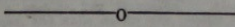


HONESTY

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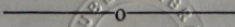
AN OUTSPOKEN ADVOCATE OF

SOCIAL REFORM ON THE BASIS OF JUSTICE, EQUITY, AND LIBERTY.



VOLUME 1.

April 1887, to November 1888.



MELBOURNE:

CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING COMPANY, CO-OPERATIVE HOME, ALBERT PARK.

OUR FIRST VOLUME.

The first volume of HONESTY is now before our readers. Nineteen months ago, when the first number appeared, we laid down the programme which we proposed to carry out, and our readers may now see how far we have adhered to our promises.

Our task has been no light one : floating a newspaper for the advocacy of the most advanced social philosophy of modern times, in the midst of a community deeply immersed in the most abject superstition ; having no public company or moneyed sect behind us, but relying upon the voluntary donations of a few ill-paid wage earners, and purchasing a complete printing plant with our limited means, yet paying our way without becoming involved in debt ;—this we have done, and more—more than perhaps we shall ever make known. When promised coöperators have turned out traitors, we have hastened to fill their places ; when from dishonesty, dissipation and neglect, our paid assistants have deceived us, we have set to and taught ourselves the art of composition, and produced the entire paper ourselves, the last six numbers being entirely the product of amateurs, working without fee or reward, other than the consciousness of the beneficial results of their efforts upon the social well-being of themselves and their fellow-creatures. The capitalist press have boycotted us, charlatans have slandered and maligned us, and many professing sympathizers and promised supporters have deceived us and made our burden the heavier ; but we have never lost heart, support has come from quarters whence we least expected it, and our work goes on.

We have boldly championed the cause of labor and stood fast by the firm principle of individual liberty ; and although this is to-day the only labor paper in the colony, and, with one honorable exception, the only advocate of liberty in the Australian colonies, our efforts have not been fruitless. Everywhere are signs of an awakening ; people are learning to rely upon themselves instead of upon others ; they are realizing that they are slaves, and that they must be free if they would prosper ; and they are beginning to perceive that society can be held together without having theft for its basic principle. In short, they are recognizing the fact, that society is steadily departing from the principles of authority and exploitation, and that the tendency of the age is towards anarchy and equity.

If we have not satisfied the aspirations of all our friends and patrons in the past, at all events we have done all in our power. If they help us still more assiduously in the future, we can produce greater results, and the gain will be theirs as much as ours. HONESTY is the organ of labor and liberty, possessed by the workers, produced by the workers, and published in the interests of the workers ; it rests with them whether it shall take the lead by their rendering it their support, or whether they shall continue to support the capitalistic press which holds them in subjection. In either case, we promise our foes that we shall be heard from in the future as in the past, and shall carry on the propaganda in which we have been so far successful.

We started as a few individuals, and now count ourselves by hundreds : soon we may be many thousands, and with right and courage on our side, victory will be ours.

In conclusion, let me personally thank the many friends, young and old, who have so generously come forward with literary contributions, monetary donations, and gratuitous labor in many forms, and to whom is due the success of the first Anarchist organ published in Australia.

THE EDITOR.

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Honesty

AN OUTSPOKEN ADVOCATE OF SOCIAL REFORM ON THE BASIS OF
JUSTICE, EQUITY, & LIBERTY.

"There is no terror, Cassius, in your threats; for I am arm'd so strong in Honesty, that they pass by me as the idle wind, which I respect not."—SHAKESPEARE.

No. 1.

MELBOURNE: APRIL, 1887.

Price, 3s.

OUR COLORS.

HONESTY! Into a society torn asunder with social tyranny, into a nation bleeding from the wounds of internal plunder and dishonesty, into the midst of a people carrying out the principles of social suicide in which they have been nurtured from their infancy, **HONESTY** is launched by a few steadfast friends, who, having fully realised the weighty import of its principles, are actively occupied in ushering in their existence.

To those not already acquainted with the principles of its promoters, the following brief words of explanation are addressed:—

HONESTY, true to its name, will speak fearlessly upon all the burning questions of the day, tracing the evils of society down to their very roots, and explaining their nature in the simplest and most intelligible language possible. Neither the fastidiousness of fashion, nor the laws of legislators, shall intimidate it; nor yet shall the promises of power and plunder bribe it. **Honesty** knows no compromise with Truth, for the two are inseparable. Its mission is to tell the truth, and defend the honest; and it intends to fulfil its mission.

HONESTY will zealously guard the liberty of the individual, and will oppose the infringement of one's liberty by that of another. It will rest satisfied with nothing short of individual sovereignty—the equal liberty of each, limited alone by the like liberty of others, or in other words, unlimited liberty.

HONESTY will champion the cause of equity. It will oppose every form of privilege and imposed authority, every form of monopoly, every form of slavery. It will make no compromise with the slaveholder, but demand equality of opportunity for every individual to obtain free access to natural resources, and to labor upon them for his own welfare and support.

HONESTY will unmask and oppose every scheme, which has for its object the robbery of one class by another, or of individuals by others. "Thou shalt not steal" will be its

watchword; and it will fearlessly oppose both Church and State in their systematic ignoring of this lofty maxim while pretending to endorse it. It will carefully explain to the unfortunate workers in the social hive, the prevailing methods of exploitation of the laborer by means of rent, interest, profit, and taxation; and it will ruthlessly tear aside the veil of sophistry in which craft has enveloped privileged indolence.

HONESTY will espouse the cause of the laborer, whether manual or mental, whether local or foreign, whether religionist or scientist, whether popular or unpopular. It will contend for the right of labor to the full product of labor; and it will show the laborers how to co-operate in order to retain that product.

HONESTY will oppose all crime. It will expose petty crimes and trace them to their causes. It will expose crimes of magnitude also, though they be protected by the customary mysterious sanctification of law. It will expose the criminality of legal warfare, and the scheming villainy which actuates it. It will expose that gigantic sham, which has mockingly usurped the name of Justice. It will expose the criminality of all legislation, and prove beyond dispute that the State is essentially the foe to social progress and prosperity, the arch instigator to crime, and the vilest of criminals. And it will show how this evil institution can be peacefully and successfully eliminated from our midst, and how society can pursue a course of orderly prosperity without any utopian reconstruction, and without dragging this debasing institution in its trail any longer.

HONESTY, in short, champions candour against cant, liberty against tyranny, equity against privilege, honesty against robbery, labor against indolence, and justice against crime.

HONESTY has hoisted its colors that all may see them. It is ready to welcome the co-operation of all who value integrity and have the courage to champion it; and it is equally ready to stand its ground against any little bands of social savages or political pirates, who may bear down upon it. Our colors are flying: Pull them down who dare!

CONSTRUCTIVE ANARCHY.

In writing the following paper I wish to make it clear that Anarchy is not only the friend of the working man and all lovers of liberty, but also that we can start at once to accomplish our purpose.

I will not trouble my readers with quotations, but will refer them at once to Herbert Spencer, Auberson Herbert, Proudhon, Michael Bakounine, and also a very interesting series by Fowler, published as a bi-monthly in the State of Kansas, U.S.A., called *The Sun*. I shall endeavor to be as logical as possible, for I wish to convince by sound argument, and not by quibble, and if my arguments are defective I hope criticism will put me right.

Why do we have Anarchism? There is a reason for everything, surely there must be for this. Well then, this is the answer. Our race has a past history, and that history tells us that man has always rebelled against forced authority, or forced rule or government—rebelled on account of feeling their liberty limited by government. Those rebelling have not recognised that it was government that oppressed them; but have supposed that it was the one particular government against whom they rebelled that was doing all the mischief; and the result of this delusion has been that the rebels have hastened to form another government, when the same or new tyrannies would crop up, the result being another civil war with all its horrors. But these wholesale rebellions are not the only ones. The individual rebellions are far more numerous, for they are constant; and those individual rebels are the very best men of our race, they are in the vanguard of progress; they guide their actions by what they are convinced is right; they do not ask, Will government allow us to do this or that? but they do it. Government has said that it was treason to preach against slavery, but *men* have preached against it and been punished. Government has said that it was treason and heresy to preach against the Church of Rome, but many a martyr's fire marks the spot where a hero died that preferred death and liberty of speech and action to life and bowing to government.

All through history you find this individualistic rebellion against government, and government using every power at its command to crush out progression; in fact, government is the foe to progress, it is essentially conservative and cannot be otherwise, for it attempts to crystallize the customs of this generation, by writing them into law, to be the customs of the next; but the next always rebels. If the crystallizing process has been tolerably complete, the rebellion is terrific, and we have war; if the process has been imperfect, the rebellion assumes a mild form in the shape of an electoral campaign.

After taking the past teachings of history into consideration, we have been forced to ask ourselves the question, Can a government be so constructed that it will avoid the crime of tyranny? and have had the answer forced upon us; No, no! A thousand times No, for reasons that I hope to make clear before I am through.

Now let me give what I consider is a definition of government from the standpoint of an Anarchist.

Government is either an individual, as a king or czar; or a combination of individuals; or either a fixed class, *i.e.*, the nobility; or a shifting mass, *i.e.*, the majority,—forcing the rest of their countrymen to conform to such laws as they like to make for them. Government is a forced organisation of disjointed interests, therefore, there is always a tendency to disorganise. It is not a voluntary organisation, so I am in doubt if the word organisation is a correct name to apply.

Anarchists advocate organisation; but only of a voluntary character and where interests are identical.

I am not appealing to those that are satisfied with their lot (for a man that is satisfied has no reason for a change, and I don't blame him for not wanting one), but to those that feel that they are oppressed; to those that know that the fruits of their labor is taken from them, and understand that the chance of changing their condition, from that of a working man is only a gambler's chance, and are well satisfied that their hope and that of their children is in a complete revolution of society (not necessarily a violent one.)

I belong to the working class, and I think that class is the very foundation of society, and I feel confident that the working man must work out the freedom of society, for I cannot see it coming from another source. I am sure that a large portion of the working class know that they do not retain more than one-third of the product of their labor, and are looking for the fundamental reasons for this state of things, which I believe they will be able to find to be the evils of

government, or, as government is essentially evil, in government itself.

Let us glance at a few of the existing evils of government. I am sure, at this stage, that each of my readers will acknowledge some one or more of the following as evils, though he might pronounce the others to be quite the reverse; but after following me to the end of the subject I hope to make it clear that they all come under the same head.

I will first deal with the land laws. From these laws arise my evils. One man is enabled to hold large tracts of land (much larger than he can cultivate and look after personally), and also enabled to let that land to a tenant, and to extort from the tenant the warmth of life in his body. The land laws makes the large land owners dictators, and the working classes slaves; in fact, every one in the community is a slave to a more or less degree to the great land owners; their power being limited by the amount of capital that a non-landholder possesses. For instance, a tenant farmer having small means can only cultivate a small piece of ground with his own hands, almost unaided by machinery, and the landlord takes all he produces, excepting enough to keep the tenant in working condition, and sometimes not even enough for that. Now it strikes me very forcibly that the tenant is a slave, if not worse, for the bonded slave is given enough to keep him in good working condition. If a tenant has enough capital to rent ten times the amount of land that the first had, and to supply machinery and labor, he might be able to save a profit over his rent and living, and, inasmuch, he would not be a slave to so great a degree; but slave, nevertheless, for the landlord takes a large amount of his time and profit before he starts to work for himself. The same remarks apply to town tenants, as between large and small shopmen, &c. Take any shop in Bourke-street, or near the centre of the City of Melbourne, and you will find that a large portion of the profits go to pay rent, and unless the business is very large the tenant will often only get wages after paying his rent. He will work four days a week for his landlord and two days for himself. I have not room to mention all the misery arising from the land laws, and then again, they have been well ventilated by many writers.

Banking laws are the next greatest evil (if not as great) that the working man has to deal with, and the ignorance that prevails in this direction is something astonishing; therefore, I hope my readers will have patience with me, if I deal rather more fully with this subject than with the last. In the first place, banks are allowed by government to issue a paper circulating medium, being a promise to pay in gold, and sometimes silver. Now let us see what power the banks have for evil with this circulating medium. Of course, we all understand that things are cheap if money is scarce. Now we will suppose that the banks hold mortgages on large amounts of property. You can see that it would be to their interest to make that property cheap, so that they might get it into their possession, and after once possessing it to make it dear again so they might sell at a profit, *viz.*, a piece of land is worth £1,000, mortgages, £700. If the land can be reduced in value to £680, the chances are that the owner will be compelled to let the bank have the land for the mortgage, and still be in debt to the bank for £20, and the pious banker will say, What a wicked world this is, I am robbed of £20 by this unprincipled man. But how can the bankers shrink the value of property? All they have to do is to withdraw their paper circulating medium sufficiently and the thing is done, for money is scarce; when they wish to sell the land, restore the circulating medium and you go to the land, and they have made their little £300 on a transaction of £700. So you see it is a very wicked world. But this is not all—a bank can issue paper largely in excess of what gold they hold in their coffers, so the chances are that this £700 that they have lent is only paper representing nothing, being a promise to pay what they have not got, and the banks are really in debt to the person hiring for seven hundred pounds, in the shape of promises to pay, and they charge him interest for it. Just think of it: living on the interest of what they owe! But what about the interest? who pays for it? who the producer, to be sure, not the man that hires it, for it has to go on to the cost of production, and the working man has to pay for it in what he consumes, or, if competition is so keen that the interest cannot be added to the cost of production, the chances are that the man hiring the money will fail, and then the consumer has to pay for it in the shape of the $\frac{2\frac{1}{2}}$ per cent. that is added by all business men for losses, and these losses are attributable, principally, to interest that business men pay for their capital, for a large portion of them have but a very little of their own.

How often does that 2½ per cent. come in? We will take a pair of boots for example; on the raw hide, on the dressed leather, on the manufactured boot, and also when finally sold to the retailer, in all about 10 per cent., and the consumer has to pay for it. But this is not all. There is 2½ per cent. that has to be allowed for or deducted on all of the above items, so there is a further 10 per cent. that the banks get; so you see it was not for the banks and the credit system, instead of paying 12s. 6d. for a pair of boots you would have to pay 10s. only. You see there is another disturbing element, and that is the credit system which governments have made laws to duly regulate and perpetuate. If it was not for this credit system, the most of the complaints lodged against banks would not exist.

Now let us take a turn to the protection laws. The working class advocate protection in Victoria, not because they object to buying cheaply, but because they want work all the year. But is it because they want work? Suppose that they could get much more than they have now, for six months' work instead of twelve, which would they take, the larger amount with six months' work, or the smaller amount with twelve months' work? It is not because they want the extra work, or because they object to pay a cheap price for an article, but it is because the landlords, bankers and profit-makers rob them of their purchasing power and reap the advantage of free trade, instead of the working man. Because these moneyed classes occupy the position of slave holder, and do not need so many slaves under free trade, and as the slave cannot help himself under this system as he has no home of his own or no capital to keep himself while producing articles to meet the market, all he has to do is to starve or have protection laws. But protection laws are only a temporary remedy, for in a few years internal competition will make labor in your own country quite as cheap as in the countries from which you wish to protect yourself. Instead of passing these protection laws, why not go to the bottom of the evil, why not kick overboard all the laws that make these protection laws necessary, or in other words, destroy government, for when you have destroyed all statute laws you have destroyed government.

D. W. BROOKHOUSE.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

LAND OWNERSHIP IN RELATION TO POVERTY.

MR. DALEY, the well known clerk of courts in the Melbourne suburbs, lately inherited property, returned to Ireland and has taken possession of his estate. He wrote a few months back to his friends that he was harvesting, and employing 20 men at one shilling per day, besides a number of women at tenpence. With this he contrasts the state of wages in Victoria.

The *Star* in "Lochiel's Warning" exclaims:

"See in the sunset of life gives us mystical lore—
And coming events cast their shadows before."

On arriving in this colony in 1853 I found no poverty and very little criminality, the latter being confined chiefly to the old convict class—an export from Great Britain, a great criminal producing and exporting country. In those early days we used to say what a happy and glorious country this would be when the old convicts had died out. Our anticipations were not realised since that time. I have seen poverty develop in the land as criminality increase, and we have now what is termed a dangerous class and an increasing one. I ask myself the reason for this state of things, and I find our Colonial legislators have adopted the institutions of the old country, and among those institutions, private ownership of land, which under its present form of landlordism, constitutes one of the most important factors in bringing about both poverty and criminality. Whatever so-called credit one man gets in exchange another man loses; the world is made no richer by this. Yet land is constantly changing hands at an advance, which is charged to the tiller of the soil in the shape of rent, and which robs him of a portion of the result of his labor.

Colonel Ingersoll says no man should be allowed to hold land he does not use,—that in America the country is filled with the idle and unemployed, and the great question asking,

What shall we do with these men?

There is but one answer; they must cultivate the soil. Farmers ought to own their own lands and cultivate what they own. Renters can hardly be called farmers. There must be an incentive to plant trees and beautify the ground, to preserve and improve. It elevates a man to own his home. It gives a certain independence and force of character. Home

makes patriots. Few men have been patriotic enough to shoulder a musket in defence of a boarding house.

You can divide mankind into two classes, the laborers or workers, and the idlers or non-workers,—the supporters and the supported. A lazy man is a drag on the wheel of social progress. He consumes the product of other men's labor and produces nothing himself. His life is a theft. The honest and the dishonest. Every man is dishonest if he lives on the unpaid labor of others, no matter if he occupies a throne. All laborers should be brothers. Once united they could send the idlers to—well—Siberia.

