient sailor on account of the treacherous storms; having braved and out-lived them all, in his old age he has come back to Hierapolis to die. The monument which has out-lived the political and meteorological vicissitudes of nearly two thousand years must have been solidly built and costly.

Not far from this, about three miles to the southward in the old bath-house at the hot springs there was until recently, another singular monument. As we interpret it, an old man named Avircius Marcellus, whose name shows him to have been a Roman, but who claims to be a citizen of this town, had a still more elaborate sepulchre made for himself and his.

Now when we hold this curious and wonderful find as only one of thousands of the same sort chiseled in those days, we can treat with no lightness the opinions of several learned doctors who are puzzled with it. We are obliged to vary from them however as to the date. The inscription of Avircius is indeed blind in its diction and misleading; but it is certainly detailing history of the age of Paul; and Dr. Ramsay admits that this disciple saw and journeyed with Paul. What is perhaps invaluable as a point in history is that it reads as though this acquaintance was in Babylon and the region of the Euphrates—a revelation which would help to clear up the literary statements of several Ante-Nicene fathers, who also declare that Paul in the interval between his two imprisonments visited Babylon. So it is strenuously declared of Peter; but all records of the circumstances are shrouded in dense mystery. More light is needed and Avircius may shed a first sight glimmer.

But what we think not so marvelous about Avircius is the commonplace reading for a very commonplace thing. The old man had been a weaver or knitter, evidently during the most of his life. If he was one of those driven by Claudius out of Rome by that edict of banishment and went over when young to Hierapolis, as some did to Kelainæ and others did to Ephesus, there should be nothing surprising if they settled a Roman ktisis early among the brotherhoods; since this of itself would have established christianity in the kuriakos of the old guilds. Nor would this interfere with Prof. Ficker's theory that he was a priest of Cybele; for Hadrian, a few years afterwards discovered that at Alexandria, right among the working people whom he mentions as skilled, such were nothing other than organizations turning their name from pagan to christian. So in the Phrygian Pentapolis it was the same christian converts who were innumerable,⁷⁴ and they were so secret that they had to employ illusions of various sorts to evade the ogling eyes of the police lest they be arrested.

But another proof that Avircius lived and labored during the apostolic age is his acknowledgment in glaring terms upon the stone, that it was at the close of the thirteen years' cessation from persecution.⁷⁵ Now Claudius, and Caligula before him, were the two first persecutors. Nero followed and continued the tragedy until his assassination in 69. Vespasian's whole reign was one of peace and kindness, and also that of his son Titus who reigned until 81. Thus from 69 to 81, and a year before Domitian began his furious murders, were just thirteen years; and what makes this a coincidence corroborating our estimate of this stone's apostolic date is Dr. Ramsay's own statement that the valley was early

⁷⁴A christian roofers' association is discovered and recorded in CIG 3877: Κύριε βοήθει· περί εὐχῆς Εὐνομίου καὶ παντὸς τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ...στρώσεως. The first glance shows that it is christian, since κύριε βοήθει are strictly christian. See Ramsay, *Cil. Bish. Phryg.*, II., p. 736, no. 671. Παντὸς τοῦ οἴκου shows that the person here understood is a lord of a House as usual, in other words, a president of a union of roofers.

⁷⁵Lightfoot, *Coloss.*, pp. 54. 66. He rightly thought Avircius to have been very early, and makes a statement, based on his better and original judgment before being confused by Ramsay's suspicion that Avircius came late, to the effect that Avircius followed Papias, who knew Paul. "In the earlier editions, I had given a place to Avircius, Bishop of Hierapolis, between Papias and Claudius Apollinaris following the extant *Acts of Avircius*" and refers to his further discussion of the subject in his *Ignatius and Holy carm.* I. p. 477^{bc}.

christianized; he speaks of Bartholomew and his work, being near that of Paul, as though hinting his partly formed opinion that Avircius might have aided in the work. He admits that Avircius helped to build the Hierapolitan church as the history centers round the name of Avircius only; the date he assigns as fixed by the thirteen years of profound peace, but overlooks the great fact that these thirteen years were during the benign reigns of Vespasian and Titus.

Dr. Ramsay⁷⁶ is anxious that Avircius should disclaim against Montanism, but there is not a word in the inscription about it; he admits in support of this absurdity an interpolation in the form of the word *phaneros* in place of the original and comprehensible word *kairos* showing him to have practiced the quills and shuttle for a living, and to have worked in the thrums and threads of woof and warp. A *kairos* was a weaver, and the word sometimes had a terminal omega as in this case; he admits that Avircius wrote for this epitaph: "In Rome, I saw the emperor and empress." In another place: "I met and traveled with Paul." He compares (p. 729) a passage in Reinaeh *eis to erarion demou Rhomaion* favorably with a passage in this; yet such a sentence would mean that the fine was to be paid into the *eranos*—*erarion* being a corruption of *eranon* which is good Greek for *eranos*—of the Romans, the poor people, plebeians. Evident secrecy shows him an initiate. The spelling shows it as an early inscription of the time of Claudius.

⁷⁶ Ramsay, *Cit. Bish, Phryg.*, II., pp. 722-3:

- Ἐκλεκτῆς πόλεως ὁ πολείτης τοῦτ' ἐποίησα
ζῶν, ἵν' ἔχω καιρῷ [φανερῶς] σώματος ἔνθα θέσιν,
οὐνομ' Ἀουίρκιος ἄν, ὁ μαθητῆς Ποιμένος ἀγνοῦ,
4 ὅς βῆσκεῖ προβάτων ἀγέλας ὄρεσιν πεδίοις τε,
ὄφθαλμοῦς ὅς ἔχει μεγάλους καὶ πάνθ' ὀρώωντας·
οὗτος γάρ μ' ἐδίδαξε γράμματα πιστά,
εἰς Ῥώμην ὅς ἐπεμψεν ἐμὲν βασιλῆαν ἀθρήσαι,
8 καὶ βασιλίσσαν ἰδεῖν χρυσόστολοι χρυσοπέδιλον·
λαὸν δ' εἶδον ἐκεῖ λαμπρὰν σφραγεῖδαν ἔχοντα·
καὶ Συρίας πέδον εἶδα καὶ ἄστεα πάντα, Νίσιβιν,
Εὐφράτην διαβάς· πάντη δ' ἔσχον συνομηθείς.
12 Παῦλον ἔχων ἐπόμην, Πίστις πάντη δέ προῆγε
καὶ παρέθηκε τροφήν πάντη, Ἴχθιν ἀπὸ πηγῆς,
παρμεγέθη, καθαρὸν, ὃν ἐδράξατο Παρθένος ἀγνή,
καὶ τοῦτον ἐπέδωκε φίλοις ἔσθειν διὰ παντός,
16 οἶνον χρηστὸν ἔχουσα, κέρασμα διδοῦσα μετ' ἄρτου.
ταῦτα παρεστῶς εἶπον Ἀουίρκιος ὡς γραφῆναι.
ἐβδομηκοστὸν ἔτος καὶ δεῦτερον ἦγον ἀληθῶς.
ταῦθ' ὁ νοῶν εὐξαιθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πᾶς ὁ συνψδός.
20 οὐ μέντοι τύμβῳ τις ἐμῷ ἑτερόν τινα θῆσει·
εἰ δ' οὐν, Ῥωμαίων ταμείῳ θῆσει δισχεῖλια χρυσά,
καὶ χρηστῆ πατρίδι Ἱεράπολι χεῖλια χρυσά.

We restore *καιρῶς* for *φανερῶς*, as it makes sense, see Hesych., ii., 110

All these are acknowledgments of our point that this inscription relates of a certain disciple who came to or was born at Hierapolis, worked at his trade in textile weaving, worked with Paul, John and the others as an apostle, and being a lord of the house of weavers, grew old in good works, and was loved and remembered in after ages.

Of all the superstructural, predetermined efforts to relegate this honest old saint who had worked for Paul, to the degenerate wranglings of gnosticism, this senseless talk of professors, looks to us most absurd. The modest little inscription, per se, hardly talks that way.

We paraphrase it conscientiously to our own interpretation:

"I, a citizen of this town and one of the chosen, hereby and while living, construct and ordain, being a weaver at the loom while in the flesh, under the name *Avircius* a disciple for the holy Ghost, was one who fed sheep and flocks at the foot of the mountains, having my eyes open to the great, rushing progress ahead and taught the words and writings of faith. We were in Rome where the crowds are collected, and saw the emperor and empress, golden-sandaled, arrayed in royal robes; saw the people having a brilliant butchery. And the land of Syria I saw and all its towns and cities, including Nisibis across the Euphrates. The brothers, all gathered together; having Paul they were busy with him and followed him. They provided every delicacy, fish from the fountain; mixed beverages for the crowd, and co-sympathy the chaste and holy maiden won and grasped; and of all that there was, he gave to the brothers to eat;—wine, the purest to be had, mixed beverages, he gave us with bread. All this on the friendly hearth *Avircius* saw, so that in this wise he might write it down. Two and seventy years have I thus righteously accomplished in the sense of fellow-sharing and enjoyment.

Let no one then, obtrude himself upon my tomb or allow another to enter; but should it be done, a fine of two thousand pieces of gold shall be paid into the treasury of the eranos on account of the Roman members, and a fine of one thousand pieces of gold into the treasury of the eranos on account of the good and serviceable city of my nativity, Hierapolis."

Dr. Ramsey says the inscription was for centuries at the hot springs in the old bath-house, a short distance south of Hierapolis. This was near the mephitic Plutonium, spoken of by Dr. Lightfoot, as known to the superstitious during the time of Paul.⁷⁷

After carefully fanning the chaff from the wheat, and sifting the legendary from the solid fact, we are prepared with sufficient evidence from the stone itself, to place Avircius Marcellus as one of the earliest fathers, like Ignatius who actually lived and whose name, like this, does not occur in the canonical writings. He probably worked with Bartholomew; and very certainly with Paul, if we can believe the stone. If he was mentioned in the Epistles the name has been suppressed or overlooked. Like Ignatius, he was fond of being known and recognized, commemorating himself by means of this composition and epitome, chiseled upon his tomb — a thing especially frequent, and also in constant usage among the collegia and *eranoi* everywhere.⁷⁸ We have many wills, both Latin and Greek, bequeathing money to them in considerable sums, the only remuneration being that the unions appropriate annually to the deceased donor a memorial feast. Avircius had become so emboldened by thirteen years of the two delightful reigns of Vespasian and Titus, who, though severe with the Jews, were, like Tiberius, friendly, almost fatherly to the christians, that he ventured boldly to try his fortune in this modest bit of literary history of himself. He was, to all appearances, another father or president: a *kurios* or lord of an important guild — a union of textile workers owning a house, or as they would call it before conversion, a temple; and this, if he was a recognized

⁷⁷ Lightfoot, "Coloss.," p. 12: "At Hierapolis was a spot called the Plutonium, a hot well or spring, from whose narrow mouth issued a mephitic vapor immediately fatal to those who stood over the opening and inhaled its fumes. To the mutilated priests of Cybele, alone, so it was believed, an immunity was given from heaven, which freed them from its deadly effects. Indeed, this city appears to have been a chief centre of the passionate mystical devotion of ancient Phrygia."

⁷⁸ Oehler, on "Wills, MSS.": "In Thessalonike hat eine Priesterin *εις μιας χαρις αιωνιας* 2 Plethren Weinbirge hinterlassen damit die Mystem jährlich an ihrem Grabe ein Fest feiern, wohl die Rosalia, Duchene-Bayet, "Mission au Mont Athos," p. 35, nr. 44." Again: "In Thera erfahren wir ausser der grossen Stiftung der Epikteta von dem Legate einer gewissen Argea: diese hat einem *κοινόν* fünf hundert *δράχμαι* versprochen *ωστε επαγεσθαι ανά πασαν εβδομαν αυτάς τε και τας θυγατρός Ισοθμώς καταβ*". Linders, "Dionys. Künst.," p. 25 und nr. 48." A woman wills 500 drachmas, to be repaid in annual banquets in her own and her daughter's honor, at the periodical meetings. IG. 2469; Rangabé, 893, 1208; Ross, 423. Many others are noticeable.

magistrate and responsible president, head or director would make him a cure, a father and lord. Thus the temple, following the scheme of the law of Solon, under provisions of that aged statute, would be a house of the lord. Paul, several times is seen to have disappeared and he probably hid himself away in these delightful, congenial, but inapproachably occult retreats.

Dion Chrysostom and Josephus who lived at the same time, could write well, but Avircius could not. Dr. Ramsay complains bitterly at the shabby Greek in the inscriptions, and the frequent bad spelling met with, but does not seem to comprehend the standing excuse. Wherever these learned and very critical epigraphists think they are dealing with an important character, a gerusiarch, a quinquennalis, or even sometimes an Asiarch and are judging him from outward appearances, they are in reality dealing with one or another of these kurioi or epimelites who were sure to be self-made men, who by an inborn aptitude or happy capacity for business, had worked themselves by years of toil, care and fidelity to the position of quinquennalis or kurios, and been crowned, though often descendants of slaves, and in many cases actual slaves without any education except what they had picked up. The outside world treated all such with scathing contempt as Lucian tells us the men in the secret unions could never obtain the slightest contact with them. Yet if we believe Origen, Celsus and Lucian, these were the secret hives which the early christians had built our era and civilization into.

How then could we expect this faithful old Roman, Avircius Marcellus, to scratch down a chapter in Dion or Paul's beautiful Greek upon his sepulchre?

Quite an extended apocryphal literature has come down to us through this inscription of Avircius, the old original who wrote his epitaph at Hierapolis. It is all legendary and hypothetical, trumped up to suit the whims and the caprices of the post apostolic priestcraft.⁷⁹ There is, however, one inscription marking the grave of

⁷⁹ We recommend the reader's attention on the subject of the later conceptions regarding it, to Dr. Ramsay's invaluable work, *Cit. Bish. Phryg.*, Vol. II., pp. 722-9. This eminent researcher has himself conceived the date of the original Avircian or Abircian inscription, to be as late as Severus, which is, however, impossible and untenable.

a certain Avircius Porphyrius, which it is worth our while to make mention of and quote,⁸⁰ on account of the beautiful engraving of the child Jesus upon the stone, giving the epitaph. The date of this monument is without doubt correctly stated by Dr. Ramsay at about A.D. 300. He is perhaps a descendant of the old man at Hierapolis, although it was common at that time to give to new converts another name at the baptism, or the initiation.

But the original stone of the first Avircius who was the disciple, as he names himself, and became so celebrated on account of the celebrity of the church at this place that many legends have come down, even to this day, and still wilder tales and imitations filled the more primitive mind. There are indeed twenty or thirty inscriptions showing this, all of a later period by some two hundred years, and we shall pass them by without further notice.

Paul was once lost from Ephesus in some mysterious manner for two years, and we are disposed to think that he may have sequestered himself here under the friendly care and secret protection of this union of warm-hearted brothers all busy weaving the textiles for the tents and bedding and other artistic paraphernalia he knew how to make for the Dionysan artists, and loved so much to do as real recreation from his exhausting evangelistic labors; also perhaps to recover from his known, chronic malady.

In the same manner we might trace many New Testament names back to the unions over which they presided. Among them, besides those already enumerated, we could single out Phœbe, Nymphas, Jason of Thessalonica, Barnabas, Bartholomew and a host of others. They each had an unexplained power and influence and performed their work well. The Breviary of the martyrs and apostles gives us vague assurance and data as to how long each lived, to what functions they rose, and when, where and how they died; but this is legendary and so late in after years that they should be accepted with caution.

⁸⁰ Ramsay, *Cit. Bish. Phryg.*, Vol. II., p. 736, no. 672; Cumont, 190; Le grand and Chamonard, BCH, 1893, p. 290; It reads: "Ἀβίρκιος Πορφύριον δίακων κατεσκεύασα τὸ μπόριον ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ συμβίῳ μου Θρευπρεπῆ κὶ τοῖς τέκνοις."