Mr. Henry George very ably deals with the Land Question in some pamphlets he has published on that subject. I shall, in this paper, give you a brief outline of his views, and also the remedy he proposes. I think he proves the evil effects of landlordism and also its bearing in producing poverty; but I will not bind myself to his remedy, as I think I see practical difficulties in the way. It has been proposed to nationalise the lands, that is, for the government to hold the lands and receive the rents for the benefit of the whole community; but the advocates of that view are placed in this dilemma: they have to find an honest government, and experience shows that governments are such thieves. I do not mean petty thieves; oh, no! they are in the bulk trade; they rob wholesale; do the thing politically by Act of Parliament. They represent the tyranny of the majority, which, of course, always represents the intelligence of the community, and they rob the masses for the benefit of the privileged classes. The curs laugh at the individual who resents such treatment, for they are backed up by the military and police. But the individual can remedy that at the next election. Oh, yes! He has then the option of choosing which thief shall rob him by Act of Parliament. The candidate may be honest when he gets in, but being placed in authority is corrupting, and there is soon very little of the honest man left, for he falls in with the swim. I think the Land Question is still a problem for the wisdom of the future to solve, though the scheme—private ownership under right conditions; the tiller of the soil to have the full value of what he produces—which Mr. Brookhouse so logically placed before the Secular Association in a recent lecture—deserves the weighty consideration of the public, as experience only can demonstrate whether it is possible to carry it into practical operation. I am surprised at the indifference displayed in Melbourne to the question of Land Tenure. About 12 months ago a meeting was held on the subject at the Temperance Hall, Russell-street, which was very sparsely attended, showing the public apathy. From young Victorians just arriving at manhood it is worthy of more consideration than the football question, or the question, Who shall be the winner of the Melbourne Cup? for they will find when they arrive at old age it will mean this to them, whether they have been working all their life for their own benefit, or for the benefit of some one else. In this paper I shall use the term worker and non-worker, and I wish to define what I mean by these terms. By worker, I mean one who does anything really useful in the human hive, be he tinker, carpenter, architect, surgeon or engineer. By non-worker, a parasite who lives on the labor of his fellow-man, a landlord purely as such, a usurer, an official or sinecurist, receiving a high salary for useless government work.

Unearned increment is a term I shall also use, and it may be suggested that this may be compensated for by what may be termed unearned depreciation, but as far as I can see, the depreciation comes after the race has passed away; there may be waves of depression from over production, causing want of work and crowding a number of families into one house, or the temporary migration of population, owing to railway construction; but I think history on a whole shows a continuous increase in value, in proportion, as the population becomes more numerous and improvements are effected. John Stuart Mill says: Suppose there is a kind of income which constantly tends to increase, without any exertion on the part of the owners, constituting a class in the community whom the natural course of things progressively enriches, consistently with complete passiveness on their part. In such a case it would be no violation of the principles on which private property is granted, if the State should appropriate this increase of wealth, or part of it as it arises.

This would not properly be taking anything from anybody; it would be merely applying an accession of wealth created by circumstances to the benefit of society instead of allowing it to become an unearned appanage to the riches of a particular class.

JUSTE AU MILIEU.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

NEW SOUTH WALES NOTES.

THERE is no colony of the Australian group which demonstrates more forcibly, than does New South Wales, how easily a government can blight the prospects of the people under its sway. How we have a magnificent climate, rich soil for agriculture, useful metals in abundance, and one of the finest shipping ports in the world; while side-by-side with these blessings of nature we find our domains and streets teeming with men who are unable to find employment. An advertisement for a tradesman in the newspaper is responded to by sheets of applicants, and although, doubtless, many of the unemployed who march in procession with a banner bearing the words "Bread or Work," find it a paying game, there are still hundreds of honest, able, and willing men and women whose constant appeals for employment are never answered, and who are terribly handicapped in the battle of life. The existence of those too who find an employment in being "unemployed," shows there is something radically wrong in our system. They are surface sores on one sunny land which indicates the existence of some ravaging disease. The prime cause is to be found in our rotten government which places a tax on competence to encourage the lazier, the thriftless, the idle. Government has damned our fair country, almost irretrievably. New South Wales, rich in natural resources, which only waited the hand of honest industry to unfold, was hit upon as a convenient place for England to deposit the criminals she herself had manufactured. Afterwards when the energy and enterprise of the Anglo-Saxon had been attracted to the young country, the convict gave way to the immigrant. Thousands of men and women from the old country who had proven themselves unfitted for life's struggle were brought over at the expense of those they were to compete with by the Government, who laid not the slightest objection to overcrowding the labor market in the interests of the capitalist clique. It also has the effect of working off the spirit of discontent that was making itself unpleasantly conspicuous among the downtrodden working classes of the old country. A number of years of State-assisted immigration meant a glut in the labor market and the consequent dearth of employment, and the Government were and now are besieged by continual demands for "Bread or Work." The soup kitchen is an important institution in Sydney, and is probably responsible mainly for the existence of that class of unemployed whose delight it is to parade the streets with seltion on their banner, clay-pipes in their mouths, and soup-tickets in their pocket. It is an every-day occurrence for inebriated individuals to be found reposing in the gutter with an order on the Government for a free meal. Yet this is our boasted democracy!

The *Sydney Morning Herald*, commonly known as "Granny," sometimes displays a *little* common sense—by way of a change, no doubt. On March 15th, it devoted a leading article to an indictment of the Parliamentary system of N.S.W., and this paragraph is worth preserving:—"Why is needful legislation blocked for years in succession? Nobody will admit that he has been to blame. Everybody will declare that the responsibility lies with some one else. But seeing how long the country has been waiting for some of the measures it is waiting for still, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the machinery of Parliament, taken as a whole, has been ineffective. It has not done the work it ought to have done, and in view of that incontrovertible fact there is one broad inference to draw, namely, that so far it has been a failure. As we have already said, there is no demand for high speed in legislation, and it would be folly to expect new laws to be issued like the numbers of a magazine, or a newspaper. But there must be something lamentably wrong with the machinery of Parliament when it fails through a succession of years to turn out measures of reform that are urgently required in the public interest." When the wealthiest paper in Australia speaks in these terms, Anarchism does not appear so utopian, does it?

WHAT straightforward, honest, independent man is there who would not seek a radical change in our system of public works after reading the sickening toadyism contained in the following address from the Sydney City Council:—"To Her Most Gracious Majesty Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and its dependencies, and Empress of India. The humble address of the Mayor and aldermen of the city of Sydney, in New South Wales. Your Majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, the Mayor and aldermen of Sydney, for this the oldest city of your Majesty's colonies in Australasia, desire, on the occasion of the completion of

the fiftieth year of your Majesty's glorious reign, to offer to your Majesty their heartfelt congratulations, with the expression of their earnest prayer: That it may please Almighty God to prolong your Majesty's life yet many years in health and happiness, to reign, as now and in the past, over a loyal, contented and united people—a people glad to render homage to the virtues and queenly qualities which have made your Majesty's name so illustrious among the rulers of the nations. On behalf of the Mayor, aldermen, and citizens—A. J. RILEY, Mayor." Think of it! We are a "loyal, contented, and united people" and we "are glad to render homage to the virtues and queenly qualities" of an old woman whose virtue is that of the idiot, for it takes a clever man or woman to play the rogue, and her "Majesty" is neither. With such lies floating round us one sighs for a single sheet of "Honesty."

THE Presbyterian Assembly have again declared in favor of the Divorce Extension Bill, by 27 votes to 15. . . . Large Free-Trade Banquet on the 14th March, was addressed by some of our most eloquent speakers. . . . Our new Parliament is showing symptoms of being as rowdy as the previous one. What else can you expect from a lot of tricky-office-seekers? . . . In the Legislative Assembly on March 16th, there was a lot of time consumed by "honorable" members in exposing one another's wholesale waste of public money over parliamentary picnics. When thieves fall out honest men find where their money went.

W. C. ANDRADE.

LIBERTY AMONG THE UN-CIVILIZED.

WHILE the so-called "civilized" races of the world have uniformly adopted the deluding authoritarian institutions of savage life, it is interesting to note that a few of these "savage" races have themselves departed from the general rule, by adopting a system of liberty, from which, crude and primitive as it is, even we may learn a useful lesson. For if liberty be beneficial to the uncivilized, how much more beneficial must it be to the civilized?

Here are two instances out of several which might be given:—

THE ROCK VEDDAHS.—The Rock Veddahs are divided into small clans or families associated by relationship, who agree in partitioning the forests among themselves for hunting grounds; the limits of each family's possession being marked by streams, hills, rocks, or some well-known trees, and these conventional allotments are always honorably recognized and mutually preserved from violation. Each party has a head-man, the most energetic senior of the tribe, but who exercises no sort of authority beyond distributing at a particular season the honey captured by the various members of the clan. . . . They have no marriage rites, although they acknowledge the marital obligation and the duty of supporting their own families. . . . They have no knowledge of a god nor of a future state.—*Tennant's "Ceylon."*

THE TANNERS.—We found no such thing as a king or great chief at Tanna. The authority of a Tanna chief does not seem to extend a gunshot from his own dwelling. . . . In a settlement of villages you find eight or ten families. . . . Six or eight or more of these villages unite and form what may be called a district or county, and all league together for mutual protection. If a person belonging to one of these villages is injured or killed by the people of another district, all the villages of his district unite in seeking redress, either by a fine, or by war and spoliation. . . . We thought the women better treated at Tanna, than they often are among heathen tribes. Adultery and some other crimes are kept in check by the fear of club law. The culprit is never safe, and does not know the moment he may be pounced upon by the offended party. Revenge, too, is often sought in the death of the brother or some other near relative of the culprit. The Tannese are fond of their children. No infanticide there. They allow them every indulgence, girls as well as boys.—*Rev. H. G. Turner's "Nineteen Years in Polynesia," 1861.*

"GREAT part of that order which reigns among mankind is not the effect of government. It has its origin in the principles of society and the natural constitution of man. It existed prior to government, and would exist if the formality of government was abolished."—*Thomas Paine.*

"OVER himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign."—*J. S. Mill.*

"HONESTY,"

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MELBOURNE: APRIL, 1887.

"Whenever we depart from the great principles of truth and honesty, of equal freedom and justice to all men, whether in our relations with other states, or in our dealings with our fellowmen, the evil that we do surely comes back to us, and the suffering and poverty and crime of which we are the direct or indirect causes, help to imperish ourselves."—ALFRED RUSSELL WALLACE.

ON THE LOOK-OUT.

THERE is a healthy spirit of discontent growing up amongst the workers of the whole civilised world—not simply the discontent which grows without seeking a remedy—but a truly healthy discontent which, not satisfied with useless complainings, seeks to trace the causes of social evils and takes action to remove them. The trades unions, which are overspreading these colonies, although they are organised on a basis which precludes the possibility of their ameliorating the laborers' condition, serve to show that the laborers are content to work out their own salvation, and have only to learn the methods which lead to success, in order to put them into immediate practice. The frequent strikes arising out of them, in spite of their inutility, also serve to show that the laborers do not fear to sacrifice some of the questionable comforts they now enjoy, that they may reap more permanent good in the future. And there is nothing which will better serve to teach them the fallacy of such spurious methods, and to increase their growing discontent, than the rapid accession to the ranks of the unemployed laborers in Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, and the other great centres of industrial activity. Hitherto the "out-of-workers" have endured their sufferings in comparative quiet; but it is not to be expected that they will continue to do so as the further development of our political system increases the severity of their sufferings. Before many years we may see re-enacted in our own mining districts the butchery which took place at Decaturville last year, when the authorities shot down the unoffending miners in cold blood for daring to strike against starvation wages. We may have the peaceful meetings of the unemployed stained with blood by the base intrigue of the authorities as they stained that memorable meeting held in Chicago last May. We may have labor meetings and propaganda suppressed, until the exasperated proletarians rise in rebellion, as they did in Belgium only a few months ago. And we may have a repetition in Australia of a bogus "Anarchist" scare like that which the police recently concocted in Austria; or even a war scare, like that which the robber-rulers of Europe are now doing their best to keep alive, so that the workers shall have their attention diverted from their rulers, whose sole business is to rob them, and in their blindness and foolish rage, fly at each others' throats—murdering each other for no reason whatever, while the politicians and monopolists run off with the spoils.

A NUMBER of able working people in all branches of industry are wandering about the streets of the principle Australian cities, seeking for employment. They are not out of work because the resources of nature have been exhausted—far from it; nor are they out of work because they have worked sufficiently to satisfy their requirements. But they are out of work because they have given up the fruits of their labor to the non-producing monopolists, and the latter, having sufficient for their requirements, are leaving the producers to starve until their services are again required.

At an anti-Chinese meeting held in Brisbane last month, it was resolved to undertake the total stoppage of Chinese immigration, and an annual tax upon all who have settled there already. While the white workers are quarrelling with their yellow-skinned fellow-workers, the monopolists whom they both support are grinding in their sleeves at their stupidity. Oppressing the Chinese will never alleviate the hard lot of the European laborer, but will react upon the oppressor, let

them learn how to co-operate, so as to be their own employers, and retaining the full product of their labors; and let them learn the nature of usury in its many forms;—then we will not hear much more of the ignorant outcry against the Chinese.

The editor of the *Corona Free Press* has been fined £250 for stating, rightly or wrongly, what he believed to be the truth concerning some electioneering. What then are the chances of a paper whose avowed principle is honesty?

The Protectionist party in New South Wales are jubilation over the fact that they polled nearly half the aggregate number of votes at the late elections. If the Free Traders desire to dispel this delusive theory of Protection, they must cease their inconsistent advocacy of monopolies. Protection has been weighed in the balance and found wanting; Free Trade yet awaits a fair trial.

WHAT is the object of taxation? The Victorian Parliament voted £80,000 for the purpose of assisting mining enterprise during the present year, but before any part of it had been allotted more than half the amount had been already squandered in finding employment for the useless government diamond drills! There is an old saying that "fools and their money are soon parted," and unfortunately, in these cases, we part never to meet each other again.

In an article intended to foreshadow his political policy, should he be someday elected to Parliament, Mr. Joseph Symes says: "I would heavily tax all firms that would not permit their employes to invest their earnings and have a share in the control of the firm." If that is not tyranny, we should like to know what is.

FREE-TRADER, protectionist, or rider-on-a-rail,—which? "I would have free trade between the colonies. Respecting protection, as regards foreign goods, I am doubtful. My views have altered; but I am not convinced that protection is good. And I would not say so to be made premier until I was intellectually satisfied. Until then I should obey the behests of my constituents, as a representative ought, until he can take an independent stand of his own."—JOSEPH SYMES.

In December last, Mr. W. W. Collins informed a Melbourne audience that he was an "intellectual Anarchist," and a believer in the philosophy of Michael Bakounine (and necessarily a believer in non-legislation, free trade, non-taxation, non-interference in the hours of another's employment, and justice for Chinese); and in February he asked the electors of Belfern to send him to Parliament, as he was in favor of "protection to native industries, a land tax, a property tax, an absence tax, legalization of the eight hours' system, and a restriction of Chinese competition by a poll-tax." Will he kindly impart the wisdom he has so suddenly acquired to the poor benighted creatures who write and read these pages, lest we be led to think him an unprincipled adventurer?

THOSE who admire the laws which make woman a slave to her husband, would do well to ponder over the case of MacDonald v. MacDonald, which was heard in the Melbourne Divorce Court a few weeks ago. The poor woman endured fifteen years of marital happiness (?) which she has at last had the good fortune to see terminated. During all that time the conduct of the husband was monstrous. He knocked his wife insensible by repeated blows with an umbrella, knocked her down with a sluttier, on another occasion, horsewhipped her, broke one of her fingers with a blow from a riding-whip, threw bottles and other missiles at her, prevented her from sleeping at night by pinching her and pulling her hair, locked her up for weeks together, and thoroughly succeeded in making her life a misery. She succeeded in obtaining a legal separation a few years ago, and, going into business for herself, managed to accumulate sufficient money to buy a divorce. It is hard enough to see a woman chained to a brutal husband by the barbarous laws which we are cowardly enough to allow the politicians to impose upon us; but it is still harder to see the sufferer put to an enormous expense of buying the dissolution of a union, which no one has any right to impose on another, and which should rest entirely with the contracting parties to make or break as they desire. The marriage system is one which produces misery and facilitates robbery, and the sooner folks find it out the better it will be for all—except, of course, the robbers.

THE electors of Northumberland (N.S.W.) evidently need a little instruction in economics, if we may judge by the utterances of their representative, Mr. T. Walker, who told an audience the other day that "The depression in Europe and America exists simply because the world is possessed of too much wealth." Such an utterance is worthy of Ludd himself.

PROGRESS.

"To stand still is to step back, and every step backward has within itself the beginning of death. The future belongs to progress alone."—ERNEST HARRIS.

POLITICAL liberty is slowly, though surely, making headway. In announcing the new serial, *Murray's Magazine*, the editors state their intention of allowing the fullest freedom of discussion of political subjects, in order to sift out the many errors which are so common to the orthodox political economy. If the promoters keep their promise, the new journal will exert an educational influence which will wonderfully affect the political creeds of its conservative contemporaries.

TURKISH words have of recent years become very familiar, and yet not of less and less, but of more and more, formidable sound to the good and quiet citizens of America and of Western Europe. These words are: Nilitism, Communism, Socialism." So writes Francis A. Walker, the well-known political economist, in *Scrivener's New Magazine*. Yes; and they will spread like wildfire" as they become better understood; and the discussion of their respective merits and demerits will replace the useless discussions of the political patching-up schemes which now take up the attention of so many.

BEZA R. TRICKIN, of Boston, has just started the issue, in serial form, of the complete works of Proudhon, translated into English. This is indeed a boon to English readers. With the exception of "What is Property," and a few minor articles scattered here and there, the works of the great philosopher have hitherto been a sealed book to those who are unfamiliar with the French language. The works are the results of a life's study, and that life moreover an unusually active one. Dissecting thoroughly our entire social system, and laying bare the principles which underlie it, with a clearness and decisiveness unequalled by any of the ordinary political economists, Proudhon has bestowed upon posterity a series of literary treasures, extremely valuable to all of us, and to none more than the unfortunate proletariat class, who constitute the majority of every civilized community, and for whose emancipation the great proletarian philosopher toiled so unceasingly. The works are to be published in monthly parts, at an annual subscription rate of three dollars, commencing with the present year. The success of the enterprise is, of course, dependent upon the number of subscriptions received; and it is to be hoped that they will be in no wise lacking. Pending further particulars, orders will be filled for the present year (for those who do not desire the trouble and expense of purchasing direct) at the nominal price of 15s. per annum, *nett*, payable in advance; orders to be addressed to Mr. D. A. Andrae, at this office.

The following gem is from the accepted poem on "Liberty," which was written for the dedication of the statue of Liberty recently unveiled in New York:—
Before the law was written down with parchment or with pen,
Before the law made citizens, the moral law made men,
Law stands for human rights, but when it fails those rights to give,
Then let law die, my brothers, but let human beings live.

The rapid spread of Anarchism in America is evidently alarming the devotees of "law and order" in Chicago, for an organization called the Patriots' League has just been formed in that city with the avowed object of suppressing Anarchism. These people have yet to learn that there is nothing which makes Anarchism thrive better than suppression.

In the course of a lecture on the question, "Should Australia be a Republic?" which he delivered in Melbourne on March 12th, Mr. Thomas Walker attempted to show that it was necessary to have Protection in Australia to keep the money from leaving it, and he asked his hearers: "If all the countries of the world, except Australia, became suddenly submerged, what would happen?" A member of the audience, who appeared to take in the situation better than the lecturer himself did, interjected: "We should pay no more interest!"

SOME enthusiastic individuals are endeavoring to start a new temperance newspaper in Melbourne. It is to be hoped that the new venture will take a new departure and be a temperance paper, and not an advocate of that intemperate and crazy scheme, Prohibition. There are too many daunting figures awaiting newspapers already.

FRISCK KRISTOFKINE contributes to the February number of the *Nineteenth Century* an article upon "The Scientific Bases of Anarchy." Stepanik, the Russian nihilist so well known as the author of "Underground Russia," has an article

in the *Fortnightly Review* of the same date, upon "The Mir and the Police."

ANOTHER gleam of hope. The editor of the *Liberator*, who about twelve months ago denied that the laborer was entitled to the full product of his labor, now inserts in a complimentary part of the paper these words: "As long as the workers do not own the fruits of their toil and skill, they are nothing better than slaves." We congratulate him upon the course he is taking.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

VICTORIAN AND INTERCOLONIAL.

MINDING one's own business is considered a crime in Victoria. An hotel-keeper in Melbourne opened his establishment a few Sundays ago, and proceeded to send his liquor, utterly ignoring the oppressive law which calls it a crime. Two plain-dress police thereupon visited the daring dealer of what usurpers label "the law," and a scold's pestilence ensued. For thus inflicting his rights, the magistrate compelled him to pay a fine of £10, with 6s. 8c. costs, or pass a month in goal.

The Melbourne public have just been surprised by a decision of the District Court regarding a jacking squabble. It appears that an individual named Lord Dechirstone owed £221 to another individual named Robert Sutton, which he was unable to pay at the time. Sutton sent his valet and his butler several times to ask Dechirstone for the money; but was told to either accept certain terms or "peddle" him; and still being dissatisfied he was again told to "post and be damned." Sutton duly received the money, but he couldn't stand idleness, so he visited Dechirstone at an hotel in the city, and asked for a private explanation and an apology. "As captain in her majesty's police force," said Dechirstone (why, by-the-way, is he not belonging to the government of Victoria?) "I place you under arrest." In response to this dignified specimen of official insolence, the book-maker drew his hand gently across the other's face. This was, of course, an unbearable insult to the individual who had been "arrested in a little brief authority"; and the result was that the case was brought before the court—or rather, the two cases were, for each preferred a charge of assault against the other. The result was that the case against the aristocrat was, of course, dismissed; and the rash book-maker was sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment without the option of a fine. In a dispute between privilege and justice, it is the duty of the court (which is itself a privileged institution) to support privilege; and the bench of justices (J) showed by their action that they understood their duty. Still, one can't help thinking what a costly luxury authority is, and how stupid we are to invest in it.

THERE were 162 business failures in New South Wales, during February, the liabilities amounting to £313,538. What then are the liabilities of those who have not yet failed? This is a question of great interest.

TOADYISM is contagious. Mr. J. M. Smith, of the Benevolent Asylum Committee, has submitted a resolution asking the permission of the House of Commons to the alteration of the name of that institution to the "Royal Benevolent Asylum." What a name! Imagine royalty and benevolence going together,—or, in other words a pauper supporting paupers! Mr. Zevetoom might well call it "gull and drivel."

FOLKS are dazzled with the cumbersome State postal system. What have they to say on behalf of its economy after reading the show of J. Heaulker Heston in a morning contemporary, where he shows that we are charged twenty-four times the cost of transmission on each letter posted to the other continent, estimating the freight at 50 times that of ordinary merchandise, and allowing three times the amount of freight for collection and delivery; that the postal rates of these letters are about 1200 times that of the ordinary freight of merchandise; that subsidies are superfluous; and that, like all other State taxes, they are a heavy burden on industry. It is time the postal bubble burst.

IT appears that the £250,000 which the Australian rulers have promised to subscribe, out of the pockets of the taxpayers, towards the proposed Imperial Institute is not sufficient, and at the request of the prime minister of Wales, the local municipal bodies are taking steps to increase the amount.

THE Melbourne Cigar-makers are objecting to the payment of the annual license fee of £50 (together with two surties of £250 that the licensees will not "defraud" the revenue) demanded of those carrying on that business. They hold, and rightly too, that the effect of the license is to create a monopoly of the trade in the hands of a few. Unfortunately, they have not realized the full force of the lesson, for, instead of asking to have the fee abolished, they simply asked to have it reduced. The legislators who made this most request on behalf of the Cigar-makers, were informed by Mr. Walker that "the license fee was not imposed as a tax for the privilege of carrying on the manufacture of cigars, but simply as a contribution towards the cost of supervision necessary for the protection of the revenue"—a tax, in other words, to pay the expenses of further taxation. He also stated that the fees rarely paid the cost of collecting them! How is that for political economy?

THE New Zealand government intend to introduce woman suffrage and an immediate measure for land nationalization. Voluntaryism and free land are the last things we need expect from them, although they would do as much good as the government's policy will do evil.

THE Right Hon. Devon-station Committee have decided to invite the governor to be present at the forthcoming demonstration—actually inviting the patronage of the individual who represents the

CORRESPONDENCE.

MEETINGS, LECTURES, &c.

Wishes desiring to show the fullest impartiality to correspondents, the Editor reserves the right to reject all letters which he deems unsuitable. Rejected manuscripts will be returned if stamped and addressed envelope is enclosed; no responsibility will be taken, however, in the event of their being misdirected.

All communications should be addressed to THE EDITOR OF "HONESTY," 9 ALEXANDRA TERRACE, EXHIBITION-STREET, MELBOURNE.

HONESTY will be supplied gratis to Mechanics' Institutes and Free Libraries, if the secretaries of these institutions notify the Editor to that effect.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"The Exhibition Fraud"—Voluntary Communism," "Germinal or Master and Man" (a Review) and several other articles, unavoidably held over owing to the unexpected demand upon our space. Will appear soon as possible.

A SUGGESTION.

(TO THE EDITOR.)

SIR.—In the excitement caused by anticipation of the approaching jubilee (although many suggestions have less made) people seem to have overlooked the fact that several sections of the community have never yet been thoroughly represented in Great Britain. I allude to the classes known as sundowners, wheelers, larrikins and larrikinnesses, bush publicans and shanty keepers. This time, many of the so-called Australian representatives now in England have figured in the two latter capacities, and owe their present prosperity to the stupidity of lock-blockers and their own adroit manipulations of kerosene, cotton oil, vitriol, pain-killer and Worcestershire sauce, a drink, by-the-way, calculated to enable a man to see more snakes in a week than St. Patrick could have banished in twelve months; but I am inclined to suspect the British public are kept in the dark as to their former occupations, by reason of the fact that some of the jubilees, now, where the traits of the above mentioned classes could be shown in life. The sundowner's camp would be a sight well worth seeing by a Britisher; the bush lot in clearing ground and the milky-shanty on per-day; then again, the Yarra banker's retreat would take well, while the larrikins of both sexes would be looked upon as living curiosities, and it may be that Bowstreet-jungles, could be persuaded to exhibit themselves as examples of Australian virtue. Even as a private spec, I believe a show of this kind would pay, and would do much to show Great Britainers that those grand old institutions, landlubber, exploitation, taxation, rum, greed and gospel, are producing an amount of John Bullism out here, that is to say, the least of it, astonishing. Permit me, in conclusion, to express the hope that buttons, tin-taps, &c., instead of being dropped into the Salvation army boxes, will be reserved for the Imperial plate.

ROBERT BEATTIE.

Mr. SHELBY, in his recent debate with Mr. DONOVAN, compared society to the human body which consisted of a number of small cells knit together in one grand whole; and he added that "Government is the cell which keeps society together." Had he said that Government is the "cell" which divides society asunder, he would have been nearer the mark. He also asked the question, How could there possibly be a postal system if the state were abolished? It is a pity that State Socialists are not better acquainted with some of the most important achievements of private enterprise, than they appear to be; for they would not ask such ridiculous questions. As regards a private postal system, no better instance of its superiority could be desired than that of Wells, Fargo and Co. in the United States of America. This firm conducted their system in competition with that of the government itself; and the latter, instituting an official enquiry into the system of their private competitor, elicited the fact that they worked more economically, delivered more promptly, afforded greater security, carried to more localities, and charged what would be a lower rate than that of the government had not the latter imposed a heavy tax exactly equal to the government's rate itself? And yet in spite of this severe handicap, the state could not compete against this private enterprise! Experience shows that (with one exception) it may be taken as an incontrovertible fact, that if the state can do a thing at all, private enterprise can do it better. The one exception alluded to is *robbery*, at which government carries off the palm, as all history can testify. If you want a thing done properly, do it yourself; but if you want to be blessed, go to government.

"It doesn't pay to be honest." This expression, which is so commonly heard in business circles coming from both employers and employes, is as true as it is distasteful. But the reason of it is very simple; all the present economical and political systems are themselves based upon downright dishonesty, and as long as they exist in their present form, their pernicious influence will be felt throughout society. While people endure the existence of that odious sham, which the *Argos* has well called "the arch mischief-maker, Parliament," we shall continue to taste of its fruits.

DEBATE UPON "THE GRAVITATION THEORY APPLIED TO SOCIALISM"—Mr. F. T. Upham opened a debate on this subject on the 6th ult., at the Melbourne Anarchists' Club. He stated that the law of gravitation which controlled the bodies in space had its equivalent in the natural laws which govern human action. Given the cause, and an effect can be foretold as readily in sociology as in astronomy. Classes attract classes and individuals according to their magnitude just as the heavenly bodies do. When the organizations become large and powerful, they soon absorb the individual parts by their attractive powers, until the individual freedom is almost entirely destroyed, and all are enslaved in State Socialism. The speaker illustrated his remarks by allusions to the histories of Vera, Egypt, and Rome, and the most remarkable astronomical discoveries. An interesting discussion followed, in which a number of speakers took part.

DEBATE UPON "LAND OWNERSHIP IN RELATION TO POVERTY."—A very instructive debate was held upon this subject on the 9th ult., at the Hall of Science, Melbourne. We publish the opening essay in another column of the present issue.

LECTURE UPON "MALTHUSIANISM."—Mr. Joseph Symes delivered a lecture at the Hall of Science, on the 13th ult., in support of the Malthusian theory; maintaining that poverty is the result of the pressure of population upon the means of subsistence, as explained by the Malthusian "law" of arithmetical and geometrical increase. Mr. John McNaught ably replied at the close of the lecture to a number of the fallacies which characterized it.

DEBATE UPON "FREE TRADE IN RELATION TO POVERTY."—This was opened by Mr. Gregory, of the Melbourne Anarchists' Club on the 19th. At the unanimous wish of the meeting, which was very poorly attended, the essayist has consented to re-deliver the paper on April 24th, at the same place.

DEBATE UPON "PROSTITUTION, AND HOW IT MAY BE AMELIORATED."—Mr. F. T. Upham opened a debate on this delicate question, before the Melbourne Anarchists' Club on March 29th. He suggested that a system of medical certifying would serve as an immediate check to many of the evils which this system engenders. An animated discussion followed.

DEBATE UPON "THE RIGHTS OF LABOUR."—This was opened by Mr. J. T. Kelly at the Hall of Science, on March 26th. Too late for a report.

MEETINGS ANNOUNCED.

MEETINGS will be held at the Melbourne Anarchists' Club during the month, as follows:—

- April 3.—The Ethics of Anarchism."
- " 10.—Modern Slavery."
- " 17.—Money and the Mechanism of Exchange."
- " 21.—Fecundity in Relation to Poverty."

Debates commence at 7:30 p.m. Public invited. Admission free; Collection.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS, ANNOUNCEMENTS, &c.

MELBOURNE ANARCHISTS' CLUB.—The secretary acknowledges receipt of the following donations to the funds of the Club:—F.P.L., £1 10s.; T. F. N., £1 8s.; D. A. A., £1; H. C. B., 12s. 3d.; W. P. L., 12s.; T. O. R., 6s. 6d.; S. H. E., W. T., A. A. and J. M. M., 1s. each.

KORANNA HOTTENTOTS.—Capricious and insubordinate, the Korannas tolerate their chiefs rather than obey them, each regarding his own will as his only law. . . . From what we have said, it may be gathered that the Korannas are among the most degraded [from a Wesleyan missionary's point of view] of the African tribes. . . . REV. T. ARBORETT and F. DATMAN'S EXPLORATORY TOUR, 1882.

THE ANARCHISTS.—It is certainly worthy of remark, that those simple Anarchists, without hope of reward or fear of punishment after death, live in such peace or brotherly love with one another; and that they recognise the right of property in the fullest sense of the word, without their being any authority among them, than the decisions of their elders, according to the customs of their forefathers, which are held in the highest regard. During my stay among them, I never perceived the least discord, either among themselves or with their neighbors in the adjacent villages, which one would suppose might naturally take place from the clashing of their interests in the trading industry, or from their appetite for strong drink. This last is the chief, if not the only vice which exists amongst them.—D. H. KOLFF'S "VOYAGES OF THE DOERIA: 1825-6."

Governments are the foes to freedom; Privilege and Authority are their supports; they exist by the exploitation of labor, and by the creation of monopolies which facilitate that exploitation; they are the fountains of social inequality and the destroyers of social prosperity; all the good works ascribed to them are done outside of them, and would be better done did they not exist; the combined knavery and ignorance of barbarians created them; the combined intelligence and determination of the civilized shall destroy them. The political system of tyranny and robbery shall give place to the Anarchist system of liberty and honesty. Friends of freedom, hasten its advent!

THE IDEA OF A REVOLUTION.

By PIERRE JOSEPH PROUDHON.

If I were asked to answer the following question: **WHAT IS SLAVERY?** and I should answer in one word, it is **MURDER**, my meaning would be understood at once. No extended argument would be required to show that the power to take from a man his life, his will, his personality, is a power of life and death; and that to enslave a man is to kill him. Why, then to this other question: **WHAT IS PROPERTY?** may I not likewise answer: It is **ROBBERY**, without the certainty of being misunderstood; the second proposition being no other than a transformation of the first?

I undertake to discuss the vital principle of our government and our institutions, property; I am in my right. I may be mistaken in the conclusion which shall result from my investigations; I am in my right. I think best to place the last thought of my book first: still am I in my right.

Such an author teaches that property is a civil right, born of occupation and sanctioned by law; another maintains that it is a natural right, originating in labor—and he of these notions is totally opposed as they may seem, are encouraged and applauded. I content that neither labor, nor occupation, nor law, can create property; that it is an effect without a cause; an I censurable; But murmurs arise!

PROPERTY IS ROBBERY! That is the war-cry of '93! That is the signal of revolutions!

Reader, exclaim yourself: I am no agent of discord, no fire-brand of scission. I anticipate history by a few days; I disclose a truth whose development we may try in vain to arrest; I write the preamble of our future constitution! This proposition which seems to you blasphemous—property is robbery—would, if your prejudices allowed us to consider it, be recognized as the lightning-rod to shield us from the coming thunderbolt; but too many interests stand in the way! Alas! philosophy will not change the course of events; destiny will fulfill itself regardless of prophecy. Besides, must not justice be done and our education be finished?