We have brought these illustrations forward to explain the phenomena of the early plant. The dangers attending a revelation of what those unions did to the outside world must now be plain to the reader. The house of the lord of the Solonic law was legitimate and kindly treated under Tiberius, and after Nero, by the Flavian emperors for about thirteen years; but it was terribly handled by Claudius, Nero and Domitian. The *domus Augustalis* had its industries within the building of the imperial family, each department of the labor being worked by a specially organized trade and each of these sections of the business was called a *gynæceum*. Following the proclivities of all the Solonic unions, each was supplied with a school called *schola*. The method continued to the time of Celsus who hated them because they had become christians; and there is a scrap quoted from his last book, by Origen which sheds so much new light upon our argument that we cannot but quote the English translation.

Apparently assuming that he is one of them, Celsus mockingly taunts the christians: "We are indeed in private houses, as workers in wool and leather, and fullers and persons of the most uniustructed and rustic character, not venturing to utter a word in the presence of their elders and wiser masters; but when they get hold of the children privately, and certain women as ignorant as themselves, they pour forth wonderful statements to the effect that they ought not to heed their fathers and teachers. . . . but must leave them and go with the women and their playfellows, to the women's apartments, or to the leather shop, or to the fuller's shop, that they may attain perfection." Celsus is sneering at, and accusing the christian communes of poverty and other things which he considers vile. Origen, in defense of them quotes, quibbles and does not deny.

CHAPTER XIX.

CELSUS AND LUCIAN.

PAGAN Literature of Early Christian Times—Celsus the Accuser—Twits Christians of Hiding in the Secret Unions—Gynæceum—It was a School—Origen's Contra Celsum—Declaration that They were Genuine Unions—Origen His Critic, Does not Deny—Belabors Christians Because Secret—Berates their Holding Love-feasts—Sneers because they were Working People—Lucian of Samosata—Pagan Wit who Lampoons the Christians—The Two were Friends—Payment of Tribute—Paschal Canon says Origen was a Brazier—Defiant Comparisons of Celsus—The Prytaneum—How the Church of St. Peter Came to be Built—The Secret Password—Temples of Refuge—Period of Columbaria—Lanuvium—Wonderful Inscription Found in 1816—Quinquenal a Dictator—Growth in our Knowledge of the Burial Clause and Burial Attachment—Churches in Ruins of Ancient Unions—Old Temples Used as Churches—Christianized Temple of Isis at Pompeii—Old Labor Guilds—Dug Out of Lava of Vesuvius—Dr. Willens on the Labor Guilds—Pompeii—Although Christianized, at Time of Eruption, Were Still Worshipping in Temple of Isis—Owned Some of Its Property—Hated Pests Exiled—Escaping to Similar Temples of Refuge—Went to Gaul, Asia Minor, Allobrogia, Vienne.

THERE was a considerable literature at a very early time written by the members of the unions, the early historians and a number of able and brilliant pagan writers, before the middle of the second century. That of Clement we have already given. One valuable book, that of Epictetus, called the *Enchiridion*, was written by Arrian at the close of the apostolic age, according to his pupil, probably at Hierapolis. He may be yet discovered to have actually written information of great value to our subject, and undoubtedly gave hints in his lectures regarding the plant of the christians into the old brotherhoods. Another valuable and very early

book was the *Expositio Oraculorum* of Papias a friend and companion of St. Philip, and undoubtedly of Paul. It appears that he was martyred, perhaps in the time of Domitian. It is very sad to reflect that this work was destroyed. It contained rules of life among the brotherhoods and was suppressed because it told just what we greatly want to know. To all appearances, much that was written in his book confirmed what Celsus charged and Origen did not deny.

Then Hegesippus wrote another very valuable work, which is known to have recorded much concerning the Nazarene, the ebionites and the eranists; all of which associations are now put by our investigators among genuine unions and labor guilds. But this invaluable book of Hegesippus is also lost.

It was early in the second century, only a few years after Pliny had undergone his disagreeable experiences with the christians who had planted among the trade unions of Bithynia that Celsus came out with his significant book, against the christians entitled "Loges Alethes" or The Word of Truth. This work was so completely suppressed that no copy is supposed to exist to-day. Fortunately for the world, however, Origen in attempting a refutation of what Celsus wrote, has left us in his "Contra Celsum," many of its important verbatim statements and a large number of lengthy quotations from it, so that for our particular purpose in this argument, the book is preserved.

Here in a brazen statement written at an early age is the wonderful disclosure which we have announced and are attempting to verify by every literary and inscriptional evidence to be found; namely that the christians planted into and for the first two hundred years derived their sustenance, support, legalization, and economical life from labor unions of the ancient world. The evidence of Celsus is overwhelming.¹ Celsus was born in A. D. 112, or as some think, A. D. 120, and he afterwards wrote of what he had seen in his early boyhood. He bitterly accuses the christians of entering into secret

¹ Origen, "Contra Celsum," I., says: *Πρώτῳ Κέλσῳ κεφαλαίων ἐστὶ διαβαλεῖν χριστιανισμόν, ὡς συνθήκας κρύβδην πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιουμένων χριστιανῶν παρὰ τὰ γενομισμένα.* The *συνθήκη* was a secret association of workmen, a trade union, for so says Pliny. Origen seems to acquiesce in these allegations for he goes on to state the reasons why this was so, without denying it.

associations, with the object to discredit their agapæ or lovefeasts, and is opposed to them, evidently because he knew that the old unions existing all around him, had been enjoying such legal rights from time immemorial, and being himself a pagan, was angry because the new sect had adopted these symposiums of true love and virtue.

Celsus belabors the christians in his book, because they resorted to the utmost secrecy during the persecutions,² hiding away in occult brotherhoods. He declares that they were secret societies contrary to law and had their lovefeasts or agapæ, which included the common table. The great Origen, quoting this, makes no effort at refutation; he is glad that the accusation is true and proceeds to rejoice at their success, declaring that they first planted in the mass of the uneducated. He boasts of the phenomenal growth of the new plant, especially as the way was "beset with opposition from princes, chiefs, captains, guards and all, to speak generally, who were possessed of the smallest influence; and in addition to these, the rulers of the different cities, the soldiers and the people." Celsus held that the poor, the wretched who had to work for a living, the outcasts who were not allowed to be enumerated in the census of population and the artists and mechanics, were the element planted into.³ Celsus seriously charged that they were composed of barbarian elements. Yet these were powerfully organized at that time.

Lucian, the celebrated sarcastic writer, lived and flourished during the same years with Celsus and we now know positively that the two ingenious men were acquaintances. But while Celsus appears to have composed his book to curry favors with the influential in order to obtain some appointment, Lucian squarely acknowledges that he wrote to make a living by selling his productions. Of the two we should admire this last exquisite blackguard most.

But Lucian, although he does not often mention the name of the christians, gives us some powerful points tending to prove our discovery that christianity had for

² Origen, *Contra Celsum*, VIII., c. 41: "Ἦτοι φεύγοντες καὶ κρυπτομένοι ἢ ἀλισκόμενοι καὶ ἀπυλλόμενοι." Cf. Neander, *Hist. Eccles.*, I., p. 108, note 1.

³ Origen, *Cont. Cels.*, VIII., c. 27. Consult *Ante-Nicæne Fathers*, Vol. IV., pp. 397 and 408. The admissions of both Celsus and Origen are complete.

its early cradle the unions of laboring people. In one place he speaks of them directly in connection with the Dionysan artists and indeed the wandering fakirs belonging to their vast organization, and shows how these metragyrtes, vagabonds, wonderworkers and jugglers, cunningly took advantage of christian credulity, wimble themselves into their brotherly embraces and swindled them of their means.⁴ The celebrated Conyers Middleton, a university professor at Cambridge during the seventeenth century, speaks of the intercourse between christians and this branch of the great Gemeinde as follows: "In the performance of their miracles, they were always charged with fraud and imposture by adversaries. Lucian who flourished during the second century, tells us that whenever any crafty juggler, expert in his trade, and who knew how to make a right use of things went over to the christians, he was sure to grow rich immediately by making a prey of their simplicity; and Celsus represents all the christian wondermakers as mere vagabonds and common cheats, who rambled all about to play their tricks at fairs and markets; not in the circles of the wiser and better sort, for among such they never ventured to appear, but whenever they observed a set of raw young fellows, slaves or fools, there they took care to intrude themselves and so display all of their arts." Here we have a metragyrte, christianized. Of all the many branches of the great Gemeinde, to an analysis of which many archæologists are devoting time and learning, these metragyrtes were the falsest and meanest in the whole international union. Quite a number of pagan writers and bitter adversaries of the christians gave vent to their hatred of them during the ante-Nicene age and an immense literary warfare followed against Celsus, Porphyry, and the emperor Julian,⁵ because they all lampooned the fakirs. These metragyrtes were the typical fakirs of the ancient and modern world. Not one was there who was not an initiate into

⁴ See *Index*, in verb. *Lucian*, pointing to a full description of this organization. The above quotation given in our text is from *Middleton's Works*, I., p. 19.

⁵ Jerom., *Adv. Jovinianum, Apolog.* II., p. 135: "Origenes, Methodius, Eusebius, Apollinaris, multis versuum millibus scribunt adversus Celsum et Porphyrium, Considerate quibus argumentis et quam lubricis problematicis diaboli spiritu contexta subvertunt; et quia interdum coguntur loqui, non quod sentiunt sed quod necesse est dicunt adversus ea quæ dicunt Gentiles."

some union of the great international order.⁶ Under umbrage of such a power they worked their wiles to get influence, wherewith to fleece the christians who succeeded in converting membership after membership and they often penetrated the dingy grottoes, mud-hovels, and tents of the wandering wonderworkers and fakirs. Celsus says the element which the christians preferred, was the ignorant, the unintelligent, the foolish, "by which words acknowledging that such individuals are worthy of their God; manifestly showing that they desire, and are able to gain over only the silly workmen, the mean, the stupid, along with their women and children."⁷

Celsus who certainly knew of the trouble which Pliny encountered with the christianized unions in Bithynia and Pontus, was aware that these unions, christian members and all, had left paganism which he loved to bow down to and extol, accuses that: "The cause which led to the new state of things was their rebellion against the state." And he takes the clue that both the Jews and the Romans considered the innovation of christianity to be a rebellion. The new Word of promise, with its refusal to allow its communicants to pay into the temples the accustomed tribute, or buy the sacrifices, was robbery of the government's treasury. Celsus carried his accusation farther and attacked Jesus' life in Egypt,⁸ declaring, on account of his wretched penury while there, that he was obliged to hire himself to perform tricks of legerdemain and thus work out a scanty living by cheating. He accuses the christians, in his third chapter, of barbarism, twitting that Jews and Gentiles were mixed and confounded, keeping up their false teachings in secret. Origen does not deny a word of the accusations, but waives the straight forward discourse of Celsus, which undoubtedly let much light into their communal origin and economic life.

⁶ *Digest*, XLVII., xxii., 4: "ἡ ἐπὶ λίαν οἰχόμενοι." This clause in the law of Solon under which the *μητράγυρτες* were organized carried out the letter of its text, legalizing wandering vagabonds, the fakirs, gypsies and as Dr. August Böckh maintained, it likewise covered pirates and corsairs.

⁷ Celsus, *Λόγος Ἀληθῆς*, *ap. Orig., Adv. Cels.*, III., c. 44.

⁸ Neander, *Hist. Eccles.*, I., p. 152, note 1. quoting Celsus, Lucian's friend, *ap. Orig., Adv. Christianos*, which is the same *Λόγος Ἀληθῆς*, where he accuses that Jesus on account of his poverty was obliged to hire himself out to the same cheat and deception. "Ὅτι οὗτος διὰ πενίαν εἰς Αἴγυπτον μισθαρνήσας κάκεϊ δυνάμεων τινῶν πειραθεῖς, ἐφ' εἰς Αἴγυπτοῖσι σεμνύνονται, ἐπανήλθεν, ἐν δυνάμεισι μῆγα φθορῶν δὲ καὶ αὐταῖς θεὸν αὐτὸν ἀνηγορεύσειν."

The eminent Mosheim, in discussing this subject of the phenomenal success of the early plant, while he knows nothing of the secret unions and their influence to secure food, shelter, protection in their secret abodes and permanency of the Word of promise, after once being converted, makes the admission of the truth of Celsus' slurring,⁹ that the first christians were no better than mere plebeian slaves and paltry laborers delving in fields and workshops; and argues that virtue and self-denial of the apostles would not of itself have converted great numbers to christianity. He brings in the testimony of such pagan writers as follows: "Others, following the example of Celsus, Julian, Porphyry and other enemies, bid us consider that the churches gathered by the apostles, were composed of plebeian characters, servants, laborers in the field and shop, together with their women."

We have abundant proof that all these were closely organized into economic guilds and unions. Indeed, the second accusation of Celsus against the christians was as much as to say that the plant was in the Solonic brotherhoods already established.

Origen was himself a tradesman and had to work at his profession as brazier while teaching the youth at Alexandria because the four oboles a day which he reluctantly took as a recompense for his work were not enough to sustain life. Alexandria being full of therapeutic, mithraic and essenic societies, branches of the great Solonic compact as we are now told by the inscription-readers of the seminaries, and there being unions of braziers doing business in that town during this sage's time, it is quite likely that he was a member. This probability is the more reasonable when we reflect that while teaching at Cæsarea, years afterwards, when persecuted by the arrogance of the already ambitious and intolerant prelates, he disappeared in Tyre and lived out the remainder of his life under the veil of some secret brotherhood, for particulars of which we are left in the dark. Anatomicus, in his Paschal Canon, declares "Origen, the most erudite of all, and the acutest in making calculations—a man too, to whom the

⁹ Mosheim. *Die Rebus Christ*, pp. 90-2; *Hist. Eccles.*, I., First Century, pt. I., ch. iv., § 10.

epithet Chalkeutes or brazier is given."¹⁰ Outside of this he is known to have been a mechanic. Yet Origen, in his celebrated effort to refute the diatribes of Celsus, virtually acknowledges a great deal to be true. He says: "Celsus compares inconsiderate believers with metragyrtae, soothsayers, mithrae and sabbadians," giving out that the christians went hand in hand with, and were a part of them; but he does not deny that it was so. Upon this we might call the readers' attention to the fact that mithrae were invariably organized into unions and are so classed in the most recent books and papers of the archæologists. The mithrae approached nearest to christians in their belief, line of life and their brotherly affiliations, of all ancient organizations known; yet they are pronounced to be trade guilds.

We have now come to the most convincing argument of Celsus, that of the "defiant comparisons." To introduce this we must drop our modern plan of reasoning, based upon things as we see them to-day. We must contemplate mankind, divided into two great hemispheres, the one visible, the other veiled in mystery; the one open and official, the other lowly and unrecognized. We must look upon the vast, secret organizations compelled by law to follow and be patterned after the plan of organization forming the best democratic cities, they in turn being patterned after the socialism of the well regulated family. The trade union, therefore, was a microcosm of the state; having the common table because that is the economic socialism of the family. The plan was adopted by the disciples of Jesus in accordance with his special teachings. The first objection the modern critic would raise to this is that the model city of the ancients did not have the common table. The answer is: "Go back to the higher antiquity of Solon and Lycurgus and Numa Pompilius and you will find it. You will find it in the Prytaneum of Athens,"¹¹ and

¹⁰ Anatol., *Paschal Canon*, 1; See *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol., VI., p. 146. where the above *trans.* stands. The *χαλκευταί* were included in the original list of Solonic and Numan unions. *Dig.*, XLVII., tit. xxii., lex. 4. The unions of braziers were very important and influential in Rome. They were extensively employed by the government after the commencement of the conquests, making armor for the use of the troops. Plutarch. *Numa*, 17, tells us that Numa placed it as one of the unions of the great Numan law: "Ἦν δὲ ἡ διανομή κατὰ τὰς τέχνας ἀλλήλων, χρυσοχόων, τεκτόνων, βοφῶων, σκυτοτόμων, σκυτοδεφῶων, χαλκῶων, κεραμῶων."

¹¹ Oehler, *Pauly-Wissowa*, Vol. III., p. 1026: "Die Prytanen bildeten gleichfalls eine politische Körperschaft. Sie erwählten für die Dauer der

Dr. Ochler has shown that it was also in many of the cities.

In the great outside official, political world of Athens and many other cities there was an enormous state kitchen, where was cooked and served, the very best that could be procured for the members of the Prytaneum, for visitors from different lands, and on certain occasions for the common people, the workingmen, especially, when they assembled here to give evidence which they had a right to do under the law.

The Prytaneum of Athens, adopted by a great many cities, carried out the plan of the common table, practically. It expanded the microcosm of the well regulated family out into the perfect political state, and so far as it went, carried out the principles of socialism. But it was imperfect since those crowned were all it cared for.¹²

That the Prytaneum, a part of the political council of government, had a common table and a communal code, and that the model at Athens was copied into hundreds of other cities, is an established fact. Thousands of people received there, their meals at the common expense of the state all through antiquity, and it was the scheme of their democratic government; but spoiled by the whimsical idea of class.

Thanks to christianity which turned its engines against class and boldly extinguished it, actually planting itself among the poor and ignorant and deriving its support for centuries from the laboring man, the source of all wealth and the fountain of every mouth full of food! The socialism of to-day is basing upon this its vast organization soon to oversweep the arrogance of such privileged and fawning sycophants, and assert and demand its righteous claims. This is the christianity which Celsus hates.

Prytanie einen Schreiber und einen Schatzmeister, CIA. II., 431, 440, 454, 869, 872. Die Prytanen hatten ein Amtslokal in der Nähe des βουλευτήριον, wo sie gemeinsam auf Staatskosten speisten θόλος und σκίαι genannt. Aristot., 'Αθ'. πολ., 48, 3, 62, 2; Harpokration, s. θόλος. Ph. s. οικίας; Dem., xix., 190; Andok., 112, 45; Poll., VIII., 155; Paus. I., 5, 1; οκοίς CIA. II., 476, u.ö. Sie hatten das Recht Leute, die sich um sie verdient gemacht, zu bekränzen, wie sie selbst oft vom Rate und Volke bekränzt wurden, CIA. II., 190. u.ö. Ueber die Thätigkeit der Prytanen, vgl., Plato. leg. II., 758, B-D. Aristot., 'Αθ' πολ. 43, 3, 6; Aristoph., *Eqm.*, 300. An die Prytanen wendeten sich die fremden Gesandten."

¹² Ochler, *Βουλῆ* in *Ραυλῆ-᾽Ἐπιστομῶν* III., p. 1025: "Νόμος δὲ ἦν τὴν βουλὴν τὴν δόξασαν τῷ δήμῳ καλῶς βεβουλευκέναι στεφανοῦσθαι, Dem., xlii., 12, 36; Aristot., 'Αθ' πολ., 46, 1."

Celsus in twitting the secret brotherhoods, against whom he claims to make new disclosures based on their meanness in that they belonged to nothing noble and were nothing but low dregs of humanity such as Cato had pronounced that the very contact with was a taint that could not be washed off except by purification in presence of a god, strikes his typical argument, which he calls a *defiant comparison*.

The defiant comparison of Celsus was this: The Prytaneum, ancient, sacred, honorable under legalized form in antiquity, gift to mankind forever, by the wisest of lawgivers, had been smirched through the ineffable daring of the meanest of the human race, the christian brotherhoods of labor, in that they imitated its hallowed economies of the common table and communal code! Celsus did not know of the trade union clause of this ancient statute specifying nearly a dozen trades for these very workers he accuses; or if he did he is not so clear as was Tertullian regarding their settlement among the unions. He only knew that they were found imbedded into and among the occult brotherhoods.¹³ This, he and Lucian could perceive without joining; but Hierocles, in the time of Diocletian, was perfidious enough to join and become initiated into their penetralia for no other purpose than to play the spy, and upon his fell perfidy the great massacre was perpetrated, which Dr. Ramsay thinks annihilated them in Phrygia.

Of this, we shall give the reader all that is obtainable, later. Origen, deriving his conclusions from Celsus, calls to mind the fact that the council of the Athenian Prytaneum, where was inscribed for centuries, the original Law of Solon upon a stone slab in the council chamber, was always known as the "*ecclesia*," and what seemingly exasperated Celsus, being a Greek, was that the low-born creatures should use this very word as the name of their temples of worship, the kuriakos, church or house of the Lord. He forgets that clause chiseled upon this stone requiring that each union should imi-

¹³ Tertullian, *Apolog.* xxxix., comes out in unmistakable words, in admission that the christian and Solonic brotherhoods were one and the same. See our *index*. In catchwords pointing to pages where it is quoted and where also the acknowledgment of this is made by Mommsen, Foucart, Oehler, etc. But the remarkable secret to Tertullian's bravery, culminates in his lapsing back into his old and beloved collegium, where he lived to a very old age.

tate the plan and scheme of the city and the perfect state, the model for which was supposed by the Athenians to be the sublimest, stretching toward perfection. The Boulé or council with its Prytaneum, included, as Dr. Oehler shows in the learned article which we have quoted, the common table and communal code.

But while Origen pretends to refute the charges of Celsus, he acknowledges the truth of his "defiant comparisons;" and this is perhaps the most conclusive point we have yet uncovered, showing the christian plant to have been into the ancient unions of potters, braziers, dyers, spinners, weavers and others, all of whose plans of organization were compulsory, under that great law, obliging them to follow the plan of the ecclesia or council of city and state. Ecclesia, then, being the name originally used on the slab in the pro-naos of the ancient Prytaneum, we find the comparison of Celsus¹⁴ to be perfectly correct; for the church became the ecclesia on the one hand, speaking in classical generalities; and the kuriakos or house of the union's lord became the church speaking in the commonest every day terms; and it remains so to this day.

But it is to the inscriptions recently being found in many parts that we see a complete verification of the truths of this history. The word ecclesia occurs in almost innumerable inscriptions throughout Greece, Macedonia, and Asia Minor. But not alone for trade unions; the word ecclesia is derived from the ancient boulé with its sub-council at the Prytaneum, and the word diocese also.¹⁵

The diocese then, is also derived from the ancient trade-union of the Solonic dispensation. Christianity, of which we for the first time give a true history, endorsed the diocese, word, import and all. The prelates

¹⁴ Origen, *Cont. Cels.*, III., cc. 29, 30. So likewise, Origen admits that the defiant comparison consists in the fact that his own church of God was the assembly or ecclesia of Athens, and hundreds of other cities having the Prytaneum with its common table.

¹⁵ Oehler, *Pauly-Wissowa*, art. βουλῆ; speaking of the functions and province of the secretary: "Der ὑπογραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς diene zur regelmässigen Unterstützung des Ratsschreibers, CIA, II., 329, 363, 431, 441. Poll., VIII., 98, erwähnt noch den ἀντιγραφεὺς, von dem es heisst προτερον μὲν αἴρετος, αὐθις δὲ κληρωτὸς ἦν, καὶ πάντα ἀντεγράφετο παρακαθήμενος τῇ βουλῇ: Harpokration, sub verbo βουλῆ hat die weitere Angabe διττοι δὲ ἦσαν ἀντιγραφεῖς, οἱ μὲν τῆς διοικήσεως, ὡς φησι Φιλόχορος ὁ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ. In der That wird es derselbe gewesen sein der Gezenstreiber, welcher als Buchhalter oder Controler des Rates alle die Geldverwendung des Rates betreffenden Verhandlungen zu beaufsichtigen hatte."

of later ages in collusion with the sycophant falsifiers of their aged competitive system working as they still do in abeyance to monarchs and manipulators, endeavored to suppress these facts.

The works of Porphyry, Celsus, Hierocles and perhaps Zosimus, would furnish much new evidence, if they had not been publicly burned by Theodosius, in A.D. 435.

We know that Zeus is a myth of the past. No more honor is devoted on him. He has lost his aerial throne in the vault of heaven and become obsolete. No one worships him any more. The Greek Jehovah was a deception and a fraud. Yet Porphyry, his worshiper, another pagan like Celsus, wrote a book against the christians, lampooning them in the vilest terms for that which Celsus accused them of, but protesting against any calumination of the great Jesus whom he declared ought never to be spoken of except in kindest terms. "That pious soul who ascended into heaven, had by a certain fatality become a stumbling block of error to those destined to no share in the gift of the gods and in the knowledge of the eternal Zeus."¹⁶

Hierocles' work,¹⁷ *Logoi Philalethes*, regarding christians recounts a great deal which Celsus, Hadrian, Porphyry had already said against Christ and christianity. But it all fell to naught as soon as christianity had aroused the mind of man above the superstitious ratiocinations based on the untenable Jove who, with his palatial structures in the vaulted dome of heaven, proved to be but a ghostly invention arising from the superstitions of simple-minded antiquity. The immense follies of priest-power, which so long had swayed the human mind, began now seriously to crumble; but it did not fall without an overwhelming landslide.

¹⁶ *Fragments*, of Porphyry's *Περὶ τῆς ἐκ Λογίων φιλοσοφίας*, see Neander. l. p. 170^{sq.}, where he canvasses the moribund theology of paganism.

¹⁷ Ramsay, *Cit. Bish. Phryg.*, II., p. 507, believes from the evidence of Lactantius who lived about that time, and of Eusebius, that the whole, or nearly the whole of the christian population of southwest Phrygia were massacred. See Gibbon in his sixteenth chapter. Judging from a former use of the word conventicle, we are disposed to think that "conventiculum," in the above quotation, was intended by Lactantius to mean the unions or brotherhoods of that country. We know they were exterminated.

CHAPTER XX.

CHURCHES ON RUINS.

SCHEME of the Early Movement—Metamorphosis of the Temple into the Kuriakos—Origin of Churches—St. Peter's was from Persecuted Collegia of Diana on the Aventine—Vourkano on the Ithome—Orchomenos—Temple of Cybele at Philadelphia—The Phyles and their Guilds—Temple of Jove on Acropolis of Kelaina—Discovery at Ancona—Temple of Isis at Pompeii—How it Became Property of the Multitudes of Voting Trade Unions There—Proof that when Converted They turned it into a Church—Origin of Cathedral of Nôtre Dame at Paris—Remarkable Inscription Found—It was Originally a Temple of a Boatman's Union of the River Seine.

CONSISTENT with the laws which we have carefully explained, nearly all the established pre-christian trade unions possessed their temple as common property, around which were the graveyard, the grove and many fixtures for meetings, discussions, entertainments and comforts of every kind. These, after the crucifixion, and the celebrated enlargement or expansion proposed and carried out by the messiah under his plan of salvation, gradually developed into churches.

There are many monuments and ruins lately being noted, which attest this and we now proceed to point out a few of them.

From Tiberius, who befriended this arrangement, through the short reigns of Vespasian and Titus, there elapsed a period of about sixty years and this constituted the era of the Roman Columbaria; for it was during this time that the christians with their swarms of converted trade and labor unions descended into the earth and hid themselves, sometimes seventy feet below the surface. The period thus engrossed was the one

in which the burial colleges took their foothold and developed such specimens of large and model guilds as that of Lanuvium.¹

During this time, and under the protecting law of the *collegium funeraticium*, or *tenuiorum*—a word whose import gave still greater latitude to organization than the purely burial phrase of Mommsen, circumscribed by his word *funeraticium* which does not appear in the Digest—the christians began to recover from the terrible disaster and it was not long before they were planning the restoration of the temple of Minerva, not far from the ancient site on the Aventine Hill. The cathedral of St. Peter at Rome, therefore, may be considered as originally a church on ruins, as was also that of Paris; and it may be truthfully assumed that both of the now grand and imposing structures are developments from old guild temples of the time of Tiberius and perhaps ages before.

With our former descriptions of the so-called burial union of Lanuvium we may proceed to the union itself and a word on the church built from its ruins. Lanuvium, or as it is now called Citta Lavinia, is at a distance of only eighteen miles from Rome, on the Appian Way. The inscription was discovered in 1816. It has been thoroughly analyzed by Rattius, Cardinali and Mommsen, and is admitted to be the most perfectly preserved union of the burial type.² It has been a subject of much mention of late, by most of the great archæologists. Dr. Waltzing speaks of its president called in the tablet the *quinquennalis*, as the "dictator," and his great importance in this one instance is but an example of the almost supreme power held by every *kurios* or director in all the unions of the world alike. They were veritable dictators or lords having a temple

¹ Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, p. 261. True *collegia tenuiorum* or *funeraticium*. Dr. Waltzing holds these to be trade unions, and to have been the immediate successors of the *columbaria*, purely Roman institutions, having few imitations outside of the capital city: "Les plus fameux sont, le *collegium Æsculapi et Hygiæ*, à Rome; les *cultores collegii Silvani* de Philippes; le *collegium Jovis Cernani* d' Albinnus Major en Dacie, et un *Collegium Silvani* de Lucanie, qui nous ont laissé de belles inscriptions."

² See Vol. I., pp. 353-8, where the entire inscription is given, including the law of the union. As to its size and shape, see Mommsen, *De Coll. et Sodal. Rom.*, p. 130: "Inventa est Lanuvii (città Lavinia) a. 1816, sub rudibus balnei publici, cum ipsis, quibus adfixa fuerat ferramentis, in tabula marmorea sæpe fracta, longa septem palmas cum tribus uncis; alta tres palmas unciasque decem ex hodierna mensura Romana. Inscriptio ipsa supra sex palmas uncias octo, infra sex palmas cum una uncia occupat."

under their management,³ and this house, or in Greek, kuriakos, was the New Testament "house of the Lord," after the christians began to convert their membership to the new Word of promise.

This large and numerous guild was not, as Mommsen and others half a century ago, held, confined to the single function of the burial of their own dead. This can be proved by closely consulting the words of its law. But the more recent researches among similar inscriptions of similar date, in Asia Minor, are convincing the epigraphists that they were all trade unions of the genuine sort, only possessing in later times the legalization of the burial attachment under which they covertly careered.⁴ We are not clearly informed regarding the church after the conversion of this great guild. Sooner or later it was converted and the temple of Diana, on whose tetrastyl the marble inscription was chiseled, became one of the christian shrines.

At Pompeii another remarkable church on the ruins of the ancient temples of gods and goddesses is found, through the excavations, among the lava beds, and which is another proof of the falsity of historians, prone to cater to their monarchs, desirous only for self-preference and working among falsehoods for the glory of individuals. A great temple of Isis is found to have been completely converted to christianity. The earthquake which overwhelmed the city took place in A. D. 79. Jupiter, who controlled the destinies of time and events was believed to be angry. Pompeii had been sunk, Rome burned, Jerusalem massacred, pythons of enormous size had entered the eternal city swallowing children alive; an amphitheatre, the work of contract jobbers had collapsed, destroying fifty-seven thousand innocents, and many awful casualties had come to pass which were regarded by superstitious men and women as premonitions of many still more serious and dreadful events.

³ Walzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, I., p. 211. A Lanuvium, A. D. 186, 80, 81, tateur fait tenir une assemblée générale de collège de Diane et Antonin dans le temple de ce dieu pour voter les statuts, et ces statuts sont affichés par son ordre sous le tetrastyl ou porreau de ce temple, CII—XII—2112, lines 1-3 7.

⁴ The inscription itself speaks of being dependent for their drift upon their labor. "Bene adque industrie contraxerimus ut scilicet defunctorum honeste prosequamur." They certainly worked for their own emancipation from slavery.