PROPERTY IS ROBBERY! What revolution is this? Proprietor and robber have been at all times expressions as contradictory as the beings whom they designate are hostile; all languages have perpetuated this opposition. On what authority, then, do you venture to attack universal consent, and give the lie to the human race? Who are you, that you should question the judgment of the nations and the ages?

Of what consequence to you, reader, is my obscure individuality? I live, like you, in a century in which reason submits only to fact and to evidence. My name, like yours, is **TRUTHFULNESS**. My mission is written in these words of the law: Speak without law, without fear; tell that which thou knowest! The work of our race is to build the temple of science, and this science includes man and Nature. Now, truth reveals itself to all; to-day, Newton and Pascal, to-morrow to the herdman in the valley and the journeyman in the shop. Each one contributes his stone to the edifice; and, his task accomplished, disappears. Eternity precedes as eternity follows us between two centuries; that account is one poor mortal that the century should inquire about him!

Dreaded then, reader, my title and my character, and attend only to my arguments; it is in accordance with universal consent that I undertake to correct universal error; from the opinion of the human race I appeal to its faith. Have the courage to follow me; and, if your will is untrammelled, if your conscience is free, if your mind can unite two revolutions without being thereby therefrom, my ideas will inevitably become yours. In beginning by giving you my last word, it was my purpose to warn you, not to defy you; for I am certain that you read me you will be compelled to assent. The things of which I am to speak are so simple and clear that you will be astonished at having perceived them before, and you will say: "I have needed to think." Others offer you the spectacle of genius wresting Nature's secrets from her, and unfolding before you her sublime messages; you will find here only a series of experiments upon **JUSTICE** and **RIGHT**, a sort of verification of the weights and measures of your conscience. The operation shall be conducted under your very eyes; and you shall weigh the result. Nevertheless, I build no system. I ask an end to privilege, the abolition of slavery, equality of rights, and the reign of Justice, nothing else; that is the alpha and omega of my argument; to others I leave the business of governing the world.

One day I asked myself: Why is there so much sorrow and misery in society? Must man always be wretched? And not satisfied with the explanations given by the reformers,—these attributing the general distress to governmental covarice and incapacity, those to conspirators and causes, still others ignorance and general corruption,—and weary of the interminable quarrels of the tribune and the press, I sought to fathom the matter myself. I have consulted the masters of science; I have read the volumes of philosophy, law, political economy, and history: would to God that I had lived in a century in which so much reading had been useless! I have made every effort to obtain exact information, comparing facts, doctrines, replying to objections, continually constructing equalities and reductions from arguments, and weighing thousands of syllogisms in the scales of the most rigorous logic. In this laborious work, I have collected many interesting facts which I share with my friends and the public as soon as I have leisure. But I must say that I recognized at once that we had never understood the meaning of these words so common as yet so sacred: **JUSTICE**, **EQUITY**, **LIBERTY**; that concerning each of these principles our ideas have been utterly obscure; and, in fact, that this ignorance was the sole cause, both of the poverty that devours us, and of all the calamities that have ever afflicted the human race.

My mind was frightened by this strange result: I doubted my reason. What I said I, that which eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor insight penetrated, you have discovered! We do not mistake the viscus of your diseased brain for the truths of science! Do you not know (great philosophers have said so) that in points of practical morality universal error is a contradiction?

I resolved then to test my arguments; and in cutting upon this

new labor I sought an answer to the following question: Is it possible that humanity can have been so long and so universally mistaken in the application of moral principles? How and why could it be mistaken? How can its error, being universal, be capable of correction?

These questions, on the solution of which depended the certainty of my conclusions, offered me no lengthy resistance to analysis. It will be seen, in chapter V. of this work, that in morals, as in all other branches of knowledge, the gravest errors are the dogmas of science; that, even in works of art, the most noble man is a privilege which he is infinitely small. To name a thing is easy; the difficulty is to discern it before its appearance. In giving expression to the last stages of an idea,—an idea which permeates all minds, which to-morrow will be proclaimed by another if I fail to announce it to-day,—I can claim no merit save that of priority of utterance. Do we enquire that man who first perceives the dawn?

Yes: all men believe and repeat that equality of conditions is identical with equality of rights; that property is robbery; that every social advantage accorded, or rather usurped, in the name of superior talent or service, is iniquity and extortion. All men in their hearts, I say, bear witness to these truths; they need only to be made to understand it.

Before entering directly upon the question before me, I must say a word of the road that I shall traverse. When Pascal approached a geometrical problem, he invented a method of solution; to solve a problem in philosophy a method is equally necessary. Well, by how much do the problems of which philosophy treats surpass in the gravity of their results those discussed by geometry? How much more imperatively, then, do they demand for their solution a profound and rigorous analysis!

It is a fact placed for ever beyond doubt, say the modern metaphysicians, that every perception received by the mind is determined by certain general laws which govern the mind; is moulded, so to speak, in certain types pre-existing in our understanding, and which constitutes its original condition. Hence, say they, if the mind has no innate ideas, which it has at least innate forms. Thus, for example, every phenomenon is of necessity conceived by us as happening in time and space,—that compels us to infer a cause of its occurrence; every thing which exists implies the class of substance, mode, relation, number, &c.; in a word, we form no idea which is not related to some one of the general principles of reason, independent of which nothing exists.

These axioms of our understanding, add the psychologists, these fundamental types, by which all our judgments and ideas are inevitably shaped, and which our sensations serve only to illuminate, are to be known in the schools as categories. Their primordial existence in the mind is to-day demonstrated; they need only to be systematized and catalogued. Aristotle recognized ten; Kant increased the number to fifteen; Mr. Cousin has reduced it to three; to one and the indistinguishable of this professor will be due the fact that, if he has not discovered the true theory of categories, he has, at least, seen more clearly than any one else the vital importance of this question,—the greatest and perhaps the only one with which metaphysics has to deal.

I confess that I disbelieve in the innateness, not only of ideas, but also of forms or laws of our understanding; and I hold the metaphysics of Reid and Kant to be still farther removed from the truth than that of Aristotle. However, as I do not wish to enter here into a discussion of the mind, a task which would demand much labor and be of no interest to the public, I shall admit the hypothesis that our most general and most necessary ideas—such as time, space, substance, and cause—exist originally in the mind; or, at least, are derived immediately from its constitution.

But it is a psychological fact none the less, true and one to which the philosophers have paid too little attention, that habit, like a second nature, has the power of fixing in the mind new categorical forms derived from the appearances which impress us, and by them usually stripped of objective reality, but whose influence over our judgments is no less preponderating than that of the original categories. Hence, to our reason, and to our conscience, disappears, on our mind, and at the same time by the secondary rules, ordinarily faulty, which are suggested to us by imperfect observation. This is the most fecund source of false prejudices, and the permanent and often inevitable cause of a multitude of errors. The bias resulting from these prejudices is so strong that often, even when we are fighting against a principle which our mind thinks false, which is repugnant to our reason, and to our conscience, disappears, we defend it without knowing it, we reason in accordance with it, and we obey it while attacking it. Enclosed within a circle, our mind revolves about itself, and, in its own circle, creating within us new ideas, brings to view an external principle which delivers us from the phantom by which our imagination is possessed.

Thus, we know to-day that, by the laws of a universal magnetism whose cause is still unknown, two bodies (no obstacle intervening) tend to unite by an accelerated impelling force which we call gravitation. It is gravitation which causes unsupported bodies to fall to the ground, which gives them weight, and which fastens us to the earth on which we live. Ignorance of this cause was the sole obstacle which prevented the ancients from believing in the magnetism of the earth. "Can you not see," said St. Augustine after Lactantius, "that, if there were men under our feet, their heads would point downward, and that they would fall in the sky?" The bishop of Hippo, who thought the earth flat because it appeared so to the eyes, supposed in consequence that, if we should connect by straight lines the zenith with the nadir in different places, these lines would be parallel with each other; and in the direction of these lines he traced every movement from above to below. Hence he naturally concluded that the stars were rolling torques set in the vault of the sky; that, if left to themselves, they would fall to the earth in a shower of fire; that the earth was one vast plain, forming the lower portion of the world, &c. &c. If he had been asked by what the world itself was sustained, he would have answered that he did not know, but that to God nothing is impossible.—From "What is Property,"

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

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That isn't in accordance with the people's—if you do—
They'll call you "fool" and "crank" because you have more brains
Than they.
And know more in a minute than they all know in a day.
If they contend that black is white, chime in and say it's white;
And when you know they're in the wrong, proclaim them in the
right;
And when they all unite to damn and down an honest man,
Roll up your sleeves, spit on your hands, and help them all you can.
Suppress your noblest thoughts, nor try to deride the race;
Lie down and wallow with them in the mire of their disgrace;
And they in turn will honor you by calling you "the colonel,"
And take and pay spot money for your weak and worthless
journal. — Truth Seeker.

MELBOURNE PUNCH AND THE ANARCHISTS.

[The following contribution from a member of the Melbourne Anarchists' Club appeared in a recent number of *Punch*, in reply to an article of the previous week in which they were described as loafers, drunkards and thieves, who asked for "ekal division," and held that "each cove in the world orter get ten bob a day and do no work," drinks, "locca," and carriages were to be "free" and "beard and lodgin'" must be at gov'ment expense, "with more to the same effect.]

I say, Mr. Punch, are you sogue or else fool?
Or is't that you live upon?
So slander the Anarchists' Club as a rule?
For if you've been there
False witness you bear,
And show small respect for your Bible.
You say that we Anarchists are a rough lot,
Who'd dispossess every possessor.
You're aware 'tis the last thing we'd do, are you not?
For to murder and rob
Is an old Anarchist job.
Did you know that before?—Pray, confess, sir,
You say we desire to be fo' by the State;
'Tis a lie, you old scribe—'tis a lie;
For we seek to abolish that engine of hate,
To leave each one free
To pursue honesty,
And earn his own victuals or die.

What we seek to remove are the thieves from our land—
The curse of man's life on this earth—
The usurers, all those "who cry" our hands—
The cute politician,
Who gets a position,
And robs us all round from our birth.

You may stick to your money, and roll in your traps—
I assure you that we've no objection;
But we all do object to being robbed by you chaps
Who grab up the soil,
And live on our toil.

And hence as at every election,
We don't want your drinks nor your locca for nought;
We don't want to live without work;
Not yet for you drones do we wish to be sport,
But we'd give to each neighbor
The fruits of his labor,
And starve out the paupers who shirk.

Just work for your own, and don't live on another,
And stick to your carriage and pub,
Don't live on the sweat of the brow of your brother—
But set to and labor,
Twill please every neighbor,
Including the Anarchists' Club.

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No. 2.

MELBOURNE: MAY, 1887.

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LABOR AND PLUNDER.

In 1788, the British Government thought Australia a good breeding ground for thieves, so they sent batches of their criminals to populate it. The seed must have been a most prolific one, for an honest person scarce can make an honest living now.

If a man wants a home to live in, he has not to merely pay for the value of the structure itself; but he has to pay to someone else, who has no other title than plunder for it, a heavy sum for the use of the ground on which to build it. If, as is usually the case, he has been plundered so heavily already, that he cannot afford to "buy" the land, he hires it of another at a rental sufficiently high to cover the amount which the landlord paid the thieves for it, besides the interest and profits which it is the custom to extort from the user. If he wishes to buy it by instalments, he has to mortgage it to the money monopolists upon such terms as will make his loss of it almost an absolute certainty. If he is too poor to pay thieves for the land which they have appropriated, and settles down to use it for his own gain, he will be quickly ejected for unlawful trespassing; or if he wanders about the streets, penniless and homeless, he will be imprisoned for vagrancy.

If he is fortunate enough to survive the political handicap, and obtains a home of some sort, he is burdened by multifarious taxation, and daily runs the risk of bankruptcy, in order that privileged paupers may be supported in idleness and luxury. If he can scrape enough together to purchase whatever clothing he requires, he has to pay about double its value to cover Custom-house robberies; and so it is with a lot of the food which he consumes. If he wishes to travel, he has to pay an exorbitant fare, sufficient to more than cover the working expenses of a horde of useless officials, unless he be rogue enough to get into Parliament, when he can travel entirely at the expense of others. If he starts a business, and succeeds in making sufficient profits out of his customers to cover the profit which the professional exploiters make out of him, he is likely

to have his shop shut up at an hour sufficiently early to ruin him. If he succeeds in getting employed by another, he has to be satisfied with an insignificant remuneration out of all proportion to his task, and which is kept down to the lowest possible point by an artificially-created competition on a labor market, which is constantly underbidding itself in order to secure the patronage of privilege. In fact the laborer's losses, by direct and indirect taxation, are fully two or three times the amount of that which he has the good fortune to consume.

Many hope to remedy this state of things by legislation. Their grandfathers and great-grandfathers for centuries before them cherished the same groundless hope. Governments come in and go out, petitions are presented to Parliament, public meetings and "unemployed" demonstrations are held, promises are made by the thousands; and all to what purpose? None whatever; except that the same state of things is permitted to exist. Now South Wales has experienced nearly a century of the growth of "law and order"; and they have seen that growth take the form of protection to huge monopolies which already overawe them. Victoria has had a brief experience of less than half that time, and is fast learning to outstrip her neighbor in the development of legislative tyranny. South Australia has completed its first half century of local self-government (?) and now presents the brilliant spectacle of a country of rich natural fertility, whose best lands are kept in enforced waste by legislative fiat, and whose best people are starving because the politicians refuse to allow them to work for their own support. Queensland is following the example of Victoria, and asking for separation; and while the people of the colonies generally are everywhere feeling the need of separation, the politicians are adopting all sorts of ruses to delude them into the belief that what they want is federation.

The politicians and their institutions are nowhere to be trusted. They exist by force and plunder. Their prosperity is the people's downfall. It is only by the destruction of the existing political institutions that humanity can be elevated. Peaceful voluntary co-operation is the only savior of humanity.

CONSTRUCTIVE ANARCHY.

(Continued from page 5.)

The evils of government are as numerous as the written laws, and it would be impossible to name them all and show their tortuous effects, except by means of compiling an encyclopaedia. So, we will confine ourselves to natural laws.

I presume that it is self-evident to most people, that whenever a written law prevents them from doing what they consider right, they feel that that law is not only infringing their liberty, but that it is essentially wrong or immoral, whether it is to be enacted by a majority or a king, and feel that it should be repealed. If you acknowledge the truth of the above you have consented morally to the abolition of the laws bearing heavily upon you, but you have not consented as yet to abolish laws oppressing others; especially if you have helped to make them yourself. I will try to state a case. We will suppose there are five individuals, A B C D and E; or, if you like, we will suppose that these letters represent not, or, if you like, instead of one. Let A B and C be Catholics, D and E Protestants. Now A B and C could pass a law to the effect, if they liked, that there be schools supported by the State, that all children attending these schools should be compelled to receive religious instruction from the Roman priesthood, that education should be compulsory, and if a Protestant should educate his children at home he should still be taxed to support the State school. Now D and E would say that their ideas could not agree in the least with it. Now suppose D and E go on a proselytising expedition and convert C to Protestantism, then they (viz., C D and E) could pass a law to the effect that we have State schools, and that all children shall be compelled to receive an education free from Catholic teachings. That in case of their being educated elsewhere than the State schools, those parents shall be taxed all the same. Now A and B will protest and claim that it is unfair to expect them to support schools where Catholicism is not taught, while they look upon their religious instruction as the most important part of education. In one case, D and E say the laws are wrong; in the other case A and B say they are wrong, and C has been on both sides. Now if any man can put himself in the place of either party for the moment, it seems to me that he would have to acknowledge that both parties were wrong, each in endeavoring to compel the other party to do what they considered the right thing. I consider my code of morals right, you also consider yours right. I may be wrong, but don't think so; so may you. If a third one comes along of my way of thinking; because we are in a majority, is that any reason we should compel you to acknowledge us to be right, and force you to fashion your actions by mine? But if you convert this third man to your way of thinking, are your morals any better than they were before you converted him? You see it does not matter whether an idea is right or not; but it is how many think it right that decides it. Now I will tell you what an Anarchist considers as moral, evil and criminal. We consider that to be moral which a person considers to be right; also that he should have a perfect right to practise his morality, providing it does not interfere with the liberty of another. We consider that to be evil, which is injurious to the individual. Where an individual, or a number of individuals, interfere with the liberty of a person, we consider that to be a crime, and that the ones committing that crime has lost all right to have their own liberty respected; or in other words, the one offended against has a right to punish the offender.

I think you will see by this, the fundamental principle of Anarchy to be as follows: That every individual shall do as he likes, providing he does not interfere with the liberty of others. I intend to confine myself to the Anarchist question from the working man's standpoint, and shall keep strictly within the bounds of the above principle.

We, as working men, know we do not retain the equivalent of what we produce, or anything like it, and we are looking for a remedy. There are a few fanatics who advocate seizing that which is in the possession of the rich and appropriating it to their own use; but the moment you do that, you violate the very fundamental principle of Anarchy; for they gained their riches by the consent of the working classes and have a right to it by the mere fact of possession. You don't mean to say, if you have made a bad bargain with a man and find it out afterwards, that it would be right to rob him of sufficient to recompense you for your loss; especially when it comes about by your own stupidity? Rather take a lesson by the past, and don't let it occur again. Now that is just

what we want to do; take measures to prevent it occurring again, and we will set to work to see how we will do it.