As in Rome, so in Pompeii, this temple of Isis, like the goddess herself commanded the respect and veneration of mechanics and the working people generally. Connected with Anubis, Isis was regarded as the patron divinity of the chase and her functions were in many other respects akin to those of the great Roman Diana and Greek Artemis. She also presided over the destinies of fishermen whose guilds were numerous and powerful at Pompeii. We have already shown the influence of these and of the other *collegia* that swarmed in that old Campanian city. Near this place clustered the numerous guilds of Puteoli, which could easily be seen on the coast to the north. These places have already been distinguished for their trade organizations. In Pompeii and as we are assured by Profs. Waltzing and Cagnat, in many and probably all the towns and cities, these trade unions were voting for their choice in officers of the boards of public works and having great contentions at the elections and their political power was strongly felt in their interests; for they desired, and by political means obtained, the appointment to do the work of the public building, street cleaning, fire department, and fulsome quantities of other tasks by which they were enabled to work but eight hours a day and receive excellent pay. It was on the eve of one of these elections that the awful volcanic eruption occurred which engulfed the whole population, probably one hundred thousand or more and it is declared to have been the most all-sweeping and disastrous ever known in the world.

Among the immense and often wonderful ruins which have recently been taken from the beds of lava and debris covering the city is the skeleton of this identical temple of Isis. At the moment the earthquake occurred this temple was a christian house of worship; but the metamorphosis from a strictly pagan temple to a brotherhood of the new faith had been recent. It might have commenced during the reign of Claudius or even Tiberius, but must have been very secret, if not entirely suspended and covered up at the time of Nero and the

⁵ See *Index*, catchwords referring to pp. where will be found a review of this subject and an account of the pending election showing by the inscriptions of the voting unions themselves, that a great political contest of the unions was going on at the moment the city was overwhelmed.

later years of Claudius. But the most interesting feature of this discovery, judging from the surroundings and general appearance is the evidence of many guilds belonging to the industrial movement then in a prosperous condition. There are some strong proofs that it was the temple and headquarters of these organizations, perhaps their property. At any rate, many of the best writers class this find among the corporations of labor under the law of Solon.⁶ In the note which we here append, are some of forty or fifty unions of various trades and professions taking part in the election which was about to come off, when the disaster came and made a vast and ghastly grave of Pompeii.⁷ They worshipped at the shrine of Isis; but as this goddess was proving a myth by never carrying out promises as hoped for from such divinities and in earlier ages strictly believed in, the unions which understood nothing but things practical were the first to forsake things barren of profits to them and this is why they endorsed the Word of promise, preached by the evangelists. So, from adorers of Isis, a myth and an invention of the infatuated imagination, they easily became believers in christianity and the evidences are that the temple of Isis had already become a shrine of the converted unions when the eruption came.

The scheme of the early christianity was based on the Solonic method of salvation from poverty. Priestcraft of the pagan sort, such as made payments to provision rings, buying of sacrifices to fatten pagan priests compulsory and the refusal, punishable with death if caught in the act, because it was a high treason against the state.

Economical religion then, of Jesus, was the foundation rock of the era we are at this day struggling to carry out. Poverty was to be buried forever. The in-

⁶ Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, I., pp. 169-70, gives a list of the unions of Pompeii as indicated by the inscriptions that were posted just before this election; and speaks of them as "les fidèles de l' Isis et les adorateurs de Venus, patronne de Pompeii." They are as follows: "Lignarii universi, truck sellers, IV., 851, 960, lignarii plostrarii, CII., IV., 480; pomarii universi, fruit sellers, IV., 149, 180, 183, 202, 206, cauponae, shopkeepers, IV., 336, 1838, cullinarii, cooks, IV., 373; pistatores, bakers, IV., 886; panarii, bakery, IV., 1768, cibusarii, cooks on a large scale, IV., 677 they made beautiful loaves of bread, poultry dealers, pullinarii, IV., 241, 373, piscesarii, fishmen, piscicapi, IV., 826, dyers, effectores, IV., 861, fullones, fullers, IV., 816, saccarii, beer makers, IV., 271, 497, sagarii, blouse makers, IV., 753, tonsores, barbers, IV., 713, unguentarii, perfumers, IV., 600."

⁷ See Vol. I., pp. 300, 301 and note 5-416.

dividual was to be furnished through powerful organization or co-operate power, with the means of life. There was to be no eleemosynary charity. Every human being must work and be furnished by his union with work; and the wretched charity which still prevails was to be spurned in disgust as unworthy of the noble manhood of nations. All men were recognized as being created equal, and in theory, wages like chattel slavery was to be no more.

On these salutary ideas the new faith in the working-man messiah rose. It planted itself in temples of the old gods and goddesses who had for ages been promising much for the laboring poor they pretended to emancipate, but never did.

We could enumerate many evidences of this absorption of the old temple of Isis by the converted unions collected from the tell-tale ruins of Vesuvius. The Isians prove to have held the college or union of the faithful of Isis and there were the adorers of Venus, patron goddess of Pompeii.⁸ Every one of the forty or fifty unions mentioned on the chiselings, etchings, paintings and scrawls which have been uncovered thus far proves to have been a guild of some kind, and the object of the political contention was to secure the election of the ædiles, who were the same as the agoranomi of the Greek unions whose similar political contentions were to secure the same object, namely to elect their own candidates to the boards of public work, so that their own memberships of unions might secure the award of doing the work of the city.

Dr. Willems took much interest in the ancient labor movement as developed to our knowledge through preserves of this great eruption, and has written out a lengthy explanation of the part taken by the unions of all sorts engaged in the election, but particularly the mechanics.⁹ According to him, the colleges were intimately connected with the temple of Isis which was a christian sanctuary and schola at the moment of the

⁸ CIL, IV., 1146: Venerii; see Waltzing, *id.*, p. 170: "Il y avait aussi des cercles, d' amusement portant les sobriquets de tard-buveurs, larronneaux et dormeurs, et une société des joueurs de balle, CIL, IV., 1147. Enfin, on trouve des sodales, dont le nom spécial est inconnu. Toutes ces associations soutiennent avec ardeur le candidat de leur choix." speaking of the election coming off the moment of the eruption.

⁹ Willems, *Election Municipale de Pompeii*, pp. 26-49; see also CIL, Preface; G. Boissur, *Relig. Rom.*, II., p. 295.

disaster. It needs but a small stretch of imagination to perceive that these labor guilds which had been suppressed by Tiberius on the event of the historic turmoil or strike in the year A. D. 13, finding they were stifled by the law of conspiracy, sequestered themselves in the asylum or refuge of the motherly temple and were thus converted.

In the same manner, and after an imperial edict from Rome which compassed the exile of thousands of these "hated pests," settlements were made in many distant cities and towns of proconsular Rome. The plan was to convert and occupy either little temples of the unions as was done in innumerable cases, or to cluster in and around the larger sanctuaries of the gods and goddesses as in the case of the Isis of Pompeii. Several of these later specimens may be traced to a desire to escape from danger. It was with this for a principal reason, without doubt, that the ancient temple of Zeus on the old acropolis of Kelainai, a suburb of Apameia in Phrygia was colonized into by the shoemakers and their guilds of Shoemakers' street.¹⁰ A more perfect example of a church on ruins would be difficult to find among all the testimonials of antiquity; but we have given the epigraph itself and its thorough description in another place.

At Vienne, in France, archaic capital of the Allobrogiens, there are to be seen many evidences of a similar transformation by the converted labor unions of ancient Dionysan temples, to the church.¹¹ All correct history has been covered up by the ruins, many of which are as ancient as the persecutions which occurred there and at Lyons, twelve miles up the river Rhone from this place. They are recently coming out as historical.

At Puteoli there are ruins of another temple which became a church after serving for ages as a refuge for the unions. We possess inscriptions establishing this as a permanent argument in proof of our assertions

¹⁰ See *supra*, pp. 445-7, note 227, where we have laid stress on these inscriptions, quoting one of them in full.

¹¹ Savigny, *Guide de Vienne*, 98. Rue Capriens de Vienne: "C'est là qu'existait le superbe palais des empereurs romains." "Le splendide jardin était environné de fortes murailles dont les murs épais avaient cinq pieds." This became a church after falling into ruins. The city was permeated with industrial unions of a dozen trades.

regarding the ancients having planted and established the new Word into already existing institutions.¹²

There are also strong reasons for believing a capture occurred so to speak, of the ancient temple of Cybele at Philadelphia in Lydia, one of the Phrygian subdivisions of Asia Minor, first and from a time unknown, by the trade unions, and then through them, after conversion, by the christians. This would have made the celebrated city of the seven, a veritable church on ruins. The basis of this theory is very deep. It is similar to the capturing by the same converted unions of the temple of Isis at Pompeii. We suspect that an effort was made by the enemies of organized trades to suppress them here in somewhat the same manner, and about the same time as their suppression at Pompeii, where we find them by no means suppressed, but flourishing in secret under the ægis of the holy mother.

Mommsen has had the penetration to discover something here, in his investigation of the law of their votive franchise, although he does not appear to have seized the full application. He points to a multitude of trade unions or guilds at Philadelphia. We have an inscription which speaks of seven phyles or sacred tribes existing there. Dr. August Böckh thought these phyles were subdivisions of the people, but they were genuine trade unions, as now ascertained; and it has been suggested that some unaccountable event, perhaps that of a terrible eruption which occurred there, scared away all except the working population, too poor to escape. This would have left the tribal guilds in possession of the place, temple and all, and being already organized, they stayed and continued their industries, shoemaking, cotton spinning and weaving, also dyeing of the celebrated crimson. Wagener¹³ cites Strabo who almost

¹²CIL, Vol. X., no. 1579: "Hic ager—eorum possessorum juris est qui in cultu corporis Heliopolitanorum sunt erant, atque ita is accessus jusque esto per januas itineraque ejus agri. qui nihil adversus locum et conventionem ejus corporis facere perseveraverunt." These "cultores" in addition to the pagan temple which became a christian asylum, had seven arpents of land.

¹³Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.*, p. 173, 174: "... particularité vraiment curieuse que nous trouvons à Philadelphie, en Lydie. Les ouvriers en laine et les cordonniers y portent les noms de *ἱερὰ φυλὴ τῶν ἐριουργῶν*, et *ἱερὰ φυλὴ τῶν σκυτῶν*. Le Bas, 648, 656; CIG, 3422; CIG, 3422. Une inscription parle de sept *φυλαὶ* ou tribus sacrées existant dans la ville, CIG 3422. "C'est la *Βουλὴ* qui décide la statue et confie à un collège le soin de l'ériger. *Bull. de Cor. Héliéniques*, II., 503, no. 1: "... à Philadelphie les tribus gēnētiques se confondaient avec les corporations d'artisans."

confirms this and fixes the time to cover the event. But by far greater is the probability that during the reign of Caligula, an edict came, banishing all the converts called by Suetonius Jews, followed by another in the reign of Claudius, which drove many thousands over into Asia Minor where they settled into numerous colonies, carrying the evangelism of the new Word of promise with them; and being themselves broken fragments of the Roman unions, easily mixed with the old guilds at Philadelphia, colonizing around the sympathetic and mellow mithraism of the mother duly fusing with, converted her priests and used her temple for their kuriakos or church. What fortifies this argument is the fact that all the imperial hosts were tinted with a grudge against all newly converted temples and finally their hatred rose so high that under Diocletian they were exterminated by the great massacre.

We have spoken of the capture by the christians, of strongholds of Solon's unions. There are many positive proofs of it. During the reign of Alexander Severus, A.D. 239, there was a union of pagan cooks at Rome who owned in their own home a lot of land. It was precious to them, being the place where stood the temple dedicated to their goddess of nourishment. They had never been converted, and when their retreat was encroached upon by the christians they objected with so strong a resistance that it became a heated contention. The dispute was over the possession of the land. After much wrangling, amounting at times to an altercation between the two factions, it was finally left for the emperor himself to decide. Alexander Severus was a mild, humane monarch. Many commentators declare that he was virtually a christian. He bought pictures of many of the great and good. In his lararium he had images of Jesus, of Apollonius of Tyana, of Orpheus and others not admitted by the censorious senators, such as had refused to permit the emperor Tiberius to deify Jesus just after his crucifixion. In fact, he seems to have carried out the plan of Tiberius, two hundred years before, of admitting the master as one of the gods of the people of Rome.¹⁴

¹⁴ Neander, *Hist. Eccles.*, I. p. 127. The story of the dispute between the christians and the pagan cooks is likewise here related, *ibid.*, p. 125.

After a prolonged contention as to who should own the property, the cooks or the christians, the question went to this emperor. On giving it due consideration, Alexander Severus decided that it was the property of the christians, and transferred it to them. The only redress was for the union of cooks (*pastillariorum collegium*) to themselves renounce the faith of the pantheists and endorse the new Word of promise forming the scheme, or half economical half spritual advocacy of the early christians involving conversion of the cooks to christianity.

Several suggestive discoveries have been made at Ancona in Italy, on the Adriatic sea. An old cathedral is there which was once a House of a lord or dictator, who in the Greek inscription recently deciphered was a *kurios*. It has been proved that this officer was synonymous with the Roman *quinquennalis*. The inscription speaks of a *thiasos*, and also of a *koinon*.¹⁵ The whole shows a pagan temple, once a shrine of a union of working people with their communal code but converted over to the christians.

The *Vourkano*, on the *Ithome Mount*, or *Ithone* according to *Liddell*, was a sort of sacred position of the god *Jupiter* in those times, situated in *Thessaly*, more anciently the *Pelasgiotis*, near *Metropolis*.¹⁶ Here on the craggy heights and mountain steeps existed a temple of *Jupiter* which was metamorphosed to an institution for christian worship. Furthermore it was largely influenced by the converted unions.

Another of the same kind is that of the *Orchomenos*,

¹⁵ De Rossi, *Roma Sott.*, Vol. I., p. 107. *Εἰς τῆνδε τὸ ἥρωον κοινὸν τῶν ἀδελφῶν.* It appears to have had some relations with *Heraclea*: "In *Eraclea* nel porto il famoso *Ciriaco* (*κυριακός*) d' *Ancona* lesse la seguente iscrizione, che dalle preziose memoria de viaggi de lui me studiosamente raccolte era trazzo per la prima volte alla luce. The epitaph reads:

Ἄνρ. φιλιππιάνος. χ. ἐποίησα ἔμον τῷ καὶ τῇ γυναίκεϊ μου Ἄνρ. Δεναίῃ χ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ μου Ἄνρ. Νεόφυτῳ χ. Εἰ δε τις τολμήσῃ ἕτερον βάλειν ὄσσει τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς χ. φ.

The reading and the signs evince that it must have been some sort of christianized union. The ruins of the temple which became the church, are still to be seen.

¹⁶ *Iliad*, II., 729. *Foucart*, *Ass. Rel.*: "Le temple d' *Isis* à *Pompéii* donne une idée assez exacte de l' un de ces sanctuaires; on pourra se les représenter encore mieux, en voyant quelques-uns des *monastères Hélléniques*, en particulière celui de *Vourkano* sur l' *Ithome*, ou celui d' *Orchomène*, élevé sur les ruines du temple de charités. La construction du temple et de ses dépendances était la première affaire et la plus importante pour la société;" *Liddell*, in verb. *Ἰθωμῆ*; "A fortress in *Thessaly*, the *Pelasgiotis*, near *Metropolis*, *Iliad*, II., 729. A stronghold of *Messina*, on *Mt. Ithome*, with a temple of *Jupiter*." *Herodotus*, IX., 34.

one of several cities of Greece, on the site of which are the evidences of a church built upon the ruins of an ancient temple. It was for a long time actuated by the unions of the Solonic system. They held sway and controlled its destinies under christian auspices.

We begin another astonishing revelation by the announcement that the church of Saint Peter was a direct result of the great conflagration of Rome by Nero in the year A.D. 64. This particular hatred and spite was turned against the christian collegia clustered in and around the goddesses Diana and Minerva, supreme among the tatterdemalian throngs of the Vatican and Aventine Hills and of the valley below.¹⁷ Thither it was that the wrath and vengeance of Nero were especially directed. He raged and tore about this quarter like a madman. He pushed his spies and obsequious lieutenants into their dark alleys and lanes, some of them of the feminine sex often worse and more truckling flunkies for imperial favors than the obsequious harpies of the male sex, even Tigellinus himself. They all bent their subservient energies toward the frightful massacre and many of them were speedily repaid by being awarded the fatal judgment from Nero to banishment or the axe.

The great church of Saint Peter at Rome arose out of this renowned experience, and is positive proof that christianity took its actual origin in the poor workingmen's unions. No other claim whether of opulent individual now stationed there, or of the obsequious millions, can be historically insisted upon. Saint Peter's is derived from the great temple of Minerva, goddess of labor and of her who blessed the fruits of toil. Let others think as they may, this is the fact; and the colleges which clustered around her standard were very numerous.¹⁸

The discovery of the origin of the celebrated église

¹⁷ See *supra*, Section NERO, *fin.*, where this great conflagration and the awful destruction of the trade unions and christians by fire and torture are recounted.

¹⁸ Waltzing, *Hist. Corp. Prof.* I., p. 199: "Avant d' s'associer, les artisans avaient déjà leur patron. C' était naturellement le dieu dont les attributs approchaient le plus du métier. C' est ainsi que Minerve trouva tant d' adorateurs. Déesse de l' intelligence, elle fit invoquée pour tous ceux qui s' occupaient d' art, de sciences et d' industrie. C' est la divinité protectrice de mille genres d' ouvrages de l' esprit et de la main, dit Ovide: 'Mille dea est operum.'"

of Notre Dame and that it was originally and as early as Tiberius, a little huntsmen, fishermen and lumbermen's temple in the Seine and a veritable trade union of Solon's pattern may be a little surprising. Such is nevertheless the truth.

In the metamorphosis of the temple into the kuriakos of the christian régime there is something marvelous. Hundreds of such temples were taken by the christians from the crumbling, moribund pagans, and converted into houses of worship. Of course this was done by slow degrees, but we find them everywhere and have devoted the chapter to a review only of some of the remarkable instances when the ancient guild became the christian church.

In Paris, on the present site of the church of Notre Dame, and in the crypt of the choir, was found in 1711, an inscription,¹⁹ which will conclusively prove that Notre Dame is none other than an improved temple of the guild of such boatmen, doing trade business on the river Seine.

It is inscribed to Tiberius, who reigned from A.D. 14 to 37 and all through the active life of Jesus. During his time there was a large population on the whole length of the river. Paris, Rouen and what is now Havre were flourishing commercial places and agriculture was in a thrifty condition. There was needed a line of boats running from the sea to Paris and this need was perhaps supplied by the collegium nautarum or boatmen's union, very much as was the case on the Tiber.²⁰ This union of boatmen was discovered in a dark and long neglected crypt under the choir of Notre Dame which stands on an island in the Seine near the center of the city. M. Le Roi,²¹ in Félibien's history of

¹⁹ M. B. Le Roi, *Sur l' Origine de l' Hôtel de Ville*, dans l' *Histoire de Paris*, de Félibien.

The inscription reads:

"TIBERIO CÆSARI,
AUG. JOVI. OPTIMO,
MAXIMO MONUMENTUM,
NAUTÆ PARISIACI,
PUBLICÆ POSUERUNT."

²⁰ See Vol. I., Chapters xv, xvi., where the vast commerce as well as the provisionment of Rome, is shown to have been conducted by the coll. Nautarum.

²¹ Granier, *Hist. Class. Ouv.*, p. 374, was the first to bring this notable case of a Gallic collegium to our view. He says: "Ceci résulte clairement de l' histoire du commerce primitif de Paris, et de l' inscription suivante trouvée dans les feuilles faites en 1711, sous le choeur de Notre Dame." M. Le Roi, *Origine de l' Hôtel-de-Ville; Hist. Paris*, par Félibien,

the commerce of Paris, has given us what is known of the origin of the monument.

There is nothing unnatural in this case. The unions almost always possessed a plat of land, a little graveyard and a house of their lord. This we have abundantly shown, together with the Roman law governing their action. The union of boatmen originally possessed this islet in the river, built their house or *kuriakos* upon the piece, making of it probably a rough and primitive affair. Their graveyard was the islet itself. Here they used to hold their meetings and here they met in their schola or main room of the little temple, dedicated to their tutelary divinity, and enjoyed their common meal. When a holiday came they met and threw open the whole establishment with its garden full of trees, and held an entertainment in the manner of the true symposium. In due course of time the christians came and converted the membership, after which the temple became a church and later developed into one of the most celebrated houses of worship in the world.

We paraphrase this inscription in our usual manner, leaving the reader his time for a more critical rendering from the original Latin.

"The union of boatmen of Paris, publicly establish and dedicate this monument of their temple, to the august, Tiberius Cæsar, the great and best, under Jupiter, protecting god of Rome."

CHAPTER XXI.

MASSACRE OF DIOCLETIAN,

WHAT Became of it All—The Ancient Plan Suppressed—A Hitherto Unrecorded Murder of the Human Race—Destructive Power of the Standing Armies—The Havoc of a Traitor—Scheme of Diocletian and His Courtiers—Their Plot Against the Brotherhoods—Cruel Character of Galerius—Joint Monarchy of Four—Demand for Extermination—Formation of a League—Hierocles as their Agent—How He Passed the Dokinastirion and Slipped in—Appointed Governor—Divulged Union Secrets to the League—Rage of Galerius—Plan Determined on, was Extermination—Opinions of Drs. Ramsay, Cumont and Others—Eumencia—Its Destruction told by Eusebius—Quotations—Governors of other Provinces Supposed to have Divulged—Evidence of Lactantius—Story of Crispian—Logos Philaletheis of Hierocles—Diocletian's Edict of Prices—The Edict Quoted—The "Vilis Plebecula"—Date of the Slaughter Fixed for Feb. 22nd A.D. 303—Rancor of Mother of Galerius against the Christians—Words of Gibbon—Burning of the Book—Quoting Ramsay—Bargainers Covet their Properties—Book of Papias—Treason Against Getting of Wealth and Power—It was Burned because it Revealed the Economics of Solon's Socialism—Details of the Massacre—Porphyry—Spread over many Provinces of Proconsular Rome—Entailments of Diocletian's Atrocity—Not Until Afterwards we find Charities—Plant of Eleemosynary System—First Seeds of Feudal System—Feudal Guilds—Pauperism Appears in the World—The Orphanophylax—Laws Governing Such Institutions—Proof that they never existed Before—How Constantine took the Control of Christianity—Downfall of the Two Great Schemes of Solon and of Jesus to Redeem the World—Go Back, the Cry of our Strangled Race.

WE have thus brought down the history of the ancient lowly from the highest antiquity until we arrive at the fatal year A.D. 303, when an awful massacre occurred, known as that of Diocletian, whereby the popu-

lations of many of the regions we have described, who had survived the persecutions and were beginning to expand, grow perfect and thrive, were swept in a moment from the earth.

Something has already been said regarding a certain recreant member of the unions named Hierocles who turned spy and betrayer after receiving initiation into the brotherhoods' mysteries, divulging to the monarch and his officers all the secret doings, in order to secure an appointment as governor of Bithynia. This traitor worked the ruin of the men he had sworn to befriend.

The scheme of Diocletian, his courtiers and some of the prelates now forming an element which at last succeeded, was to destroy the great *jus coeundi*. Being regarded with reverence as the behest of Solon, this had for nine centuries withstood the inimical powers of the aristocratic world.¹

In all our researches into the causes of great events in the history of labor, we have been unable to discover any signs of decay in the rising organization and gradual forward trend under this great statute, until we come to this massacre of Diocletian. From that fell moment, A.D. 302, or as some report, 303, the trade and labor unions appear to be stricken, and cease to carve their records. From that gloomy date charities of the eleemosynary sort began to arise, filling the moral and social atmosphere with their loathsome and sickening ethics. Always before this had the unions and brotherhoods been self-sustaining; always hitherto had they refused to permit of alms-giving hospitals, or even beggars, except when organized under a clause of the law. The massacre of Diocletian was the true beginning of the end of the renowned *jus coeundi* of Solon and Numa Pompilius. Let us first recount what is known of this egregious atrocity.

When in A.D. 284, Diocletian, a promising soldier of the Roman army drove his dagger through the body of Aper, the "hated boar," for killing Numerian, the other soldiers around him in orgies of enthusiasm, arose to the dignity of law as had been done many times before,

¹ Lactantius, *Divine Institutes*, V., 11, in his account of it, brings in the law of Diocletian regarding the prices of provisions which we have already discussed. See *index*, in verb. *Prices*. We quote this law more fully *infra*, note 12, of this chapter.

and ushered or ran him unexpectedly into the mighty office of emperor of the now vast dominion of Rome. This new monarch felt that he was incompetent to cope with the duties of such an enormous task and appointed three more Cæsars to assume the purple with him, apportioning to each of them a defined territory, himself retaining Africa and the Asian and other Greek-speaking provinces. Their names were Maximian, Constantius and Galerius.

Galerius, who received Macedonia for his share, after military reverses, gained a victory in Persia where in the proconsulates, on the march through Phrygia and Edessa he had seen the christians in great numbers. He was a pagan of a ferocious and cruel nature, and became greatly enraged against their numbers and success as builders of their new scheme of civilization, so contrary to his own. His whole influence was immediately exerted upon Diocletian, on his triumphant return, against them. He is known to have demanded their extermination.

Diocletian, himself friendly, almost a christian, refused. The wiles of Galerius were exerted and as the empire was full of those like himself who hated them, it was not long before they formed a secret league to gather all sorts of evidence against them.² Into this league was drawn the man named Hierocles who became the arch spy and traitor.

This man worked an underhand intrigue to secure admission into one of the guilds of Nicomedia that had become christianized. He had succeeded, probably under guise of a mechanic, and a residence and acquaintance among the toilers, in familiarizing and perhaps endearing himself to the extent that when he applied for admission there were those on the dokimasterion or board of examination, who were willing to report him *hagios, eusebes, agathos*.³ The incident of this treachery shows the enormous power and influence of trade unionism over the world.

² Meyers, *Konv. Lexikon*, in verb. *Diocletianus*: "Seine für das alternde Reiche überaus wohlthätige Regierung ist von christlichen Schriftstellern deswegen schwer verunglimpft worden, weil er, seit 303, ungewiss aus welcher Veranlassung, eine blutige, besonders von Galerius' grosser Grausamkeit geübte Verfolgung über die Christen verhängte."

³ For this stringent requirement of the Solonic law testing candidates, consult *supra*, ch. xiii., where all that is known, including the facts found in an inscription is explained in full.

Hierocles, on consultation with another secret association having the opposite object of discussing, detecting and destroying the hated guilds who had turned their secret power toward protecting the christians and had endorsed them together with their tenets, began systematically to divulge to them that which he was able to discover of the inner doings of the great trade union system throughout Asia Minor. Drawn into this latter conventicle, were the three beings, Constantius, Maximian and Galerius, and the great emperor over them all, Diocletian himself, though he reluctantly consented to join. Galerius is supposed to have been the prime mover of the conspiracy. Hierocles was made governor of Bithynia and in this capacity, having the double function of the political power on the one hand, and the hidden sources of knowledge from behind the unions' secret veil on the other, he oscillated to and fro between them, industriously and punctiliously meeting at the sittings of both, and insidiously receiving and reporting all information. The courage, determination and growth of the now populous christian movement was in this manner accurately made known.

The rage of Galerius knew no bounds. He was heartily encouraged by all the lesser members of the league. Diocletian, however, who was at heart a conscientious man and adverse to giving his consent to their cruel demands was reluctant for some time, until he detected some lurking conspiracy abrew, which would probably have resulted in his own assassination. He at last gave up and subscribed to the worst.

The plan determined on appears to have been that of a sudden extermination of the whole organized population of these regions, far and near. It was to be done by using the standing army of the imperial power. Exact details of this awful event are wanting, as every document daring to mention the calamity except that of Lactanius, has been burned, and the history of it a few years later by Eusebius is purposely guarded and vague. The most remarkable evidence is this which is now coming to view by the discovery of modern researchers in quest of inscriptions, that nothing more of that style of literature is to be found since the date of the awful massacre.

Dr. Ramsay, who served science for years searching paleographic remains in Phrygia, sums up these three sources of information in proof of the magnitude of this exterminatory massacre, and we should err in attempting to give our own rather than his bold conclusions:

"As an example of what took place in Phrygia, Eusebius mentions that the christian city" (he is here speaking of Eumeneia), "which was alluded to in paragraph eight, was burned to the ground with its people, even women and children."

On the same page this author continues:

"Moreover, to one who has by the patient toil of years tracked out these christian communities by their formula of appealing to 'the god,' it comes as one of those startling and convincing details of real life and truth, that the one recorded about the destroyed people is that they died appealing to the god over all. Unconsciously Eusebius writes as the epitaph over the ashes of the destroyed people the words by which we have recognized the epitaphs which they themselves habitually composed."⁵

The same author adds that another governor who engaged himself to Galerius and his bloody work, named Theotecnus, who ruled the province of Galatia at the same moment that Hierocles was making his treacherous plot in divulging the secret which he had in a most sacred promise sworn to defend. Indeed the reading of Eusebius explains that cities in Phrygia, Eumeneia with them, were suddenly surrounded by military force, and that all who did not retract were destroyed.

As a matter of fact, there was a governor for every province in all proconsular Rome. There were but two of the dozen for Asia Minor alone; and it would be difficult, on account of the care taken by four great rulers who waged this startling massacre to cover up all clues leading to a knowledge of it, to even form an adequate conjecture as to its general extent. It might have swept over Spain, Italy, North Africa, Macedonia, Gaul, and even the islands of Rhodes and Britain.

⁴ Ramsay, "Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia," Vol. II., pp. 507-8.

⁵ The words of Euseb., "H. E." VIII., 11, are: "Ὁλὴν Χριστιανῶν πολὺν αὐτανδρον ἄμφι τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐν κύκλῳ περιβαλόντες ὀπλίται, πῦρ τε ὑφάψαντες, κατέφλεξεν αὐτοὺς ἅμα ἡρπιοὺς καὶ γυναῖξαι, τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεοὶ ἐπιβοηθούμενοι· ὅτι διὰ πανδύμοι, πάντες οἱ τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦντες, λογιστῆς τε αὐτὸς καὶ στρατηγὸς σὺν τοῖς ἐν τέλει πᾶσι φαί ὄλω δὴμῳ Χριστιανούς σφᾶς ὁμολογοῦντες, οὐδ' ὀπωπιούον τοῖς προστατοῦσιν εἰδωλολατρεῖν ἐπειδάργουιν."

We are certainly very fortunate in having two so reliable and scholarly writers as Lactantius and Eusebius, and especially the former, who was a bold, classical author, living at the very moment when the holocaust occurred. His testimony, given regarding the similar destruction of another population completely fortifies that of Eusebius for Eumeneia. The splendid writer is probably describing the destruction of Nicomedia, the capital of Bithynia, ruled by Hierocles, and the chosen city of Diocletian himself. But he alludes in one place to that gory tempest in Phrygia.⁶

In connection with the great persecutions of Diocletian we must not fail to bring in the episode of the Crispinian union of Shoemakers in what is now Soissons, France. The dates of this part of the massacre vary but a little from that of the great holocaust of Anatolia.