We Anarchists are fully convinced that coercive legislation is injurious to not only the working man, but to nearly every one, and as we recognise that as our stumbling block in all our schemes, we propose to refrain from it. Also as we understand high rents, interest, and profits to be injurious in their effects upon ourselves, we shall endeavor to eliminate them as far as possible.

There is one thing more that we must not forget for a moment, and that is, that we are consumers as well as producers, and we will have to give this fact full recognition in the scheme that we propose. Last, but not least, we have made up our minds to be men and women, to depend upon our own exertions for our success; not to ask government or classes, kings or queens, for any concessions. We shall endeavor to arrive at a just conclusion in regard to what is right and wrong doing, in accordance with our principles; then we shall go ahead and do it. If others interfere with our actions it will be their fault, and having infringed our liberty they must not expect us to respect theirs. In this country we can accomplish our object without violence, provided government lets us alone, i.e., don't legislate especially to crush us. In Russia we can gain nothing without bloodshed; and as slavery is worse than bloodshed when a Russian state of affairs exist, we propose to introduce all the horrors of dynamic, guerrilla warfare, murder; for to the slave life is not worth the living, and the tyrant must expect no respect from the one whose life he has made unbearable. The plan that I propose is for this country only, or those where a similar state of things exists. When Russia and some other countries have gained the same ground that we have, from that point they would be able to adopt the same plans. I have said that working men must understand that they are consumers, and as we need no capital in this direction, outside of our week's wages, this will be the natural direction for us to investigate in first. Therefore we will see what we can do to establish purchasing companies. We have in Melbourne an Anarchist Club—we will endeavor to get as many members of that club, and also as many men as are Anarchists as possible, to form a company for purchasing groceries, &c., and distributing the same at as near the cost price as possible. We will have to make a small beginning at first, and this is the best plan that I can think of. After forming the company, hire a small room in some right-of-way or back street, one that we could get at a low price; it need not be a large one, and we would need no shop front. Now let some one of the company be appointed to make the preliminary arrangements for buying (some one who is used to buying in a wholesale way, if possible), go to the largest wholesale grocery warehouses and represent that there is a company formed that is prepared to buy for cash, to ask no credit, and that can deal to the extent of £50 or £100 per month; and we could get our goods at the cheapest wholesale cash prices. Now this is the way that we would pay for them; let each member send to the store, each Thursday, the money for his week's groceries; the one appointed to do the buying could take the cash brought in, and on Friday take in the orders in bulk to be put up and delivered to our store. Let me explain. Supposing all the orders brought into the store for tea when added together made thirty pounds weight, let the warehouses break the bulk to make the thirty pounds, and after we get it into the store it could be weighed up into separate orders, and so with other articles. What we now pay ten shillings for, we could get for seven and sixpence, and if we make the amount eight shillings, this would allow sixpence in each seven and sixpence to meet expenses, i.e., rent, paper, twine, &c., so each individual now purchasing ten shillings worth would save a clear 20 per cent. We would let any family that liked purchase through us on the same terms, but not let them become members, for not being convinced of our principles they might attempt to convert the company into a profit-making concern. By letting these people trade through us, we would have the advantage in being able to purchase goods in much larger quantities, and the small percentage that we level for expenses would aggregate to considerably more. When we shall have procured purchasers to the amount of one hundred to one hundred and fifty pounds in our company, we could afford to have a delivery cart; then we could add butchery, drapery and other lines. We should make every endeavor to establish as many of these companies as possible throughout the town and suburbs, and also in the country. As our future operations depended upon the success of the purchasing companies, we must make them a success. Let every member feel that the movement is depending upon him.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

LAND OWNERSHIP IN RELATION TO POVERTY.

(Continued from page 5.)

Now this is actually the case with rent. The ordinary progress of society which increases its wealth is at all times tending to augment the incomes of the landlords; to give them both a greater amount and a greater proportion of the wealth of the community independently of any trouble or outlay incurred by themselves. They grow rich, as it were, in their sleep, without working, without risking, or economising. What claim have they on the general principle of social justice to this accession of riches? In what would they have been wronged if society had from the beginning reserved the right of taxing the spontaneous increase in rent to the highest amount required by financial exigencies? In Melbourne, the tendency at the present time is for rents to increase and trade, or the means of earning the rent, to decrease. Shopkeepers paying high rents, though doing a fair trade, soon find they are simply making a living working for the landlord and beholding the benevolent asylum in the distance. While the landlord wants more rent, the municipal corporation, increased rates; the Government, to assist the trader, has limited the hours he shall trade, in the interest of the privileged class of land-sharking, god's-spell-mongering sky-piloting promoters of lotteries and bun-struggles. The churches with their bazaars, tea meetings, collections at work night services, compete for the money people have to spend on an evening. They are allowed to keep open after seven. They have the site of their business premises granted them by Government; have the benefit of the unearned increment; they are exempted from the payment of municipal rates which, as they occupy some of the best positions in the towns, makes the average rate fall very much heavier on the tradesman.

The trader, the realist, in exchange for the money, gives the bread and meat of life or a pair of boots stout soled, that the wearer may so walk that his footsteps will not stumble nor falter. Whilst the churchman, the idealist, gives a promise of a new and happy land far, far, away—

And winks while he tells that sweet story of old;
What foals there are still among men;
When he gets little noodies like sleep in his fold,
What a chance for his fleeing them then.

Let us pray!—

Good lord protect me from my mother-in-law;

Good lord protect me from my grandmother;

Good lord protect me from a grandmotherly government.

When I ask my grandmother for sixpence she, good soul, gives it me out of her own pocket. When I ask a grandmotherly government for sixpence, it commences by robbing me and each of my five brothers of threepence each, making eightpence. It calls that taxation. Of that amount it puts one shilling into its own pocket. It calls that a civil service. It don gives me the remaining sixpence, and calls that a government grant to a privileged individual. I do not like coercive government. Hear the poet of New Maldon on the subject—

Government is but the barbarous tool
For iniquitous ends of iniquitous rulers.
Where the many are crushed at the fiat of one,
And to gladden a despot, a people's inlone;
Where the bees are destroyed to make room for the drones,
And the iller's jest, is the laborer's groan.

Whilst taking exception to the theistic portion, I take for the foundation of my paper the declaration of the rights of man by the French National Assembly in 1789. As there have been objections raised by very intelligent critics to the doctrine that all men are born equal, I shall endeavor to make my meaning more plain. Naturally all men are born equal. After that the fun commences. We are all born without a shirt. The clothing or education we receive afterwards is strictly a human affair. Nature shows no preference; and as far as she is concerned there would be equality of opportunity.

Declaration of the Rights of Man by the French National Assembly in 1789.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident. That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it."

The land question covers a great deal of ground, and I

shall not be able to give you very much information about it in the time allotted. What I propose doing in this paper, is to draw your attention to the terrible unequal distribution of wealth all over the world, the rich non-workers getting richer, and the poor workers getting poorer daily, and the process still going on. It has been remarked that the rich work mentally and the poor physically, but there is mental work *and* mental work. The man who uses his brain poorer to invent machinery, plan buildings, or do anything useful in the human live, is worthy of the reward of his labor, but I do not think the same applies to the schemer who uses his mental powers to devise a set of circumstances by which he robs the worker of the result of his toil. Pierre Kropotkin says Mr. Rothschild has worked all his life, and so has a working man worked all his life, and he asks why should the fortune of Mr. Rothschild be measured by hundreds of millions and the possession of the working man should be so small? He answers, The reason is simple; that able dealer, Mr Rothschild, has devoted himself to the accumulation of the product of the labor of others, while the working man has exerted himself to produce by his own labor. The whole matter lies in that. But some say: How comes it that millions of men allow the Rothschilds and the Mackays to appropriate the fruit of their labor? Alas! they cannot help themselves under the existing social system. We have allowed property in land and moveables to be monopolised. Wealth acquired by force or fraud, or by exploiting the labor of others has become the personal private property of individuals who have no just claim to it, since it is not of their creation. Nevertheless, these monopolists have secured their possession by the laws which they have manufactured to defend themselves, and we all tamely look on and submit. The result is that the monopolists own all the means and materials for work, and the rest of the nation, the large majority, are, in a sense, their slaves. That is to say, that those who have no share in the monopoly of property must work that they may live, and they can only work on the terms the owners of land and capital choose to impose. These terms are the sale of their power to labor, of their intelligence and their muscles, for so many hours a day at such wages as will keep as many of them alive and in working condition as the capitalists and landlords want. Our boasted English liberty is for the worker merely the liberty to sell himself on the best terms he can obtain, and to force his way into the class of monopolists, if good luck, penuriousness, and sharpness enable him to do so. Under these conditions, the lion's share of the social wealth produced by the joint labor of the industrious members of the community continues to pass into the hands of the monopolists, who are consequently enabled to live in idleness, and to spend their time and energy in that effort to find an outlet for their wasted powers, which they call amusing themselves. Their existence is a fevered search for new sensations and the justness of those in whom the animal nature is strongly developed has been amply illustrated by the Colin Campbell case and the *Dull Mail Gazette* disclosure.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

"The recognition of rights begins to get definiteness only as fast as military excesses to be chronic and governmental power declines."—Herbert Spencer.

"When will the people learn that they have no cause for quarrel, one with another, and that their rulers are the common enemies of them all?"—E. C. Walker.

"The atmosphere of legislative bodies is unwholesome to breathe. You send your legislatures into a place of corruption. It is not established if they come out corrupted. Therefore do not abdicate. Do not entrust your destinies to men evidently incapable, and future traitors. Do not vote!"—Eliac Reclus.

"So far is it from being true, as has been pretended, that the abolition of any formal government is the dissolution of society, that it acts by a contrary impulse, and brings the latter the closer together."—Thomas Paine.

Governments are the foes to freedom; Privilege and Authority are their supports; they exist by the exploitation of labor, and by the creation of monopolies which facilitate that exploitation; they are the fountains of social inequality and the destroyers of social prosperity; all the good works ascribed to them are done outside of them, and would be better done did they not exist; the combined knavery and ignorance of barbarians created them; the combined intelligence and determination of the civilized shall destroy them. The political system of tyranny and robbery shall give place to the Anarchist system of liberty and honesty. Friends of freedom, hasten its advent!

REVIEW.

"GERMINAL; OR, MASTER AND MAN."

By EMILE ZOLA.

The intelligent Customs official in Melbourne who pounced upon a shipment of Zola's realistic novels undoubtedly favored the books with a special advertisement, and tempted many to peruse out of mere curiosity the excommunicated publications. The present writer would certainly never have opened the pages of Zola's "Germinal" had not the action of the little political despot on the Melbourne wharf incited his desire to ascertain the actual nature of this class of literature. And the landing waiter may have the satisfaction of knowing that although he failed in his main object, he has benefited society by introducing to its notice such an interesting volume as that under review.

"Germinal" is essentially a book of the times, powerfully illustrating the terrific inequalities of modern social life. In masterly language, Zola depicts on the one hand the lower classes, as they are termed, ground beneath the iron heel of organized monopoly, growing each day more discontented sipping deep of the cup of pleasure that is filled for them by the poor, ignorant wretches who by sheer necessity toil day and night for a bare subsistence.

The term "Germinal" in France signifies that month corresponding with March in England when the incoming spring brings with it new life and new development; when the seed germinates into the plant, and all nature is gay with renewed life. As an introductory paragraph to "Germinal" states:—"It is this poetical idea conveyed by the word which mainly guided Monsieur Emile Zola in the selection of it as the title of his novel. But the revolutionary events which in Germinal of the year III. of the First Republic, when shoals of hungry men and women invaded the Convention Hall, demanding 'Bread, and the constitution of '93,' were not altogether foreign to his choice. Monsieur Emile Zola's aim, however, is to foreshadow the healthy fruition of that section of humanity which, like 'the sower's seed,' labors silently for the good of others in the bowels of the earth."

The story is descriptive of life among the coal miners of some small villages in the north of France. Etienne, the hero of the story, after vainly wandering about the country in search of employment, is engaged in a mine at Montson, where he becomes acquainted with the hard lot of those burrowers of the earth who hide themselves from the light of day, and wear all that is human out of their bodies, that a wealthy company away in Paris may declare big dividends to its corpulent shareholders. Etienne, at first, is unable to endure the weary toil of a miner's life, and he is stricken down by a fever; but that inherent power in nature which forces the individual to cling to life—hell though it be—overruled all else, and determined him to persevere.

The author draws a vivid picture of the miners' "homes" and gives the reader a good insight into the customs of the people. All the families are large; consequently, the lives of the members are damned at birth. Children, whose mothers and fathers are down the pits together, have little chance of development. They are allowed to herd together like swine; and wholesale vice is the result. If the importance of the truth that large families means excess of misery needed any glaring illustration it is to be found in the nests of the poor wretches who breed new generations of slaves to toil and suffer in the service of the wealthy monopolists.

Etienne soon becomes popular with his fellow miners. He had received a moderate education, and being more intelligent than they he was looked upon as their superior. Viewing their degraded condition and his own he is seized with a desire to better their lot and destroy the power of their masters. A correspondence with Pluchart secretary of the International Association of Labor induced Etienne with strong socialistic tendencies, and he decided to start a "Provident Fund" among the miners which might be useful in the event of a battle with their masters. The difficulty of getting the trifling subscriptions from the poverty stricken villagers at first proved an obstacle, but the company happening to impose still harsher terms upon its laborers, the spirit of revolt began to manifest itself, and the fund received support. Etienne hoped soon to induce them to join the famous "International" and urged strongly the necessity of a strike. A new character is introduced into the story, with the name of Souvarine, a Russian Nihilist, who expresses contempt with those reformers who seek to improve human society, and he advocates the most

extreme measures. Conversing with Etienne on one occasion he referred to Bakounine who had just joined the "International."

"He alone can give the death blow while all your theorists are so many cowards with their progress and evolution. Before three years are over, the International, under his orders, will crush the whole world."

"Etienne had become very attentive. He was burning to educate himself to understand this religion of destruction on which the Russian had rarely descended, and only then in vague terms, as if anxious not to divulge its mysteries to any one."

"I wish you would explain to me. What do you mean to do?"

"Destroy everything. No more nations, no more governments, no more property, no God, no religion."

"That much I understand. But to what will all this lead?"

"To the primitive community, without forms or formalities, to a new world, to the recommencement of everything."

"And by what means do you expect to carry this out?"

"By fire, by poison, by the knife. The brigand is the only hero, the popular avenger, the real revolutionary, who acts without any phrases taken from books. We must have a terrible series of these attempts to frighten the powerful and to awaken the people."

Etienne's influence brought matters to a climax and the strike was commenced.

Pluchart was brought to Montson to urge the miners to join the International. Each successive week showed a decrease in the number of men going down the various pits, and the three thousand francs of the Provident Fund had all been distributed. Something was required to be done immediately. A meeting was held of the miners, addresses were given by Pluchart and Etienne, and it was resolved that the ten thousand miners of Montson become members of the International. Now starvation stared the strikers in the face. Subscriptions at first came in freely but were soon exhausted and then everything went to the pawnshops. Hunger filled the poor wretches with a wild kind of enthusiasm for the cause they were fighting for. It intensified a thousandfold their hatred of the masters. Another meeting was held—in the forest at night time—and it was decided to take active measure to obtain their rights. The mob organized themselves and marched with Etienne at their head down to the pit. Men, women, and children, thirsting for vengeance, ran on, and the cry arose: "Bread! Bread! Bread!" Etienne, like the rest, unable to obtain food, sipped at a flask of gin which added to his fiery zeal, and roused the brute in him. The mob, savage with long-continued suffering, destroyed all that came in their reach. All the mines in the neighbourhood were visited, and the few men still working in them were attacked and compelled to desert. Property was wrecked on every hand; and even the house of the Director threatened. A regiment of gendarmes having arrived they finally dispersed. The strike, however, continued for a long period. At last the Company weary of the heavy losses they were sustaining imported a lot of Belgians to work the pits, and the gendarmes were stationed at the entrances to protect them from attack. This exasperated the miners who gathered their forces to resist the Belgian labor. Bricks were thrown at the soldiers by the women, who defiantly forced themselves against the line of bayonets. Shots were fired and many of the strikers were killed and wounded. At this crisis the Company saw its opportunity and persuaded the miners that they were anxious for a reconciliation. Starving men and women, for the sake of their families, accepted the new terms submitted to them, and many of them resumed work. Even Etienne, who through the unseasonable termination of the struggle was no longer the popular hero, swallowed his pride and for the sake of the woman he loved took his place at her side in the pit.

The story concludes with a sensational incident. Souvarine bent on the fulfillment of his mission to annihilate a sorrowing world, destroys some of the supports in one of the shafts, and thereby gives full vent to a huge mass of water which rushes into the pit and wrecks the whole mine. Nearly all of the men engaged in the mine perish in the ruins, but among the saved is Etienne who then abandons the miner's life and sets out for Paris to work with the International. On the road, he ponders over the apparent futility of struggling against oppression:—"Was Darwin right then? Was the world to be but one battle field, the strong devouring the weak, in order that the species might continue and grow in beauty? This question worried him, although he solved it for himself, as a man conscious of his knowledge. But a sudden idea dissipated his doubts, delighted him as it were; that of demonstrating this theory according to his own lights the first time he should

be speaking in public. If it were absolutely needful that one class should destroy another, did it not stand to reason that the people young, with all its new vitality about it, should devour the employers, glutted and exhausted with indigence? New blood would constitute the new society. And in this expectation of an invasion by the barbarians, regenerating the ancient world that was decayed, there appeared his absolute faith in an approaching revolution, the true one this time—that of the workers, and the conflagration of which would illumine the end of the century, like the purple of the rising sun which he beheld reddening the sky.