The massacres at Soissons and vicinity are known to have been committed about the time Hierocles was writing his *Logos Philaletheis*, or some time before being appointed governor of Bithynia. It circulated among the enemies of the unions, stirring up the old pagan hatred against the christians, and was mostly intended to stop the influx of christianity into these organizations. That this work, afterwards suppressed and burned, was translated into Latin and used by the enemies of the Crispinian community of shoemakers in France, is certain. While it fiercely attacked the idea of the unions for shielding the christians, it is said to have contained passages apologizing in favor of the christians, as originally existing and he would hear to nothing against the excellence of Jesus Christ as a great and good man.⁷

The story of Crispin and his brother Crispianus may be read in many current books and is honorably men-

⁶ Lactantius, *Div. Inst.*, V., 11, is probably referring to either the same described by Eusebius, quoted in our preceding note or some other similar diaster in Phrygia; "Sicut unus in Phrygia qui universum populum cum ipso pariter conventiculo concremavit." Lactantius, *De Morte Persecutorum*, cc. vii-xix., gives a lucid recital of the entire horror.

⁷ Lact., *Div. Inst.*, V., 2, admits this, and thinks that the book afterward worked as an apology for his fierce and bloody persecutions. He speaks as though some chapters of it "were at variance with themselves, enumerating so many and such secret things," that he appears to have been one of the same sect. Cf. Dr. Coxe, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VII., p. 137. Lactantius reviles Hierocles for his perfidy in betraying the secret order, by divulging that which he had sworn to keep.

tioned in the encyclopædias. We have ourselves given a small account of them in our first volume of this work. Some time near the close of the third century the governor of the district, Rictius Verus, actuated by Diocletian or perhaps Galerius, had them arrested and thrown headlong into a huge cauldron nearly full of melted lead.⁸ It was they who created the order of shoemakers, which came down through ten centuries, latterly with the name of Frères Cordonniers, and was still in full vigor at the breaking out of the French revolution in 1789, when it was suppressed, and its history stands as another irrefutable proof of our discovery that it was the trade unions which endorsed, protected and formed for the first three centuries the bone and sinew of christianity.

We are indebted to M. Le Blant for some valuable information regarding the sepulchre and place of burial of these Crispins of the shoemakers' guild. The church of Soissons erected during the early ages has a basilica and a crypt where their ashes are encased, and it is thought to be one of the most venerated tombs in Europe.⁹

This persecution, involving the deaths of the Crispins and the temporary suppression of the union of shoemakers because they shielded the christians, was begun some years before the bloody culminus which we have described on the evidence of Lactantius and Eusebius. The more we study these fragmentary proofs the less certain we become as to the reputed compassion of Diocletian; since the murders were going on fifteen years before the final blast.

The suppression of the union methods of buying and distributing provisions caused so much protest that the

⁸ Meyers, *Kon. Lex.*, "CRISPINUS, Heiliger und Martyrer, aus einer vornehmen römischen Familie flüchtete mit seinem Bruder Crispianus, wegen der Christen Verfolgung des Kaisars Diocletian nach Soissons, wo beide das Schuhmach-handwerk trieben, aber um 287 vom Landpfleger Rictius Verus verhaftet und in einen mit geschmolzenem Blei angefüllten Kessel geworfen wurden. Sie sind die Patrone des Schuhmach-handwerks. Bekannt ist die Sage, dass sie das Leder Stahlen, um den Armen, unentgeltlich Schuhe zu verfertigen, weshalb man Wohltaten, die auf andere Kosten erzielt werden, Crispinaden nennt. Tag; 25 Okt."

⁹ Le Blant, *Inscriptions Crétiennes*, l. p. 439. Here some effort is made to cast light on the Crispins. An inscription, called that of Dagobert and Chlodobert, quotes Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, V., xxxv., to show that they are buried "dans la basilique de Saint Crépinien"..... une des tombes les plus vénéérées." Gregory wrote: "Voverunt vota pro eo; sed media nocte, anhelus jam et tenuis spiritum exhalavit; quem in basilica sanctorum Crispini et Crispiniani martyrum sepelierunt."

emperor conceived, about A.D. 300, the idea of his now celebrated law regulating the sale of almost all articles of common necessity which we have already described,¹⁰ though it is here necessary to revert to. The effect of this edict regulating prices appears to have been the reverse of anything one could have suspected.¹¹

We imagine that the shedding of much blood complained of by Lactantius may have been caused by the shuffles which a violent change in methods of competition would produce, causing scuffles and battles with the officers struggling to enforce the unwelcome law. This is one of the very few laws in antiquity to be found arbitrarily regulating prices of every day commodities. It is certain that the unions themselves who had always enjoyed the communal code with the privilege of choosing their market would be greatly disturbed by such a measure.¹² There is a good deal of doubt to this day as to the causes of the bloody results of this law. It is now established that the failure of the monarch's petted edict caused his assent to the murders.

One remarkable thing in connection with the great

¹⁰ Compare our remarks on this subject, *supra*, pp. 317-318, note 113. For other remarks, consult *Index* in catchwords, *Prices, Diocletian*, etc.

¹¹ Our authority is Lactantius, who lived at the time and could not be mistaken. He says, *De Morte Persecutorum*, 7: vide *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VII., p. 302, where a rendering is given which we prefer: "He (Diocletian) also when by various extortions he had made all things exceedingly dear, attempted by an ordinance to limit their prices. Then much blood was shed for the veriest trifles. Men were afraid to expose aught for sale, and the scarcity became more excessive and grievous than ever, until, in the end the ordinance, after having proved destructive to multitudes, was from mere necessity abrogated." The exact words of this authority run: "Tunc, ob exigua et vilia multus sanguis effusus, nec venale quidquam metu apparebat et caritas multo deterius exarsit, donec lex necessitate ipsa post multorum exitium solveretur."

¹² It was called *EDICTUM DIOCLETIANUM DE PRETIIS RERUM VENALIUM*. The edict ran as follows:

EDICT. DIOCL., I. Placet igitur ea pretia, quae subditi brevis scriptura (der in dem Gesetz enthaltene umfassende Tarif) designat, ita totius orbis nostri observantia contineri, ut omnes intelligant egrediendi eadem licentiam sibi esse præcisam. The parenthesis is Menger's remark; cf., *fin.*

EDICT. DIOCL., II. Placet, ut, si quis contra formam statuti huius co-nixus fuerit audientia, capitali periculo subigetur.

EDICT. DIOCL., III. Idem autem periculo etiam ille subdetur, qui comparandi cupiditate avaritiæ distrahentis contra statuta consenserit.

EDICT. DIOCL., IV. Ab eius modi noxa immunis nec ille præstauit, qui habens species victui atque usui necessarias post hoc sivi temperamentum existimaverit subtrahendas; cum poena vel gravior esse debeat inferentis paenuriam quam contra statuta quantientis.

Dr. Anton Menger, *Recht auf den vollen Arbeitsertrag*, pp. 88-9, has discussed the results of this law, and states on authority of Mommsen, *Verhandlungen der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1856, that it was first uttered in A.D. 301, just before the outbreak of the persecu-tion.

Diocletian massacre is that its history points only to the so-called "vilis plebecula" as the element against which Galerius and his co-adjutors directed their special attention. There is no disputing that this was the main pillar of the early plant. On scanning the whole source of testimony it is found that christianity as a whole was formed of men and women who were barred out of the spheres of society and respectability. But the original promoters gloried in and boasted of this fact. It was not individual trappings that was wanted. The first advocates were all carpenters, fishermen, clerks and men and women of a variety of trades and professions totally repudiated by the citizen class.¹³ The higher classes, including the nobility, who thought they saw in it a rising heresy against their conscript gods, were about the time of Diocletian's two fatal edicts, intensely inflamed. The ultimatum of extermination, was truculently championed by Galerius. Diocletian gave the order. He excused the severity on the pretext that the christians, taking advantage of their hiding places in the unions were working out a dangerous heresy against the state.¹⁴

The exact time at which the butchery at Nicomedia began, was day-break, February 22, A.D. 303, the day of the Roman festival of the Terminalia. It is reasonable to suppose this also to be the date of the tragedy elsewhere. Gibbon thinks the mother of Galerius incited the authorities to fix the slaughter on this day but he does not conceive that this was far from accidental. Numa, who had sanctioned the great law whose consequences Galerius feared and hated, had even put bounds to the fields which the wealthy coveted and had consecrated this wisdom by erecting a temple to

¹³ Jerome, *Comm. in Epist. ad Galat.*, cap. v.: "Ecclesia Christiana.... de vili plebecula congregata est;" Tertull., *Apol.*, III., "Omnen sexum, statem, conditionem, et jam dignitatem..... Servorum jam fidelem dominus olim nites ab oculis relegavit."

¹⁴ The Roman jurist Paulus, lib. V., tit. xxi., declared that whoever introduced new religions whose tendency and character were secret and which disturb the minds of men, "De quibus animi hominum moventur," should be banished if belonging to the higher rank, or punished with death if belonging to the low. This was because sacred caeremoniae Romanae were entangled and interrupted by christianity; ergo cause of the persecutions. It attacked and ruptured the state religion—an old offense like that of the brotherhoods of Rome. Celsus on same grounds accuses the christians of attacking the "religiones licitae" or state worship: "Ὅς ἀνεθήκας κριβδὴν παρὰ τὰ νομιμισμένα ποιουμένων." I. I., c. I. The Roman law expressly forbade it as a crime, according to Neander, *Hist. Church*, I., p. 7^{sq.}

the god Terminus, whose feast-day was February the twenty-second.¹⁵ Diocletian and the league probably ruled that as this was the beginning of liberty, so now it was to be the terminal day of liberty, the day on which Numa and Solon's great movement must die.

At early dawn the prætorian præfect marched in company with a large force of the likewise maddened army, the generals with their regulars, their captains and lieutenants, and all accompanied by the tribunes and officers of the revenue, marched up the steep, to the Nicomedian church. With large bludgeons and rams they smashed in the door and made a rush for the sanctuary. Finding nobody hero to kill, they seized all the copies to be found of the Christian Bible and hymn book and taking them to a place out side burned them to cinders. The beautiful building was then attacked and though strong to resist the frenzy, the work of demolition was persevered in until it lay a mass of ruins.

A regular edict against the christians was now set forth and their bodily torments systematically began on the twenty-fourth. This enactment read that all churches should be violently consumed by fire, and this was to be extended throughout the entire vast empire. "It was enacted that their churches, in all the provinces of the empire should be demolished to their foundations and the punishment of death was pronounced against all who should presume to hold any secret assemblies for the purpose of religious worship."¹⁶ We see by this statement confirmed by Lactantius, Eusebius, and many other good authors, most of whose books however, were burned under ban, that the persecution exterminated both the secret communities and their property. We have for this the direct statements of ancient and modern authors of great merit, that two large cities were exterminated and may hence infer that thousands fell.

The suppression of valuable works of friends and enemies of this great movement, such as Papias' Instructions, the celebrated Logos Alethes, or Word of veritable truth, written by Celsus, the book of Porphyry¹⁷ en-

¹⁵ Perhaps rightly, gleaned it from Lactantius *De Mort. Persecut.* c. 11, who says: "Dapulus sacrificabat porcum quotidianè, ac vivatibus suis epulis exhibebat. Christiani abstinebant, et illa cura gustibus epulante, jejuniis hi et orationibus insistebant. hinc concepti odium adversus eos."

¹⁶ Gibbon, *Decl. and Fall*, Chap. xvi., text above note 15.

¹⁷ Porphyry's *Ἐπιτὴν τῶν ἐκ Λογίων Φιλοσοφίας*, was written about A.D. 271.

tirely lost, that of the perfidious traitor Hierocles entitled *Logoi Philalethes*, those of Zosimus and of the Emperor Julian, has bereft us of much evidence regarding the plant of the christians into the ancient economic unions, and of many details of this great final massacre—a heavy loss, over which we can now do nothing but mourn. It is very probable that they wrote much on the massacre. They were mostly destroyed¹⁸ by fire. Dr. Ramsay is of the opinion that the cause of the arrest of inscriptions, noticeable from about A.D. 300, in Phrygia was this cruel massacre of Diocletian and his helpmeets Galerius and others.

Having jostled and stumbled across a dark chasm of fragmentary literature and arrived at the certainty that all proconsular Rome came under the condemnatory edict of Diocletian, and having seen that at least two large cities were actually blotted out, let us feel ourselves prepared with the more interest in the astounding words of Dr. Ramsay,¹⁹ who in his personal research for the relics of those people discovers all at once at an unexpected moment answering to the exact period of this massacre that their inscriptions are no more to be found and that a sad and sickening degeneracy of mankind in those regions prevails.

Dr. Ramsay, in basing the belief entirely upon his own discovery of the archæological monuments, unhesitatingly declares that the people were exterminated, all meeting a terrible death. But as he is investigating Phrygia only, he speaks only for Eumeneia. Cumont also speaks in the same strain for a much larger territory. Cumulative evidence now verifies the tragedy.

¹⁸A work by Dionysius, commented on by Tischendorf, and later by the author of *Supernatural Religion*, pp. 481-92, shows that there was much literature afloat at the time he wrote, which was afterwards lost. A fragment of Dionysius' *Epistle to the Romans*, is preserved by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, iv., 23, and reads: "Ἐπιστολᾶς γὰρ ἀδελφῶν ἀξιοσάντων με γράψαι, ἐγραψά. Καὶ ταύτας οἱ τοῦ διαβόλου ἀπόστολοι ζιζανίων γεγίρικαν, ἃ μὲν ἐξαιρούντες ἃ δὲ προστιθέντες. Οἷς τὸ οὐαὶ κείται. Οὐ θανατοῦν ἄρα εἰ καὶ τῶν κυριακῶν ῥαδιουργῆσαι τινες ἐπιβέβληνται γραφῶν, ὅποτε καὶ ταῖς οἱ τοιούταις ἐπιβεβούκασιν."

¹⁹We have taken the pains to enumerate the genuine *διασοί, εἰταῖραι* and *ἐράνοι*, all unions or trade guilds coming under this appellation of "communities," and find some fifty interspersed among his large collections. They range from the date of the crucifixion down to A.D. 300. For authority that this investigator is correct, see Böckh, *CIG.*, 3857, 3857^d, 3857^m, 3857^k, 3857ⁿ, 3857^o, 3857^q, 3857^r, 3857^s, 3857^t, 3857^u, 3857^v, 3857^w, 3857^x, 3857^y, 3857^z, 3857^{aa}, 3857^{ab}, 3857^{ac}, 3857^{ad}, 3857^{ae}, 3857^{af}, 3857^{ag}, 3857^{ah}, 3857^{ai}, 3857^{aj}, 3857^{ak}, 3857^{al}, 3857^{am}, 3857^{an}, 3857^{ao}, 3857^{ap}, 3857^{aq}, 3857^{ar}, 3857^{as}, 3857^{at}, 3857^{au}, 3857^{av}, 3857^{aw}, 3857^{ax}, 3857^{ay}, 3857^{az}, 3857^{ba}, 3857^{bb}, 3857^{bc}, 3857^{bd}, 3857^{be}, 3857^{bf}, 3857^{bg}, 3857^{bh}, 3857^{bi}, 3857^{bj}, 3857^{bk}, 3857^{bl}, 3857^{bm}, 3857^{bn}, 3857^{bo}, 3857^{bp}, 3857^{bq}, 3857^{br}, 3857^{bs}, 3857^{bt}, 3857^{bu}, 3857^{bv}, 3857^{bw}, 3857^{bx}, 3857^{by}, 3857^{bz}, 3857^{ca}, 3857^{cb}, 3857^{cc}, 3857^{cd}, 3857^{ce}, 3857^{cf}, 3857^{cg}, 3857^{ch}, 3857^{ci}, 3857^{cj}, 3857^{ck}, 3857^{cl}, 3857^{cm}, 3857^{cn}, 3857^{co}, 3857^{cp}, 3857^{cq}, 3857^{cr}, 3857^{cs}, 3857^{ct}, 3857^{cu}, 3857^{cv}, 3857^{cw}, 3857^{cx}, 3857^{cy}, 3857^{cz}, 3857^{da}, 3857^{db}, 3857^{dc}, 3857^{dd}, 3857^{de}, 3857^{df}, 3857^{dg}, 3857^{dh}, 3857^{di}, 3857^{dj}, 3857^{dk}, 3857^{dl}, 3857^{dm}, 3857^{dn}, 3857^{do}, 3857^{dp}, 3857^{dq}, 3857^{dr}, 3857^{ds}, 3857^{dt}, 3857^{du}, 3857^{dv}, 3857^{dw}, 3857^{dx}, 3857^{dy}, 3857^{dz}, 3857^{ea}, 3857^{eb}, 3857^{ec}, 3857^{ed}, 3857^{ee}, 3857^{ef}, 3857^{eg}, 3857^{eh}, 3857^{ei}, 3857^{ej}, 3857^{ek}, 3857^{el}, 3857^{em}, 3857^{en}, 3857^{eo}, 3857^{ep}, 3857^{eq}, 3857^{er}, 3857^{es}, 3857^{et}, 3857^{eu}, 3857^{ev}, 3857^{ew}, 3857^{ex}, 3857^{ey}, 3857^{ez}, 3857^{fa}, 3857^{fb}, 3857^{fc}, 3857^{fd}, 3857^{fe}, 3857^{ff}, 3857^{fg}, 3857^{fh}, 3857^{fi}, 3857^{fj}, 3857^{fk}, 3857^{fl}, 3857^{fm}, 3857^{fn}, 3857^{fo}, 3857^{fp}, 3857^{fq}, 3857^{fr}, 3857^{fs}, 3857^{ft}, 3857^{fu}, 3857^{fv}, 3857^{fw}, 3857^{fx}, 3857^{fy}, 3857^{fz}, 3857^{ga}, 3857^{gb}, 3857^{gc}, 3857^{gd}, 3857^{ge}, 3857^{gf}, 3857^{gg}, 3857^{gh}, 3857^{gi}, 3857^{gj}, 3857^{gk}, 3857^{gl}, 3857^{gm}, 3857^{gn}, 3857^{go}, 3857^{gp}, 3857^{gq}, 3857^{gr}, 3857^{gs}, 3857^{gt}, 3857^{gu}, 3857^{gv}, 3857^{gw}, 3857^{gx}, 3857^{gy}, 3857^{gz}, 3857^{ha}, 3857^{hb}, 3857^{hc}, 3857^{hd}, 3857^{he}, 3857^{hf}, 3857^{hg}, 3857^{hh}, 3857^{hi}, 3857^{hj}, 3857^{hk}, 3857^{hl}, 3857^{hm}, 3857^{hn}, 3857^{ho}, 3857^{hp}, 3857^{hq}, 3857^{hr}, 3857^{hs}, 3857^{ht}, 3857^{hu}, 3857^{hv}, 3857^{hw}, 3857^{hx}, 3857^{hy}, 3857^{hz}, 3857^{ia}, 3857^{ib}, 3857^{ic}, 3857^{id}, 3857^{ie}, 3857^{if}, 3857^{ig}, 3857^{ih}, 3857ⁱⁱ, 3857^{ij}, 3857^{ik}, 3857^{il}, 3857^{im}, 3857ⁱⁿ, 3857^{io}, 3857^{ip}, 3857^{iq}, 3857^{ir}, 3857^{is}, 3857^{it}, 3857^{iu}, 3857^{iv}, 3857^{iw}, 3857^{ix}, 3857^{iy}, 3857^{iz}, 3857^{ja}, 3857^{jb}, 3857^{jc}, 3857^{jd}, 3857^{je}, 3857^{jf}, 3857^{jj}, 3857^{kg}, 3857^{kh}, 3857^{ki}, 3857^{kj}, 3857^{kl}, 3857^{km}, 3857^{kn}, 3857^{ko}, 3857^{kp}, 3857^{kq}, 3857^{kr}, 3857^{ks}, 3857^{kt}, 3857^{ku}, 3857^{kv}, 3857^{kw}, 3857^{kx}, 3857^{ky}, 3857^{kz}, 3857^{la}, 3857^{lb}, 3857^{lc}, 3857^{ld}, 3857^{le}, 3857^{lf}, 3857^{lg}, 3857^{lh}, 3857^{li}, 3857^{lj}, 3857^{lk}, 3857^{ll}, 3857^{lm}, 3857^{ln}, 3857^{lo}, 3857^{lp}, 3857^{lq}, 3857^{lr}, 3857^{ls}, 3857^{lt}, 3857^{lu}, 3857^{lv}, 3857^{lw}, 3857^{lx}, 3857^{ly}, 3857^{lz}, 3857^{ma}, 3857^{mb}, 3857^{mc}, 3857^{md}, 3857^{me}, 3857^{mf}, 3857^{mg}, 3857^{mh}, 3857^{mi}, 3857^{mj}, 3857^{mk}, 3857^{ml}, 3857^{mm}, 3857^{mn}, 3857^{mo}, 3857^{mp}, 3857^{mq}, 3857^{mr}, 3857^{ms}, 3857^{mt}, 3857^{mu}, 3857^{mv}, 3857^{mw}, 3857^{mx}, 3857^{my}, 3857^{mz}, 3857^{na}, 3857^{nb}, 3857^{nc}, 3857nd, 3857^{ne}, 3857^{nf}, 3857^{ng}, 3857^{nh}, 3857ⁿⁱ, 3857^{nj}, 3857^{nk}, 3857^{nl}, 3857^{nm}, 3857ⁿⁿ, 3857^{no}, 3857^{np}, 3857^{nq}, 3857^{nr}, 3857^{ns}, 3857^{nt}, 3857^{nu}, 3857^{nv}, 3857^{nw}, 3857^{nx}, 3857^{ny}, 3857^{nz}, 3857^{oa}, 3857^{ob}, 3857^{oc}, 3857^{od}, 3857^{oe}, 3857^{of}, 3857^{og}, 3857^{oh}, 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3857^{rv}, 3857^{rw}, 3857^{rx}, 3857^{ry}, 3857^{rz}, 3857^{sa}, 3857^{sb}, 3857^{sc}, 3857^{sd}, 3857^{se}, 3857^{sf}, 3857^{sg}, 3857^{sh}, 3857^{si}, 3857^{sj}, 3857^{sk}, 3857^{sl}, 3857sm, 3857^{sn}, 3857^{so}, 3857^{sp}, 3857^{sq}, 3857^{sr}, 3857^{ss}, 3857st, 3857^{su}, 3857^{sv}, 3857^{sw}, 3857^{sx}, 3857^{sy}, 3857^{sz}, 3857^{ta}, 3857^{tb}, 3857^{tc}, 3857^{td}, 3857^{te}, 3857^{tf}, 3857^{tg}, 3857th, 3857^{ti}, 3857^{tj}, 3857^{tk}, 3857^{tl}, 3857tm, 3857^{tn}, 3857^{to}, 3857^{tp}, 3857^{tq}, 3857^{tr}, 3857^{ts}, 3857^{tt}, 3857^{tu}, 3857^{tv}, 3857^{tw}, 3857^{tx}, 3857^{ty}, 3857^{tz}, 3857^{ua}, 3857^{ub}, 3857^{uc}, 3857^{ud}, 3857^{ue}, 3857^{uf}, 3857^{ug}, 3857^{uh}, 3857^{ui}, 3857^{uj}, 3857^{uk}, 3857^{ul}, 3857^{um}, 3857^{un}, 3857^{uo}, 3857^{up}, 3857^{uq}, 3857^{ur}, 3857^{us}, 3857^{ut}, 3857^{uu}, 3857^{uv}, 3857^{uw}, 3857^{ux}, 3857^{uy}, 3857^{uz}, 3857^{va}, 3857^{vb}, 3857^{vc}, 3857^{vd}, 3857^{ve}, 3857^{vf}, 3857^{vg}, 3857^{vh}, 3857^{vi}, 3857^{vj}, 3857^{vk}, 3857^{vl}, 3857^{vm}, 3857^{vn}, 3857^{vo}, 3857^{vp}, 3857^{vq}, 3857^{vr}, 3857^{vs}, 3857^{vt}, 3857^{vu}, 3857^{vv}, 3857^{vw}, 3857^{vx}, 3857^{vy}, 3857^{vz}, 3857^{wa}, 3857^{wb}, 3857^{wc}, 3857^{wd}, 3857^{we}, 3857^{wf}, 3857^{wg}, 3857^{wh}, 3857^{wi}, 3857^{wj}, 3857^{wk}, 3857^{wl}, 3857^{wm}, 3857^{wn}, 3857^{wo}, 3857^{wp}, 3857^{wq}, 3857^{wr}, 3857^{ws}, 3857^{wt}, 3857^{wu}, 3857^{wv}, 3857^{ww}, 3857^{wx}, 3857^{wy}, 3857^{wz}, 3857^{xa}, 3857^{xb}, 3857^{xc}, 3857^{xd}, 3857^{xe}, 3857^{xf}, 3857^{xg}, 3857^{xh}, 3857^{xi}, 3857^{xj}, 3857^{xk}, 3857^{xl}, 3857^{xm}, 3857^{xn}, 3857^{xo}, 3857^{xp}, 3857^{xq}, 3857^{xr}, 3857^{xs}, 3857^{xt}, 3857^{xu}, 3857^{xv}, 3857^{xw}, 3857^{xy}, 3857^{xz}, 3857^{ya}, 3857^{yb}, 3857^{yc}, 3857^{yd}, 3857^{ye}, 3857^{yf}, 3857^{yg}, 3857^{yh}, 3857^{yi}, 3857^{yj}, 3857^{yk}, 3857^{yl}, 3857^{ym}, 3857^{yn}, 3857^{yo}, 3857^{yp}, 3857^{yq}, 3857^{yr}, 3857^{ys}, 3857^{yt}, 3857^{yu}, 3857^{yv}, 3857^{yw}, 3857^{yx}, 3857^{yy}, 3857^{yz}, 3857^{za}, 3857^{zb}, 3857^{zc}, 3857^{zd}, 3857^{ze}, 3857^{zf}, 3857^{zg}, 3857^{zh}, 3857^{zi}, 3857^{zj}, 3857^{zk}, 3857^{zl}, 3857^{zm}, 3857^{zn}, 3857^{zo}, 3857^{zp}, 3857^{zq}, 3857^{zr}, 3857^{zs}, 3857^{zt}, 3857^{zu}, 3857^{zv}, 3857^{zw}, 3857^{zx}, 3857^{zy}, 3857^{zz}.

But let us follow Ramsay farther. On another page in the same book he continues:

“Lactantius mentions that this was done by a governor and no governor could have ventured on such an act, unless he had a full commission to exterminate the christians.²⁰ A general massacre, evidently, was deliberately planned by the central government and carried out by suitable agents. While this case has been selected as an extreme example of barbarity on the one side, and of steadfastness on the other, it may be taken as indicative of the policy carried out everywhere. We may confidently say that historical and archæological evidence is agreed as to the fate of Eumeneia, the active and courageous element of the population was annihilated by fire, and sword in the years following, A.D. 303 and the development of the city was suddenly terminated.”

Again: “To this end was directed all the power of a highly organized government, moved by a single will, commanding almost unlimited resources, for the space of ten years.”

As to the results of a catastrophe of such enormous dimensions, he says:

“Even a mere casual glance over the list of christian inscriptions in the Appendix must suggest the question. Where are the post Constantian inscriptions? The contrast between the rich intellectual and political life of the third century and the inarticulate monotony of the many centuries that succeeded, is painful; one recognizes in the numbers of our catalogue the signs of a great misfortune to the human race, the destruction of a vigorous and varied life.”

As M. Cumont has pointed out, the reason for the change must lie in the great massacre of Diocletian and his co-adjutors and successors, A.D. 303-313.”

The above are words of calmness and wisdom. This great disaster to the human race was allowed to pass in

²⁰ The governor for Bithynia, Hierocles, we have just described. There can be no doubt that he had unlimited power. A similar governor had a hundred years before not only had unlimited power to kill them but Trajan expected him to do it. This was the kind-hearted Pliny, who succeeded in moving that emperor to some measure of kindness. We have fully recounted this history in our 17th chapter. A C's letters show that the object of this imperial rage was the christianized victims of later. But Ramsay gives additional hints to the effect that the governor with unlimited powers for Galatia was Theoctenus, *ibid.*, p. 567.

oblivion where it remained for many centuries. As by it the opposition against it by a conspiracy of bargainers at that moment busy incubating their scheme to make themselves owners of the numerous social properties. Whoever peruses the elaborate description of them which we have given in foregoing chapters of this work may understand that though small, taken apart, they were enormous in the aggregate. A covetous few had long seen that they could fall into possession of millions if by fair means or by foul, they could get them. Inasmuch as the whole christian institution, including innumerable properties of the unions holding it under its powerful care suddenly disappear and all at once we see vast estates of prelates taking their place²¹ within twenty-five years from the massacre, we may naturally suppose that these ambitious persons conspired with Diocletian and the league, of which Constantius, Maximian and Galerius were members, to compass the almost total extermination of both the name and the membership of the Solonic organization. Once dead, their property was easily confiscated and they could go and take possession.²² Virtually, Solonism was dead from the day the axe of Diocletian fell. What followed is but a ghastly spectacle of degeneracy.

Before giving an account of the degeneracy caused by this calamity we may dwell a moment upon the geographical extent which it reached eastward and in the islands of the archipelago. As was stated, Bartholomew was sent to Edessa. Little is heard from this place ex-

²¹ Long before this, the same craving was rife, and the incipient prelates were on tiptoe to possess themselves of these little fortunes which the hard-working communists had by centuries of consistency collected. Origen, whom they hated and persecuted, understood this, *De Principiis*, II., c. 9, § 5: "..... to grant them a higher and more honorable position; to favor others with the grant of principalities; bestow powers upon some, dominion upon others; confer on some the honorable seats in tribunal; enable some to shine with more resplendent glory, and glitter with starry brightness; give some the glory of the sun, others of the moon, others of the stars."

²² The book written by Papias of Colossæ, called *Christi Sermonum Expositio*, is known to have been popular in Asia, especially Phrygia, Pontus, and Cappadocia and so, of course, Byzantium, at the moment this persecution broke loose. As it gave a glowing description of the enormous economic and other advantages of the socialistic over the prevailing competitions, it was hated by that class of people we are describing and all the copies to be found were soon after burned. It has been thought that this work was used by the league to inflame Diocletian, and bring his reluctant mind to consent to the massacre. Methodius, one of the true and unflinching, who had been influenced by this book of Papias, was martyred along with the rest. Fragments still exist of his *Essays on the Martyrs*, some of which are preserved by Eusebius.

cept what comes to us in apocryphal form. We are informed that under protection of Abgar, the movement thrived. Especial attention was paid to music. It is now believed that the "gnosticism" advocated there by Bardesanes, was little other than the peculiar ideas of the Dionysian artists, including their charming music.²³ Bardesanes was himself a musician and a composer of great merit and for his devotion to these noble traits which distinguished the good and the accomplished, he was set upon by the Roman persecutions and thus died a violent death. Bartholomew had long before met the same fate. Although most of the literature written during the lifetime of Diocletian and Galerius has perished, considerable remains from the pen of later writers attesting the extent to which the sudden acquisition of these properties inflated the prelates and others into whose hands they fell.²⁴ Lactantius, whose sad fate it was to live during the awful conflicts of Diocletian's persecution, mourns for a return of the reign of Saturn.²⁵ Thus from an earlier time than that of Galerius, even as early as Cyprian and Origen, we detect this grasping tendency which finally ruined the beautiful scheme of Jesus.²⁶ Dr. Ramsay attempts to explain the terrible degeneracy and ignorance which fell over the world from the days of Diocletian to A.D. 412, attributing it to this massacre. But as he is investigating the special territory of Phrygia and the particular city of Eumeneia, we may imagine the extent of his convictions as to the wider sweep of this calamitous

²³ Foucart, *De Coll. Scenicorum*, 52, shows that they worked to make the musical displays as magnificent as possible: "Tanti momenti videbatur ludos sacros quam splendidissime peragi, quum ad augendam certaminum laudem, tum maxime ad conciliandam civitati per magnificentiam apparatus eorum benevolentiam."