As Étienne walked along the surface of the country under which were miles and miles of subterranean tunnelling, he fancied he heard his old comrades at work. "The brilliant April sun stood in all its glory high in the sky, warming the pregnant earth. From her nourishing dark life sprang forth once more, the buds were breaking into leaf, the fields thrashed with the sprouting grass. Everywhere the grain was swelling, bursting the earth, in its search for light and warmth. A flood of sap streamed forth with whispering sound, the young shoots answered its murmurs with one long, loving kiss. Again and again the comrades knocked, the blows from the picks growing more distinct, as if they were approaching the surface. Beneath the warm rays of the sun, on that morning so full of new life, it was the celo which filled the country round. Men were sprouting up, a black and avenging army, slowly germinating beneath the furrows of the fields, growing and growing to form the crops of the coming century, and whose germination was soon to rend the earth."

"Germination, or Master and Man" is worthy the study of every man and woman who hopes for the elevation of humanity. It is a faithful picture of the relation between Master and Man, and points out with philosophic certainty the coming struggle for real independence that is manifesting itself—the struggle for liberty, for ANARCHY. The hero is only typical of many Social Revolutionists, who feel the necessity for radical reform but lack the ability to establish a practical scheme. Étienne, who Zola depicts as a reader of Anarchist and Socialist literature, is a strange embodiment of the two opposing schools. With the Anarchists, he would break up despotism of all kinds; but with the Socialists he hoped to inaugurate the people's rule. Yet the character portrayed by the author is intensely interesting. The reader is afforded an insight into the mental torturing that a leader such as this minor Montaigne endures; of his hopes for the future, his doubts, his struggles, and the constant promptings of his nature which spurred him on to victory or death.

W. C. ANDRABE.

SYDNEY ANARCHISTS' CLUB.

THE success attained by the Melbourne Anarchists' Club ought to be sufficient to rouse our comrades in Sydney to a sense of their duty and should incite them to mutually co-operate and unite their energies in a "Sydney Anarchists' Club." If such an institution is required in Melbourne, it is equally a necessity here, where a country, magnificent in every sense of the word, has been from the date of its colonization continually blest by hordes of human vampires who, under the imposing names of "law and order," have done their level best to repress all the energy and pluck of its people and so maintain their own power of mastery. The present parliament of New South Wales is probably as demoralised as any in the colonies. Its members are on the whole fellows whose history—well, the least said is soonest mended. Without any knowledge of the science of human society they arrogantly undertake to regulate and control the lives of individuals who are so far their superiors intellectually and morally that they would scorn to even associate with them in their private capacity. Surely, then, an Anarchist Club is a necessity of the day? Surely, there are some individuals in this community eager to band themselves together as rebels against the wholesale tyranny of a gang of office-seekers whose only qualification consists in their downright impudence? All those who sympathize with the work of Henry, have centred upon—the regeneration of society—should not remain satisfied as mere spectators of the fight, but should do their duty to themselves and their fellow men by taking their stand on the side of "Justice, Equity and Liberty." Will the men and women of Sydney who favor right against mere might, who look forward for the evolution of a better, a freer, a more humane, show themselves and join me in formation of the Sydney Anarchists' Club? Those who are willing and ready are requested to at once communicate with W. C. Andrabé, Yarra House, 19 Crown-street, Sydney.

PASSING NOTES.

CHINESE CO-OPERATORS.—A recent lecture by Mr. Angus Mackay, instructor of Agriculture at the Technical College, on "Some Lessons from the Chinese in Gardening" contained some telling facts and arguments in opposition to those "Liberals" who advocate a prohibitory poll-tax on our Mongolian friends. He stated that the secret of the success of the Chinese vegetable growers in New South Wales was due to the fact that their gardens were worked on a co-operative principle—Chinese merchants in Sydney and the large cities supplying the necessary capital and reaping a fair share of the profits. Besides that, "John" attends strictly to his business, and is careful and before commencing operations on a piece of land to ascertain whether its soil is suitable, and plentifully supplied with water. He also makes sure of a market to dispose of his produce. His white brother, said Mr. Mackay, is not so careful, and is, therefore, unsuccessful. He strongly recommended some system of co-operation among our own countrymen to out-do the Chinamen (which was not a difficult task, as the latter's productions are not of the best) and so beat him fairly and honestly. The lecturer referred to his residence in San Francisco where he had a good opportunity of observing the practical benefit resulting from organization among the European gardeners. In that city, where there are about sixty thousand Chinese, almost the whole of the vegetable trade is in the hands of the Americans who, by means of a "share" system have possession of miles and miles of fertile soil just outside the city, and from which they supply the requirements of the people. Why don't our gardeners take the hint, and exhibit some of the enterprise and determination of their fellow-workers in 'Frisee.

THE AVELINGS.—The Sydney *Morning Herald* reports that Dr. Aveling is on his way out to Australia on a lecturing tour. He has just concluded a Socialistic lecturing tour in the United States, and the public has been favored with an account of the gentleman's doings in the land of the stars and stripes. *Liberty* writes:—"A few weeks ago the New York *Herald* reported great agitation in the Executive Committee of the Socialistic Labor Party in consequence of a difficulty in settling with the Avelings, and charged that the latter, after receiving thirteen hundred dollars, for thirteen weeks' work, put in an additional bill of six hundred dollars, which included such items as twenty-five dollars for postage bonquets for Mrs. Aveling, fifty dollars for cigars for the doctor and cigarettes for his wife, one hundred dollars for theatre tickets, and forty-two dollars for two days board and wine bill at a Baltimore hotel. Over this bill there was a war of words, which ended in the refusal of the committee to allow the bill and in the payment of one hundred dollars instead." It is well that Australians should be made acquainted with the character of their new lecturer who, while posing as a "socialist," lives in the most extravagant fashion and leaves his bills to be met by the poor toilers who look up to him as their Savior. *Liberty's* editor asks: "Is anything more needed in vindication of *Liberty's* course in exposing this despicable charlatan?"

WILLIAM C. ANDRABE.

CALL A SPADE A SPADE.—With a not inconsiderable number of persons the prejudice against the name of Socialist is held to be a valid reason for not adopting it, and it is thought wise to advocate the THING without affronting the antagonism aroused against the NAME. With such a policy I have ever had no sympathy. It seems to me the wisest, as well as the franker course, to boldly swear any name which expresses an opinion held, and live down the prejudice it may awaken.—ANXIE BEAST. [We commend the foregoing to the careful consideration of those friends of *Liberty* who recently condemned the Melbourne Anarchists for adopting so unpopular a title.—ED.—H.]

WHAT IS WEALTH?—What is material wealth, is merely a power vested in certain individuals by the institutions of society to compel others to labor for their benefit.—WILLIAM GOUGH.

PUBLIC OPINION SUPERIOR TO LAW.—In every Anglo-Saxon community it has become an axiom that mere "office making" laws which run distinctly counter to the moral sense and the common sense of the community ought to be repealed. Laws against murder, theft, and violence are effective throughout the greater portion of the empire, because everyone approves of the conviction of murderers, thieves, &c., and the convicted criminal is detested by ninety-nine citizens out of a hundred.—*Argus*.

"In a word, we reject all legislation, all authority, and all privileged, ineffectual official, and legal influence, even though arising from universal suffrage, convinced that it can turn only to the advantage of a dominant minority of capitalists against the interests of the immense majority in subjection to them. Such is the sense in which we are really Anarchists."—Bakunin.

"Show me the man that won't abuse power, and I'll show you the man that won't try to get it."—*Edgworth*.

"HONESTY,"

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MELBOURNE: MAY, 1887.

"Whenever we depart from the great principles of truth and honesty, of equal freedom and justice to all men, whether in our relations with other states, or in our dealings with our fellow-men, the evil that we do surely comes back to us, and the suffering and poverty and crime of which we are the direct or indirect causes, help to impoverish ourselves."—ALFRED BRESSELL WALLACE.

ON THE LOOK-OUT.

Our *Commonwealth* (South Australia), in acknowledging receipt of the "Prospects" of HONESTY, says: "We wish this new venture every success." Thanks; we reciprocate the good wishes. Although we shall have frequent occasion to condemn the dangerous partiality which our contemporary has for legislation as a means of social reform, we fully realize that their object, like our own, is to elevate the toiling millions and emancipate them from the terrible slavery which they now endure. May our *Commonwealth* learn the folly of tramping in the path of liberty and equity—the only path which can possibly lead to the success we both desire!

A CORRESPONDENT writes: "I am much pleased with the first number of your paper, which I will take and recommend to others if you get a local agent, though I hold that in this age of 'constituted Anarchy' you have not acted wisely in attempting to appropriate the title of 'Anarchists' from the real Anarchists, who are to me something like Ned Kelly when he took on himself the management of the Jerilderie bank for a short period." Our correspondent errs in stating that we have appropriated the title of "Anarchists" from the "real Anarchists," as he terms the Archists, for the term was first adopted by those who held opinions identical with our own, and it continues to be adopted by them, although the official organs of authority, naturally enough, do their best to misrepresent them. The senders of Reuters' telegrams, for example, are not interested in picturing society as it is, but in bolstering up privilege; and it is to their interest to malign the pioneers of liberty in the Old World, that those whom they rob in the New may not recognise their true friends and unite with them to overthrow the iniquities of our social system. The Anarchists have both etymology and usage to justify their acceptance of the term, which is used in contradistinction to *Archy*, or the tyrannical principle of government of man by man. As to the horse-stealing landranger, Ned Kelly, he was to all intents and purposes an *Archist* of the orthodox political stamp, for, like a legislator, he undertook to *rule* the actions of his fellow men in order to rob them. The only difference is in the names we give it; for if a legislator robs us, we call it taxation, but if an *illegal* thief commits the crime, we call it by its proper name. Whatever phraseology we may use, however, we must not allow it to stand in the way of the realisation of our principles.

"THERE must be an end to every strife. Now that the ballot has decided, we must bow to the highest court in the realm." So says our *Commonwealth*. It is almost as disheartening as sad, to hear one, who aspires to uplift his fellow creatures, writing in this humiliating tone. What!—Because you have been outvoted in the choice of your exploiters, are you going to lay down like lambs to be slaughtered? Are you going to cry an end to the strife of centuries, and to wait another three years to go through the electric-coring farce again? Are you going to submit to the ballot, which is at best but a measure of strength—not of justice? Have you lost all sense of manhood, is the proud spirit of the reformer broken up by a count of noses, has the degrading principle of authority so unmanned you, that you must needs join your voice with that of your oppressors in the cry "Bow to the verdict"? No friends! how no longer, hold your heads erect

like men, face the dangers which beset you like heroes, and while others plot your downfall *inside* parliament, work together *outside*, for it is *outside alone* that all reform is effected. Stifle the coward cry of obedience, and join the cry of progress —

"Standing still is childish folly

Going backward is a crime:

Some should patiently endure

Any ill that he can cure;

ONWARD! keep the march of Time.

ONWARD! while a wrong remains

To be conquered by the right;

While oppression lifts a finger

To affront us by his might;

While an error clouds the reason

Of the universal heart,

Or a slave awaits his freedom,

Action is the wise man's part."

As we fully expected, none of the newspapers (with the exception of an obscure society paper) appear to have noticed the first number of HONESTY, nor to have acknowledged receipt of it. The reason is obvious: HONESTY is the only paper in this part of the world which advocates Liberty as a principle of general application; all the others claim the right of liberty for themselves and the particular class who support them, but are unwilling to extend the same right to those who differ from themselves in opinion. We have received several letters asking whether we omitted to send a copy to certain papers which profess to take the side of Liberty, or why it that they have been silent about us. We beg to inform our correspondents that we sent copies to all the principal papers including those alluded to; but we cannot pretend to know their private business. We only know, as we stated at the outset, that we stand alone in our advocacy of Liberty, and do not expect to be noticed by those who thrive upon prejudice and existing tyrannies. They know the value of the boycott, and naturally enough employ it against those they fear.

SLAVES obey your masters! For some months, says the *Age*, speaking of the Anarchists, "a private rogatory commission, where the European governments are represented, has been at work trying to ascertain if militant socialism has a cosmopolitan solidarity. If so, all civilized States are expected to vote a sumptuary law dealing with the barbarism." Somehow the writer of the above has got mixed in his ideas, for the "sumptuary laws" are themselves the "barbarism" against which the Anarchists are rebelling.

"WHAT Anarchists would do in case of war?" was the title of a sensational article reprinted in the *Daily Telegraph* of March 26th. In such an event, each would naturally do that which he considered best; and as Anarchists consider war to be wrong, the probability is that they would all "strike" by refusing to fight; or, if necessity compelled them, they might take up arms against their oppressors, instead of against their so-called "enemies." Their watchword is FRATERNITY.

AN organisation has been formed in England, called "The Society of the White Rose." Its object is to destroy Anarchism, which it looks upon as the foe to Roman Catholicism. And it is so far right; for Anarchism is the negation of Romanism, and every step which social progress has made from that centralised authoritarian institution has been in the direction of Anarchism. It is no wonder that the votaries of that powerful despotism see in the movement for individual sovereignty, the mighty wedge which shall rend their power in twain. Roman Catholicism is the union of the two great curses, Church and State. Anarchy is the abolition of both; and it asserts in their stead, the right of private judgment—the right of each to think, speak and act as he pleases.

A PEN WITH A PURPOSE.—The *Land* question is one which covers a great deal of ground; but the *Money* question is one of far greater interest.

TWO QUESTIONS WHICH DEMAND ANSWERS IN THE AFFIRMATIVE.—A Freeholder may think protective duties bad; has he therefore (asks the "Daily Telegraph") a right to turn smuggler, defraud the Customs, and yet pretend to be an honorable man? If a person objects to the stamp duties, has he therefore "a moral and indefeasible right" to cheat the Post-office?

SHOULD WE OBEY "THE LAW"?—"If the law is bad," this mentor (the "Daily Telegraph") says, "a good citizen will try and mend it; but until it was mended he will keep it." This dictum is opposed to the best teachings upon social ethics. No enlightened man can suffer the State any more than the Church, to become a conscience for him, and coerce him to obedience to a law which he condemns. If after deep consideration, and upon what appears to him to be sufficient grounds, a brave and conscientious man conceives an edict of the State to be evil, he will openly defy it, and take the consequences. His conduct in thus acting may prove, as history shows such conduct to have frequently proved, a better act of citizenship than submission.—"The Age."

PROGRESS.

"To stand still is to step back, and every step backwards has within itself the beginning of death. The future belongs to progress alone."—ERNEST HUCKEL.

"LIBERTY and Liberalism: a Protest against Over-Legislation," is the title of a new work by Bruce Smith, which is shortly to be issued by a Melbourne publisher. Although it is a pity to see the superfluous word "Over-" prefixed to "Legislation," it leads us to hope that the work will be another nail in the coffin of political superstition.

Is the debate between Mrs. Besant and Mr. G. W. Foote, held in London in February last, upon the question, "Is Socialism Sound?" the latter was placed at considerable disadvantage owing to his advocacy of the present political system. His attitude is a promising one, however, if we may judge from his statement that "He believed in co-operation as much as Mrs. Besant did. Civilization was co-operation. Division of labor meant co-operation. But her form of co-operation was to be enforced by law, while his was voluntary. He distrusted law, while she put implicit reliance on it. The many might make mistakes, and run wild quite as readily as the few; and no man ought to be handed over bound hand and foot to the will of the majority"; and again, "What was the State? It was a body of men either elected by others or self-elected, or holding office hereditarily, to manage the affairs of the people. Some Socialists used the word State in the sense of society—a very different thing. The State was the government of a country, which was entrusted with a coercive power, used sometimes rightly and sometimes wrongly. Mrs. Besant would have that power extended to everything; he would have it apply only to some. She herself rebelled at present against some forms of State interference: he rebelled against interference all round."

E. BELFORD BAX, the author of a well-known *Handbook to the History of Philosophy*, has just issued a work, through Messrs. Swan, Sonnenschein and Co., upon *The Religion of Socialism*. In it he is very severe upon Anarchism, and advocates in its stead what he terms "Socialism." But he is nearer to Anarchism than he appears to have any idea of, for he says "Socialism is the abolition of this bogey—the State!" With *Freedom*, we say: "Truly, an Anarchist Daniel has come to judgment," though we cannot say with that paper that there was never a better, nor yet rate him quite as high.

We desire to direct the attention of our Sydney readers to an article on page 17 of the present issue, under the heading "Sydney Anarchists' Club." A dozen earnest-hearted, intelligent laborers can easily form the nucleus of a vigorous organization; and when a few such are scattered over the principal centres of industrial activity in these colonies, that dream of hope, the "rights of labor," will soon become an established fact.

The London Socialists show more signs of intelligence than many choose to give them credit for. At the St. Paul's services on February 27, they asked the Archbishop of Canterbury to preach to them upon the text:—"LET HIM THAT STOLE, STEAL NO MORE, BUT RATHER LET HIM LABOR." It is but one step from endorsing the text to seeing it put into practice.

"It is an ill wind that blows nobody good." A lock-out of bakers, having occurred in Asti, Italy, the bakers have resorted to the establishment of a co-operative bakery, which is being well supported by the public.

ANOTHER Anarchist journal is shortly to be published at Mantua, Italy.

GEORGE ALLEN (Cecil Power) has contributed to the *Pill Mill Gazette* of February 21st, an interesting account of his experiences of "prohibition" in Canada, in the course of which he says: "I had some opportunities for observing and inquiring into the practical results of the prohibitory measure. With the gross abstract injustice of such a law I will not deal here; for though I do not believe in the right of any majority, however large or united, to deprive any minority, however small or wicked, of its divine and natural claim to eat and drink, lay and sell, exactly what it chooses itself, without let or hindrance, I recognise that in the present undeveloped state of the idea of justice in England generally, it is hopeless to expect anybody except Mr. Herliot Spencer, Mr. Auberon Herbert, and a few other philosophical thinkers, to agree with me at all in this matter. . . . We broke the law daily

with great cheerfulness, for even to possess beer is there illegal. Breaking any law is always a pleasure to a properly-constituted mind; when the law itself is a bad one, the pleasure becomes a duty as well." The article, which unfortunately is too long for our columns, abounds with illustrations in support of the position; and it may be read with profit, especially by "local-optionists."

In connection with the Canadian fisheries dispute, it is interesting to learn that "the Newfoundlanders declare that they own their own fisheries, and that they will not pay the slightest heed to French or American interests, or brook the interference of England." If they carry out their declaration they will have solved the problem of property. Success to them!

CLASSES are being formed in Newark and Chicago (U.S.A.), for the study of the works of Proudhon.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

THE release of Anselme, the Social Democrat, from the prison at Ghent, in February last, assumed the form of a public demonstration, notwithstanding the prohibition of the authorities. Many of the streets were decorated with red flags; banners adorned with suitable mottos were hung across them; a large procession escorted him from the prison; congratulatory telegrams were sent to him from all parts of Europe; and many other tributes were offered him. It will be recalled that Anselme was sentenced six months imprisonment for having urged the Belgian soldiers not to fire upon the workmen who were on strike in the early part of last year.

UPWARDS of \$4,000 was collected for the defence of the Chicago Anarchists, whose case was to be reheard in March. While Reuter's telegrams keep us informed upon Queen Victoria's little pleasure trips, of course it has nothing to say about this portentous trial, beyond giving a few faltering accounts at the outset, and leaving the Australian public to believe that the condemned men have been hanged long ago.

REVOLUTIONARY Socialism is making its way in Sweden. A book by a Socialist having been confiscated, 6000 persons waited on the responsible officer and demanded its free circulation. He promised to consider their demand.

THE authorities had locked, according to the latest intelligence, to Miss Mrs. Rosalind Bruce on February 28th, for the murder of her husband in Herkimer county, New York. The husband, by his cruelty, had made the woman's life unendurable; and yet the laws prevented her from getting a divorce; and thus driven to desperation she killed him. The people are beginning to ask whether they who make the laws are not responsible for the crime, rather than the poor wretch who perpetrated it.

THE Pinkerton detectives, those hired assassins employed by the American capitalists, have again been at their murderous work. A strike having taken place among the men employed at the wharves of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, those wretches were ordered by the police to protect the company's property. Owing to their constant cruelties the "Pinkerton thugs" are despised by even the children; and on the occasion in question the youngsters commenced to beat them and pelt them with pieces of stone and ice. Several of the detectives instantly drew their revolvers and fired upon the eldest child who died in a few moments. It was with great difficulty that the enraged bystanders were prevented from giving these privileged assassins the lynching they so richly deserved.

THE Kansas authorities appear to be determined to destroy that little paper, "Luzifer." We mentioned in our last issue, the imprisonment of the junior editor, E. C. Walker, for marrying "autonomistically." (We should have said, imprisonment, as the term has expired, and the unfortunate couple are detained until they say any one else, which they state they never shall do.) Now we learn that the senior editor, M. Harman, has been arrested for publishing an "obscene" article some months previously—the said "obscene" article being apparently a short article upon medical science, expressed in the classical medical phraseology. A clergyman is supposed to be instigating the proceedings. What petty malice do tyrants exhibit in their efforts to crush an honest man!

"LE REVOLTE" contains an account of a despicable affair resulting from a strike. The establishment, which only paid about three shillings a day to each workman, promised to increase this rate, and to re-employ all those who had struck. Turgis, a workman, presented himself for re-employment according to this promise. But the overseer, Delanue, refused abruptly, saying—We don't want any disturbers, and you won't get back under me." Turgis replied, "Since you deprive me of my daily bread, I will deprive you of life." And drawing his knife, he stabbed Delanue in the right side. "I have just tried to kill him," he said to two police agents a few minutes later. "I am sorry that he escaped, for he will continue to inflict misery all around." The establishment of Lozerf and Sarla, after this, got a protest signed by some of the workmen, disclaiming any sympathy with their comrade, Turgis, and exculpating the perfidious Delanue. But there were sympathisers where one would not expect them—from the very body of men whose local members had apparently expressed themselves adversely. It was only in appearance, an appearance made by compulsion. In the free meeting of their own association, with four hundred men, it was revealed that of the thirty-six workmen of Lozerf and Sarla fifteen had refused to sign, and of those who consented, five were relatives of Delanue and the remainder strangers taken on to replace the strikers. Four hundred men disclaimed the sentiments of that bogus protest, and expressed their approval of what Turgis had done.—J.D.N.

THE IDEA OF A REVOLUTION.

BY PIERRE JOSEPH PROUDHON.

(Continued from page 18.)

were the ideas of St. Augustine in regard to space and movement, ideas fixed within him by a prejudice derived from an appearance, and which had become with him a general and categorical rule of judgment. Of reason's very level he himself knew nothing; he could only say that a body falls because it falls.

With us the idea of a fall is now complex; to the general ideas of space and movement which it implies, we add that of attraction or direction towards a centre, which gives us the higher idea of respect. But if physics has fully corrected our judgment in this respect, we still make use of the prejudice of St. Augustine; and when we say that a thing has fallen, we do not mean simply and in general that there has been an effect of gravitation, but specially and in particular that it is towards the centre. We look below, that this movement has taken place. Our mind is enlightened in vain; the imagination prevails, and our language remains forever inerrable. To descend from heaven is to descend as an expression as to mount to heaven; and yet this expression will live as long as men use language.

All these phrases—from above to below; to descend from heaven; to fall from the clouds, &c.—are henceforth harmless, because we know how to rectify them in practice; but let us deign to consider for a moment how much they have retarded the progress of science. If, indeed, it be a matter of little importance to statistics, mechanics, hydrodynamics, and ballistics, that the true cause of the fall of bodies should be known, and that our ideas of the general movements in space should be exact, it is quite otherwise when we undertake to explain the system of the universe, the cause of tides, the shape of the earth, and its position in the heavens; to understand these things we must leave the circle of appearances. In all ages there have been ingenious mechanicians, excellent architects, skilful artillerymen; say error, into which it was possible for them to fall in regard to the rotundity of the earth and gravitation, in no wise retarded the development of their art; the solidity of their buildings and accuracy of their aim was not affected by it. But sooner or later they were forced to grapple with phenomena which supposed parallelism of all perpendiculars erected from the earth's surface rendered inexplicable; then also commenced a struggle between the prejudices, which for centuries had sufficed in daily practice, and the unprejudiced opinions which the testimony of the eyes seemed to contradict.

Thus, on the one hand, the falsest judgments, whether based on isolated facts or only on appearances, always embrace some truth whose sphere, whether large or small, affords room for a certain number of inferences, beyond which we fall into absurdity. The ideas of St. Augustine, for example, contained the following truths: that bodies fall towards the earth, that they fall in a straight line, that either the sun or the earth moves, that either the sky or the earth turns, &c. These general facts always have been true; our science has added nothing to them. But, on the other hand, it being necessary to account for every thing, we are obliged to seek for principles more and more comprehensive; that is why we have had to abandon successively, first the opinion that the world was flat, then the theory which regards it as the stationary centre of the universe, &c.

If we pass now from physical nature to the moral world, we still find ourselves subject to the same deceptions of appearance, to the same influences of spontaneity and habit. But the distinguishing feature of this second division of our knowledge is, on the one hand, the good or the evil which we derive from our opinions; and, on the other, the obstinacy with which we defend the prejudice which is tormenting and killing us.

Whatever theory we embrace in regard to the shape of the earth and the cause of its weight, the physics of the globe does not suffer; and, as far as our social economy can derive therefrom neither profit nor damage. But it is as we said through as that the laws of our moral nature work; so, these laws cannot be executed without our deliberate aid, and consequently, unless we know them. If, then, our science of moral laws is false, or erroneous, that is, if they, our own good, we are accomplishing our own evil; if it is only incomplete, it may suffice for a time for our social progress, but in the long run it will lead us into a wrong road, and will finally precipitate us into an abyss of calamities.

Think it that we need to exercise our highest judgments; and, be it said to our glory, they are never found wanting; but then also commences a furious struggle between old prejudices and new ones. Days of conflagration and anguish! We are told of the time when, with the same beliefs, with the same institutions, all the world seemed happy; why complain of these beliefs, why denigrate these institutions? We are slow to admit that that happy age served the precise purpose of developing the principle of evil which lurks in the ideas of Nature. Instead of seeking the cause of the evil in his mind and heart, man blames his masters, his rivals, his neighbors, and himself; nations arm themselves, and slay and exterminate each other, until equilibrium is restored by the vast depopulation, and peace again arises from the ashes of the combatants. So both is humanity to touch the customs of its ancestors, and to change the laws framed by the founders of communities, and confirmed by the faithful observance of the ages.

Nihil est in antiquo veniale est; sed etiam illa innovationes, wrote Titus Livius. Undoubtedly it would be better were man so compelled to change; but what! because he is born ignorant, because he exists only on condition of gradual self-instruction, must he abjure the light, abdicate his reason, and abandon himself to fortune? Perfect health is better than convalescence; should the sick man, therefore, refuse to be cured? Reform, reform! cried our fathers, fifty years ago; and for a long time to come we shall shout, Reform, reform!

Seeing the misery of my age, I said to myself: Among the principles that support society, there is one which it does not understand, which it ignores has vitiated, and which causes all the evil that exists. This principle is the most ancient of all for it is characteristic of revolutions to tear down the most modern principles and to respect those of long-standing. Now the evil by which we suffer is anterior to all revolutions. This principle, impaired by our ignorance, is honored and cherished; for if it were not cherished it would harm nobody, it would be without influence.

But this principle, right in its purpose, but misunderstood; this principle, as old as humanity, what is it? Can it be religion? All men possess and their minds are open. To humanity God is as fact as primitive; an idea as inevitable, a principle as necessary as are the categorical ideas of cause, substance, time, and space to our understanding. God moves in us by the continuous prior to any inference of the mind; just as the sun pours to us by the testimony of the senses prior to all the arguments of physics. We discover phenomena and laws by observation and experience; only this deeper sense reveals the existence. Humanity believes that God is, but, in believing in God, what does it believe? In a word, what is God?

The nature of this notion of Divinity,—this primitive, universal notion, born in the race,—the human mind has not yet fathomed. At each step that we take in our investigation of Nature and of causes, the idea of God is extended and exalted; the farther science advances, the more God ascends to grow and broaden. Anthropomorphism and idolatry constituted of necessity the faith of the mind in its youth, the theology of infancy and poetry. A harmless error, if they had not endeavored to make it a rule of conduct, and if they had been wise enough to respect the liberty of thought. But having made God in his own image, man wished to appropriate him still farther; not satisfied with disfiguring the Almighty, he treated him as his patrimony, his goods, his possessions. God, pictured in monstrous forms, became throughout the world the property of man and of the State. Such was the origin of the corruption of morals by religion, and the source of plous fools and holy wars. Thank Heaven! we have learned to allow every one his own beliefs; we seek for moral laws outside the pale of religion. Instead of legislating as to the nature and attributes of God, the dogmas of theology, and the destiny of our souls, we wisely walk for science to tell us what to reject and what to accept. God, soul, religion,—objects of our unwarmed thought and our most fatal aberrations, terrible problems whose solution, for ever attempted for ever remains unaccomplished,—concerning all these questions we may still be mistaken, but at least our error is harmless. With respect to religion, and the separation of the spiritual from the temporal power, the influence of religious ideas upon the progress of society is purely negative; no law, no political or civil institution being founded on religion. Neglect of duties imposed by religion may increase the general corruption, but it is not the primary cause; it is only an auxiliary or result. It is universally admitted, and especially in the matter which now engages our attention, that the cause of the inequality of conditions among men,—of pauperism, of universal misery, and of governmental embarrassments,—can only be traced to religion; we must go farther back, and dig still deeper.

But what is there in man older and deeper than the religious sentiment?

There is man himself; that is, volition and conscience, free-will and law, eternally antagonistic. Man is at war with himself; why?

"Man," say the theologians, "transgressed in the beginning; our race is guilty of an ancient offence. For this transgression humanity has fallen; error and ignorance have become its sentence. Read history, you will find universal proof of this necessity for evil in the permanent misery of nations. Man suffers and always will suffer; his disease is hereditary and constitutional. Use palliatives, employ emollients; there is no remedy."

For is this argument peculiar to the theologians; we find it expressed in equivalent language in the philosophical writings of the materialists, believers in infinite perfectibility. Destutt de Tracy teaches formally that poverty, crime, and war are the inevitable conditions of our social state; necessary evils, against which we would be folly to revolt. So, call it EXCESSIVE OF EVIL, or ORIGINAL DEPRAVITY, it is at bottom the same philosophy.

"The first man transgressed," if the votaries of the Bible interpret it faithfully, they would say "man originally transgressed." In this, man made a mistake; for to transgress, to fail, to make a mistake, all mean the same thing.

"The consequences of Adam's transgression are inherited by the race; the first is ignorance." Truly, the race, like the individual, is born ignorant; but, in regard to a multitude of questions, even in the moral and political spheres, this ignorance of the race has been dispelled; who says that it will not depart altogether? Mankind makes constant progress toward truth, and light ever triumphs over darkness. Our disease is not, then, absolutely incurable, and the theory of the theologians is worse than inadequate; it is ridiculous, and it is ridiculous to the point of pathology: "Man errs, because he errs." While the true statement is this: "Man errs, because he learns." Now, if man arrives at a knowledge of all that he needs to know, it is reasonable to believe that, ceasing to err, he will cease to suffer.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

LORD BROGHAM, being asked to define a lawyer, said: "A lawyer is a learned gentleman who rescues your estate from your enemies and keeps it himself."

The fortunate man is he who, born poor, or nobody, works gradually up to wealth and consolation, and, having got them, dies before he finds they were worth so much trouble.

"THE Anarchists propose to teach the people how to get along without government, as they already begin to learn how to get along without God."—Lyon's Anarchist Manifesto.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MEETINGS, LECTURES, &c.

WHILE desiring to show the fullest impartiality to correspondents the Editor reserves the right to reject all letters which he deems unsuitable. Rejected manuscripts will be returned if stamped and addressed envelope is enclosed; no responsibility will be taken, however, in the event of their being mismailed.

All communications should be addressed to THE EDITOR OF "HONESTY," 3 ALEXANDRA THEATRE, EXHIBITION-STREET, MELBOURNE.

HONESTY will be supplied gratis to Mechanics' Institutes and Free Libraries, if the secretaries of those institutions notify the Editor to that effect.

A CORRECTION.

(TO THE EDITOR.)

SIR,—In your first issue you have reported me as saying that government was to be compared to a "cell." In this your reporter has erred. What I did say was to this effect,—that just as the human organism is composed of a number of minute cells bound together by the general life of the individual, so is society made up of a number of units knit together by government. The report in every other particular seems to be very fair.—Yours &c.,

ISAAC SELBY.

HONESTY VERSUS CHARITY.

(TO THE EDITOR.)

SIR,—It seems to me that most people have, in their blind admiration of Charity, forgotten altogether that such a virtue as Honesty exists. The late sad disaster at the Bulli mines, N.S.W., touched the hearts of most men, and judging by the sum subscribed, their pockets too. Our noble governor Goddleshinn, plunked down his ten guineas. This may go to prove that he is charitable; but were he honest, he would at once refund the monies he has for a number of years drawn as wages—monies that have been taxed out of the already overburdened producers of this dross to keep him in a gorgeous state of uselessness, instead of going to work at some useful occupation. These calamities are everly taken hold of by designing crawlers to gain popularity; and while public opinion is so cheap, we will always have amongst us that hateful form of knavery, that favors open deceiving institutions, and delays the advent of much needed reforms. In an honest community, such accidents would happen very rarely, if at all. No money grubbing land grabbler would be allowed to enslave hundreds of honest toilers, and enslave the lives of their wives and sweethearts, for the sole purpose of satisfying his insatiable greed. When men live honestly, charity, poverty and crime will die. Let our real lovers of honest liberty make an effort to hasten the advent of those happy times.

ROBERT BEATTIE.

A COMMON WANT.