²⁴ Gibbon, *Decl. and Fall*, chap. xxv, note 37, after a dissertation of his own on this subject, refers to Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat.*, xxxiii., 525 and says: Gregory Nazianzen describes the "pride and luxury of the prelates who reigned in the imperial cities; their gilt car, fiery steeds, numerous train, etc. The crowd gave way as to a wild beast." Here in note 42, *id.*, Gibbon quotes Jerome (tome I., p. 13) who is ashamed: "Pudet dicere, sacerdotes idolorum muni et aurigæ, et scorta, hæreditates. There came a law against it, and Jerome regrets that there should be cause for such a law: "Nec de lege queror; sed doleo cur meruimus hanc legem." Amelianus, xvii., 3, 9, exclaims: "When I view the splendor of the capital, I am not astonished that so valuable a prize should inflame the desires of the ambitious." Though they never had popes in Tertullian's time, yet he says, *De Sejunctis*, c. 13, 711: "Aguntur præterea per Græcias, illa certis in locis Concilia ex universis ecclesiis, per sua et aliora quæque in Commune tractantur, et ipsa representatio totio nominis christiani magna veneratione celebratur."

²⁵ Lactantius, *Divine Institutions*, V., c. vi.

cause of degeneracy. He states that: "There seems to be no adequate explanation to the obvious facts except in some great calamity which destroyed the active, progressive section of the population and gave play to forces that were making for stagnation and ignorance."²⁶ These well-chosen words "making for stagnation," clearly explain our own statement that the degeneracy and ignorance had been gnawing against the pure and thrifty unions that took them in, fed and sheltered them on the solid foundation of their great law, protecting the right of combination.

But these tendencies to corruption and degeneracy were by no means unheeded by powerful men of that time. Porphyry, one of the brightest pagan writers, is supposed to have written his greatest suppressed work against them and even John Chrysostom thought so.²⁷ The thoughtful Ramsay bemoans the downfall of learning, which he declares was very progressive from A. D. 47 to 303. He says, citing Elias of Hadrianapolis, that bishops were so ignorant as not to be able to write their names.²⁸ What wonder, then that the vast and thriving scheme of the original founders fell into the ruthless hands of a Constantine to become a pillar of Monarchy!

²⁶ We quote Gibbon's rendering of Cyprian, "De Lapsis," p. 89; "Epist.," 65; who appends in a note that "the charge is confirmed by the nineteenth and twentieth canons of the council of Illiberis. Cyprian wrote that "there were too many among the African brethren who, in the execution of their charge violated every precept, not only of the evangelic perfection, but even of moral virtue. By some of these unfaithful stewards, the riches of the church were lavished in sensual pleasures, by others they were perverted to the purposes of private gains, of fraudulent purchases and of rapacious usury." Ramsay, "Cit. Bish. Phryg.," II., p. 506.

²⁷ Chrysost., VI., 488; "Porphyrius Deo inimicus, adversus christianos scripsit;" Gran. de Cassagn., "Hist. Classes Nobles," p. 283: "Les diverses et immenses propriétés du clergé païen portaient dans les lois romaines, le nom de loca temporum" and cites Libanius, "Orat. Pro Temp.," § 3: Πολλὰ καὶ μὲν ὑπάρχουσιν, πολλὰ δὲ ἐν πεδίοις ἐφάνησαν." The work of Porphyry, "Adversus Christianos," destroyed by the emperor Theodosius, was not adverse to the pure original movement but dealt terrible blows against these corruptions of kings and prelates and it was the insidious money power that compassed its public burning. This misery was fastened upon humanity by a law of Honorius, "Cod. Theod.," X., tit. xxx., c. vi, making mere priests the lords of the land: "Eaque de jure temporum.....sub perpetua conductione, salvo dumtaxit canone." Thus having robbed the true old unions of their thousands of temples as we have elaborately described, they obtained imperial authority to own them as feudal lords.

²⁸ Ramsay, "Ib.," p. 509; "From being the champion of education it became more and more markedly the opponent of education, and looked on culture and literature and art, with glowing disfavor; its bishops were worse educated, till in 448, we find a Phrygian bishop unable to sign his name. Elias of Hadrianople, "Hist. Geog.," p. 92, but able to frame canons to bind the whole christian world at the Council of Constantinople." Elias quotes him as having confessed: "Eo quod nesciam literas."

Not only Edessa suffered, but also the island of Rhodes, which as we have already seen in our chapter on the pre-Christian martyrs, was, according to the celebrated Isocrates, enormously organized and planted with Solonic unions and schools, by Æschines after his defeat by the orator Demosthenes. What became of the innumerable unions of Rhodes? When, and by what catastrophe were they destroyed? This is one of the unanswerable problems causing modern archæologists to stumble; since it is here that the greatest number of valuable monuments of antiquity are found. Thousands of epitaphs and other inscriptions found there reveal the most valuable information we have of the Solonic unions. From about Diocletian's time no new chiselings are to be found. It looks as though the whole population of that prosperous and busy island had been suddenly swept from the earth.

The massacre struck the old Asiatic city of Altentash, where remains in quantities of these Christian unions are now attracting special attention. Quite a showing in the addenda numbers, to three thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven of the Body of Greek Inscriptions, is printed from this heap of Christianized industrial unions.²⁹ So valuable was the discovery, that archæological schools have given no little labor and search towards unearthing the monuments which the victims left, to be lost for ages in these ruins. Altentash, in southwest Phrygia, near the sea, was another city which many evidences demonstrate to have been stricken from the earth by the massacre.

Let us now pay attention to another hideous entailment of this Diocletian Disaster. It is that of the creation and growth of alms houses, eleemosynary retreats, proffering charities, and all such beggarly institutions which never existed before.

The archæologists have searched in vain for these establishments among the inscriptions of earlier times. They were the very natural outcome of several great catastrophes which stopped the Solonic dispensation from its course; for under its more ennobling and humane career, such charity was forbidden and unknown.

²⁹ See *supra*, p. 616, where the subject is discussed. The wonderful inser. CIG., 3867t is from Altentash. With the aid of Perrot and Ramsay we have there shown all points known.

We have our first glimpse at one, in the case of Pliny who, after he had forced many to execution, broken up the self-supporting unions and been the compulsory witness of the dreadful sufferings of widows and orphans of his own murderous hand, endowed with his private money a primitive hospital in which these wretched sufferers might wrestle with poverty through his charitable act. This had happened almost exactly²⁰ a hundred years before. Being a natural result of such a calamity, the instance of Pliny prepares our understanding for the consequences of the far greater destruction of Diocletian.

The vast amount of misery and pauperism which fell over the world was added to by the canons of Nice in 325, and was completed by the final stroke of the canon of Laodicia in 363. It is almost certain that the endowment of Pliny became the basis of the first charitable asylum. There were under the law thousands of asylums or temples of refuge, but they were not charities as we understand the word. Charity in ancient Greek, before becoming contaminated by the poverty and want under which laboring humanity after the massacres cringed, was a word of quite another meaning. Charity until the persecutions had an ennobling power. It meant kind will toward one another. It is now, in its degenerate transformation, an indignity, and its recipient is degraded to beggary. There were no such beggars in the ancient civilization; and we have produced abundant proof that the Solonic unions did not tolerate it. Neither were the christians of the first century allowed to ask for charity. The whole vast eleemosynary system as we see it, was brought into the world by the violent suppression of the poor people's right of combination. It may accurately be stated to have had its origin in the massacres.

It was soon endorsed as one of the natural entailments of human property. Furthermore, it could be used by those in power to enormously bolster the assumption of divine rights in property and to restore the ancient pagan law of entailment upon primogeniture

²⁰ See *supra*, ch. xvii., fin. We should remain without knowledge of this but for the fortunate inser. of Pontus, which of itself gives the history of the sad affair. Unlike Hierocles, Pliny was possessed of a kind nature and though the sullen edict of Trajan was unbending, he could thus retrieve an injured conscience.

and heredity in kings. The consequent of this breaking up of the unions of labor was the feudal system.

From the date of Diocletian we find hospitals, poor-houses, orphanages and alms-proffering asylums. A very few are represented in the inscriptions.³¹ They are now known to have yielded to these degrading conditions with reluctance.³² Dr. Waltzing, who strenuously denies that charity in the earlier unions was practiced, admits that in later centuries they so far lost their independence that this species of degeneracy became common.³³

We search in vain among the great authors and likewise among their own monuments for any traces of the purely eleemosynary institutions. Mommsen speaks of Tertullian's thirty-ninth apology containing the celebrated statement of his unions' functions, but is obliged to admit that this great father is describing a union or college like the rest, and is constrained to recognize the orphanage as an institution of later christian days.³⁴

Only a little more than twenty years from the time the Diocletian atrocity was committed, the celebrated Nicene council was called and was presided over by the emperor Constantine. What sort of a man was

³¹ The first ὀρφανοφυλαξ we have found dates a little later than the year 300. We are indebted for several at the mouth of the Don, to Dr. Oehler "MS. to the author," citing Latyschew, "Inscr. Pont. Eux.," II., nrs. 438, 539, 442, 443, 543, bis 449, 451, 455, 460; III., Jahrb. nach Chr.; Latyschew, "Griech. Inscr.," 1892-8, p. 64, no. 1; p. 65, no. 2, mit ὀρφανοφυλαξ. Some of these latter are very near the labors of Pliny, and those, dating 220, are thought to have originated in Pliny's persecution, and his remorse fund.

³² Levas., "Hist. Class. Ouv.," I., p. 134, is authority for our assumption that the colleges were firmly based on the non-charity economical and self-supporting clause, quoting St. Jerome as follows: "Fratres ejusdem artis in unum domum, sub uno praeposito (foreman) congregantur: verbi gratia ut qui textum lina, sint pariter, qui mattas, in unam reputantur familiam; sarcinatorcs, carpentarii, fullones, gallicarii (shoemakers), seorsum a suis praepositis gubernantur; et per singulas hebdomadas ratiocinia operum suorum ad patrem monasterii referunt." Praef. St. Hier., ad reg. St. Paconium "Codex," reg. tom. I., p. 25.

³³ "Hist. Corp. Prof.," I., p. 321: "Pour soulager toutes les misères, la religion chrétienne créa des institutions spéciales qui recurent, dès Constantin, la personification civile sous le nom de *brophotrophia*, *xenochia*, or. *phanotrophia*, *ptochotrophia*." In the "Cod. Just.," I., ii., 23, a Juliano is the law: "Inter divinum publicumque jus et privata commoda, competens discretio sit, sancimus sive venerabilibus xenonibus, vel ptochetrophis, vel monasteriis masculinorum vel virginum, vel orphanotrophis, vel bephotrophis, vel gerontocomis, necnon juri civitatum vel denatorum," etc. Again, "idem.," I., iii., p. 35 and 46, the laws regulating charitable institutions are given in detail.

³⁴ Quae enim a senatu maxime videbatur collegia ad eos usus instituta quibus postea christianis temporibus inserviebant orphanotrophia, ptochetrophia, aliaque similia nulla inveniuntur. "De Coll. et Sodal. Rom.," p. 90.

this? We are indebted to Zosimus for some hints regarding him, for although the work of this pagan is lost, a fragment has been preserved by one of the fathers conveying to us the facts.³⁵ Constantine stands as the pivot over which for ages the two great parallel schemes of religion balanced and still balances. Nearly all the noble, original thought, sentiment, humanity, economical democracy and socialism were wiped out, under him and his immediate predecessor. The great plan of salvation of the true ancient lowly endorsed, completed and promulgated by the carpenter of Nazareth and accepted, furthered, sheltered and protected for centuries by the countless labor unions of Solon was through these two powerful monarchs stricken as if with palsy, never to rise again, unless the second coming is this which we to-day behold rolling up in the dusty whirlwinds of our modern labor movement with its ultimatum once more fixed as of old, in economic freedom.

Go back is the cry of the millions still in distress. Go back has been the moan of the great and good all along through the centuries, when they beheld the people stifling in the qualms of the same old monster of competition, guarded and abetted by his police watching his divine right of property, and laying all things under havoc which are opposed to individualism, kingcraft, standing armies and the power of gold.

We are now about to close this volume and we do it repeating the eloquent plea of the ante-Nicene fathers, to go back. There is evidently coming a great and mighty struggle based on this demand. It is the demand of the labor movement for the twentieth century. Go back to that pure, sweet, loving, self-supporting socialism outlined by the great law of Solon.³⁶

³⁵ Socrates, "Hist. Eccles.," III. c. xi., taking the story from Zosimus, "Hist. Romaika." Good encyclopedias declare that this author "cannot be accused of a deliberate misrepresentation of facts." We here get the information that Constantine was ambitious, unscrupulous and cruel, and that it was through his cunning plots, even to the extent of murdering his own family, that he step by step rose to the full control of the empire. Zosimus remarks that Constantine's crimes were so great that when he applied to the pagan priesthood for forgiveness and absolution, those clericals refused to grant forgiveness. This forced him to make his supplication to the christian priests who forgave him, took him in with all of his load of sins and henceforward christianity was adopted. We may perhaps state that this was the real basis of the Constantinian deal which at once legalized and paganized christianity.

³⁶ It was demanded by good old Cyprian, "Epist.," 73: "...ut si aliquo mutaverit et vacillaverit veritas, ad originem dominicam et evangelicam traditionem revertamur." A canon of the Council of Nice, read: "Τὰ ἀρχαία ἔδη κρατεῖν." See supra, in the title page of this volume. This shows that

We have given in this volume, the second of the Ancient Lowly, a voluminous and faithfully prepared history of the great Solonic dispensation, which for about a thousand years gave working people of all races occupations and phases the right of combination into unions of trades and professions for their own aggrandizement. We have traced this wonderful and long revered and honored statute through the vicissitudes of persecution, intrigues of enemies, exterminatory wars for its overthrow and finally the awful massacre which opened a way for its complete suppression, a tragedy which was not complete until the enactment of the canon at the council of Laodicea in A.D. 363.³⁷ It then fell away and the spirit of trade unionism gradually and strugglingly developed into a sickly feudalism which hovered over and ruled the dark ages of another thousand years.

It is true that the immediate system of that vast organization cannot be rehabilitated—only the principle involved. For the close association there will come an enormous public ownership. For the employment by the trade unions, of the personal membership themselves, there will come government employ. For the little collegiate schools there will be the great socialistic common school system, already under way and in a splendid condition. Everything will be on a vaster scale commensurate with the improvements of to-day's enlightenment.

In all this the principle of the old Solonic plan remains unscathed and the overgrown institution now known as the church, with its immense common property and its countless numbers, when reconverted to its original functions and duties may easily and with consistency go back to Jesus and again lend a hand in the forth-coming resuscitation of a strangled race.

however, subdued by the presence of so fearful and mighty an autocrat as Constantine the Great, who presided and watched over the proceedings, yet honest and conscientious men were there in great force who were determined to see the true precepts of the original champions of the great movement for enfranchisement of humanity, finally carried out. And this is the still small voice that never dies.

³⁷ We may be excused for repeating this canon, given *supra*, page 213: "The words of this decree extinguishing them are. "Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἱερατικοῦς ἢ κληρικοῦς ἐκ ἐπιτελεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ λαϊκοῦς. This powerful religious rescript might have been issued by the emperor of Rome; for few as are its words it annihilated their common table upon which their all was based; and to break up this ancient boon of support was equivalent to their extermination. But the same jealous council also killed out their long-time hymns and anthems on the pretense that their composers were not ordained by divine providence.

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