UNDER the heading "Employment Wanted," a correspondent writes to the "Age":—"Sir,—I beg of you to publish the following in your open column, as a last means of obtaining employment after having tried for over four months without any success. All my means of subsistence being exhausted, I can see nothing short of utter ruin for myself and my family, consisting of wife and three young children, during the ensuing winter, if I am not successful in obtaining work or employment of some description. I am an unfortunate but an educated man, can speak and correspond in four modern languages, good bookkeeper and accountant, and have a first-class reference from a large public company; good character and ability for a long term of years. I have advertised times innumerable in the daily papers without getting one reply. I have tried for work at the ironworks and machine, and for temporary work in the Civil Service, also at many private firms in town, without success. It is obvious that in a town like Melbourne there must always be a number of vacancies of some description, and the thought struck me to make an appeal for work in this manner if you will kindly give these lines room in your paper. Surely there must be an opening somewhere for a sober and industrious man, anxious and willing to do anything in the shape of work to support his family. I beg to enclose my name and address for the information of any employer that may answer this appeal by offering to do work of some description, and at moderate wages.—Yours, &c., AXEL'S FOR WORK."

How the authoritarians do thirst for revenge! A man named Bhoam, who was sentenced to death for murdering his wife at Leicester, England, refused, after the sentence, to take any food. Not to be led in this manner, the authorities forced food down his throat, and kept him alive in this manner, until the arrival of the day on which they had decided to hang him!

Some people appear to have no respect for the rights of others. In Cork, not long since, a Mrs. Dr. Fatts, of the Women's Medical College, Philadelphia, opened a series of lectures on health. A number of medical students entered the hall, and after compelling the lecturer to retire by exploding fireworks, hissing and making other noises, they rushed the platform, and scattered about the place the skeletons with which she had intended to illustrate her lecture. Monopoli adores competition.

THE astonishing spread of Nihilism among the Russian army and navy is so great, that the Russian Court is said "to be terror-stricken at the discovery of the lists of the affiliates;" and the representative of autocracy is in constant danger of his life.

CORRECTOS.—In the article on "Land Ownership," &c., a paragraph from the American Declaration of Independence wrongly ascribed to the French Assembly.—JUSTE AT MILKED.

DEBATE UPON "PROPERTY."—"Is Property Robbery?" was the subject of debate at the Melbourne Anarchists' Club, on March 27. Mr. David A. Aulmide opened with an address, giving a résumé of Proudhon's celebrated work, "What is Property?" A number of extracts were quoted to illustrate Proudhon's important distinction between possession and property, and the effect the latter had upon the social well-being.

DEBATE UPON "THE ETHICS OF ANARCHISM."—This was opened by Mr. J. A. Andrews, on April 2 at the Melbourne Anarchists' Club. The essayist cited the principles which underlie the Anarchist philosophy, and considered somewhat in detail their application to the practical affairs of life.

DEBATE UPON "HONEY SLAVEY."—Mr. John McMillan spoke upon this subject, at the Melbourne Anarchists' Club, on April 10. He showed the essentially exploiting character of our modern institutions; and the common resemblance between the political institutions of these colonies and the "old country"; the position of Ireland being especially dwelt upon as a prospect for Australians if they do not change their course. There was little diversity of opinion amongst the subsequent speakers.

DEBATE UPON "MONEY AND EXCHANGE."—Mr. David A. Aulmide read a paper before the Melbourne Anarchists' Club on April 17, the title of which was: "Money; a Study of the Currency Question, especially in its relations to the principles of Equity, Utility and Liberty." The present money system was explained and strongly condemned; and a voluntary system of Mutual Banking advocated in its stead. A critical discussion followed. The writer was asked to publish the essay in pamphlet form if possible.

MEETINGS ANNOUNCED.

DEBATES will be held at the Melbourne Anarchists' Club during the month, as follows:—

- May 1.—"Drink and Progress."
- " 8.—"Medical Superstition."
- " 15.—"Democracy, Socialism, and Anarchy."
- " 22.—"The Sins of Legislators."
- " 29.—"The Survival of the Fittest; or Might is Right."

Debates commence at 7.30 p.m. Public invited. Admission free. Collection.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS, ANNOUNCEMENTS, &c.

The Secretary of the Melbourne Anarchists' Club desires to notify that the Annual Meeting will be held on Wednesday, the 11th May, at eight o'clock p.m. Addresses will be given by various members of the club, in addition to the ordinary business. Members may invite their friends, or any other members of the public who desire to be present.

Secretaries of Radical Reform Societies and Working Men's Clubs are invited to send to the Editor brief reports of any meetings or proceedings suitable for publication in these columns.

POLITICAL SLAVERY.

"ALL laws are directed against the working people. In so far as the opposite appears to be the case, they serve on one hand to bind the worker, while on the other hand they are simply evaded. Even the school serves only the purpose of furnishing the offspring of the wealthy with those qualities necessary to uphold their class domination. The children of the poor get scarcely a formal elementary training, and this, too, is mainly directed to such branches as tend to producing peevishness, arrogance, and servility; in short, want of sense. The Church finally seeks to make complete idiots out of the mass and to make them forget the paradise on earth by promising a paradise in heaven. The capitalistic press, on the other hand, takes care of the confusion of spirits in public life. All these institutions, far from aiding in the education of the masses, have for their object the keeping in ignorance of the people. They are all in the pay and under the direction of the capitalistic classes. The workers can therefore expect no help from any capitalistic party in their struggle against the existing system. They must achieve their liberation by their own efforts. As in former times a privileged class never surrendered its tyranny, neither can it be expected that the capitalists of this age will give up their ruleship without being forced to do it."—From the "Manifesto" of the International Working People's Association (American).

ANOTHER instance of legal justice.—An old man at Washington, D.C., has just been sent to jail for stealing chickens; but the same court, on the same day, discharged Hits and Prentiss (who wrecked the German American National bank and robbed several hundred poor people of that city of a sum equivalent to about \$8,000) on the ground that the indictment failed to state that the bank was doing business in that city at the time that the men stole the deposits! The law everywhere is opposed to petty theft; but if a robbery is conducted on a large scale, the robber may generally rely on its powerful support.

AND here is another interesting experience, which strangely coincides with the foregoing. The Rev. H. W. Georges, a respected pastor of Kansas, has resigned his pastorate and admitted the perpetration of a number of thefts, when charged with them by a committee of investigation. The church has manifestly recognised his dishonesty, by giving him a warm testimonial of affection and presenting him with \$100 in cash! While this was going on, a negro in Kansas was sentenced to five or imprisonment for stealing a few chickens. A local journal suggested that the negro should be treated as the clergyman had been; but of course he wasn't.

POETRY.

TO "HONESTY."

All hail! From latter birth,
King that shall be!
Proclaimed by "science and world,"
From Honesty!

Truth's gospel wait ahead!
Cleanse thou the land
Of greed, and force, and fraud!
Corruption's ban!

Proclaim humanity!
Resolved and strong
To clear from thought's highway
All cumbering wrong.

Show man some place whereon
To plant the feet
Of truth, all overgrown
With foul deceit.

Speak out, for freedom's all
In honor's cause,
That man may break the thrall
Of nightmare laws!

That man may know the great,
Perfect and free,
In all efficient state
Of liberty.

"Plain Honesty," so may
All good attend
The perils of thy way,
And thee befriend.

J. M.

MARRIAGE

AS IT IS.

"Oh, wilt thou take this form so spare,
This powdered face and frizzled hair,
To be thy wedded wife;
And keep her free from labor vile,
And dress her up in gayest style,
As long as thou hast life?"
"I will."

"And wilt thou take these stock and bonds,
This brown-stone front, these diamonds,
To be thy husband, dear?
And wilt thou in this carriage ride,
And o'er his lonely home preside,
And be divorced while yet a bride,
Or ere a single year?"
"I will."

"Then I pronounce you man and wife;
And with what I've together joined
The next best man may run away,
Whenever he a chance can find."

—TRUTH.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

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No. 3.

MELBOURNE: JUNE, 1887.

Price, 3s.

THE JUBILEE.

This is the year of jubilee; and this the jubilee month of this jubilee year. The official dictum has gone forth from the conquered land of William the Robber, that the people of Australia shall join in holding a jubilee in commemoration of the fiftieth year of the reign of the present representative of English tyranny. Illuminations are being displayed, loyal demonstrations devised, money recklessly squandered—and all for what? Loyal cant says: To express the happiness of the people. Honesty says: To bolster up a tottering tyranny at the expense of the wretched slaves whom our barbarous system holds in subjection.

The people of Australia are jubilating—are they? Jubilating over what? Are they jubilating over the terrible fact that their three million square miles of land are, for the most part, held in enforced idleness by the villainous monopoly over which the State keeps guard? Are they jubilating because thousands of would-be willing workers are wandering about the streets in search of employment? Are they jubilating because the workers, who constitute by far the larger portion of our population of two-and-a-half millions, are only in receipt of a very small portion of the wealth which they alone produce? Are they jubilating because the State-created banking monopolies absorb annually ten million pounds' worth of the product of their labor, for which they render little or no service whatever? Are they jubilating because our State-created monopolies annually drive twenty thousand of our population to pauperism, fifty thousand to drunkenness, thousands of our children to unhealthy and degrading factories, and thousands of our daughters to prostitution? Are they jubilating because they are robbed of eight million pounds annually by taxation? Are they jubilating because thousands of their fellows are asking for employment, instead of demanding restitution of the fruits of their past employment? Are they jubilating because their rulers are sending their spies and detectives to disturb their assemblages and prevent them from bet-

tering their condition? Are they jubilating because their so-called "representatives" are seeking to create an Australian navy, the better to hold them in subjection, and to subjugate their more peaceable neighbors? Are they jubilating over the fact that monarchism has proved a curse, and democracy has proved no better? Are they jubilating over the fact that our political institutions are fast corrupting the best of us, and that while we support them we are tottering headlong to destruction?

Yes; of such is our Jubilee, whether we know it or not. Our people are jubilating because tyrants have commanded them to jubilate; and tyranny has made them such cowards that they durst not refuse.

But all is not hopeless. Behind the glitter and tinsel of this empty show, this miserable sham, this feigned loyalty, is heard the earnest whisper of DISCONTENT. It is a whisper now; but like many another whisper, it may but herald in the hurricane.

And then? Then shall be celebrated THE PEOPLE'S JUBILEE!

Then shall the people rejoice, that the dream of peace, progress and prosperity is realized. Then shall they rejoice that the bounties of nature have been dethroned, and that the bounties of nature are free to all who would partake of them. Freedom of opportunity for every individual to labor for his own sustenance and welfare, without fear of imprisonment for trespassing on monopolised lands, or imprisonment for being the victim of compulsory vagrancy. Freedom for everyone to think his own thought, to say his own say, and act his own act, without fear of imprisonment or murder by intolerant tyrants. Freedom for our daughters to live in comfort, without selling their bodies to secure the wealth which has been robbed from our brothers. Freedom to exchange without the thievish monopoly of land or money or a customs' tariff. Freedom to act out one's noblest aspiration, to vindicate which Luther sought, but failed: THE RIGHT OF PRIVATE JUDGMENT. Freedom to do unto others as you would have that others should do unto you, and to proclaim in real earnest: "Peace on earth; Goodwill to Men."

Then will be THE PEOPLE'S JUBILEE!

CONSTRUCTIVE ANARCHY.

(Continued from page 14.)

We will suppose that we now have our purchasing companies established, and that we are saving 20 per cent. on an average expenditure of 30s. week per family, *i.e.*, 6s. per week that each head of family could save. Now, those that laid up 6s. weekly for one year, would have £15 12s., or sufficient capital to start a producing company, providing the co-operative principle was adopted.

You will now shortly see the benefit of the purchasing companies, and that your success depends greatly upon them. I will trace the growth of a single producing company from the purchasing companies. We, as Anarchists, understand that profites are picking our pockets as working men, and as we want our liberty respected in this direction, if we wish to be successful, we must respect the liberties of others in this same direction, therefore, those of us that are members of the purchasing company, will call a meeting of Anarchists together for the purpose of establishing producing companies on the cost principle. We, as purchasers, will announce that if there are any producers among us in any trade that would like to start a company for production purposes, that we will agree to take all that they will produce, and pay them for their produce on delivery with paper promises-to-pay similar to the paper bank note of the present time, but instead of it being a promise to pay only one product, *i.e.*, gold, that we would pay any product that we held in our stores.

Now that our stores are converted into banks of issue, and banks that would be established upon a sound basis, for they would have the full value in store for every note issued, and as the notes came back to the store for the purposes of purchasing, the outstanding circulation would shrink as the stock in the store diminished.

These stores or purchasing companies could combine together if they liked to redeem the notes of each other's issue, and at the same time to settle upon some design in common for the face and back of their notes, having spaces to be filled in by the officers of each purchasing company. You would need to have your circulating medium handled in some such a way for convenience sake, so that you could purchase at any store established upon our principle.

Now, remember, there is not much to fear from the failure or fraud of one of these stores, for although as a producer, you take the store's notes, being a member of the store yourself, you have merely yourself to trust. There is one more function that the store bank could perform after the stores have become general, and that would be to loan money on the plant of any newly-formed company (after having assured itself that the people of that company thoroughly understood their business), thereby furnishing them with sufficient capital to begin operations with.

Let us take a hasty glance at these producing companies, and see what the effect of them would be from a business standpoint. We will suppose that we have established amongst us companies representing all of the principal trades, and at the same time selling the stores at the cost of production. We are now buying boots, clothing, hats, in fact everything that can be manufactured, at cost, but we are getting no less for our labor, so our day's wages has increased in value to a very large extent; and then again, as we have required no large shop fronts, and have been contented to carry on business elsewhere, in the main business street, rent has had to fall, and we have a less burden in this direction as well. But where does the farm laborer come in? He must adopt the same tactics. Say fifteen to twenty men combine together and invest what they have saved through their purchasing companies, to buy land, and at first put in only those crops that pay the best and bring their land to a high state of cultivation (for their land at first would be of a small amount, and to make it employ the labor of the whole company, they would need to make every square inch of the land yield). The city purchasing companies could take all of their produce, and in that way the farming company would always have a sure market for their produce.

Now, supposing we had these co-operative farms established in every district within easy access to the cities, selling to those cities for cost, what would become of the farmer that had to hire labor to do his work and make a profit out of it? He simply could not carry on, for the prices he would get for his stuff would have no room for profit, and he would only be able to cultivate what land he could by his own hands; and as

a large number working together can produce more for capital than singly, that farmer with all his land would be better off if he was in one of these companies; in fact a large lot of land would be a hindrance to him. Even if he had a sheep-run, he could not keep an excessive run fenced, and at the same time do all of his own shearing and work in connection with his flocks. Now no man would be able to hire labor to do his work for him, for the reason that men could do better by themselves by combining in companies, than they could by working for a master.

The time would surely come when large land owners would relinquish their possessions voluntarily, because they would be no richer by selling a large tract of land their own. Land would fall in price until its value would only be fixed by the demand of food from it. Let me explain: Victoria with its present population has such an abundance of land, that the food demanded per acre is very slight, and if only food producers or working agriculturists occupied it there would be so much spare land that the value of that occupied would be very slight, compared to the present value. But as population increased, the demand for food per square acre would increase until such times that food would be so dear that it would pay to get the utmost from each acre by an extra expenditure of work, and in that way a larger population would be continually going on to the soil, or in other words, when it would now pay a company of twenty to purely cultivate fifty acres of land, it would pay them better in the time to come, to cultivate only twenty-five acres in a thorough manner, and sell the remaining twenty-five acres to new comers. The occupier of the land either in country or city must own it, and not hire it, and if the working man co-operate on the Anarchist's principle, he will be able to. That is the only ultimate to solve the rent question, *own the land you occupy.*

Land Nationalisation is all humbug. It simply helps to perpetuate Government, that tries to crush you on the one hand, and fixes a false value for the land on the other. I think that I will write an article on this land question and go into it more fully at some future date.

We have killed our present credit system with all of its evils, and the various banks can no longer exist. The profit-making manufacturer and land owner have become defunct, so the next thing that we will require into will be imports or products of foreign countries and our protective policy.

D. W. BROOKHOUSE.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

MASTER AND SERVANT.

I PROPERLY hear employees complaining against their employers, on the ground of their hardness of heart. Each one's employer is considered exceptionally arbitrary and extortionate, and even a worse master than almost anyone else has to submit to; while their particular trade is the worst one their parents could have put them to. Did they but understand their true position in the least degree, this foolishness is general, and not exceptional, and it is their own ignorance, indifference, and want of courage, which holds them to their present condition. If the workers of to-day were themselves the masters of to-morrow, the lot of the "wage-slave" would not be lightened; on the other hand, as experience has shown, the employer who has worked into position from an ordinary laborer is usually the most austere and unreasonable of masters. The fact is this: *the men are not to blame, but the system.* While the workers are content to have the natural wealth of the world monopolized by our essentially monopolistic governmental systems, it is useless for them to complain when certain individuals become monopolists by appropriating that which has already been monopolized. It is to the master's interest to wring all he can from his employees; and it is to the latter's interest to secure free access to natural resources and to retain the full product of his labor. If our political institutions have so debased him that he has neither the sense, energy, nor courage to protect his interest in this manner, then his case is indeed hopeless. But I have better hopes for disinherited humanity than that. When the working people, whether man, woman or child, once acquire confidence in the growing spirit of self-reliance, and cease to look to members of Parliament, trades-union committee-men, priests, professional lecturers, professional philanthropists, or the like to advance them, then will they be on the road to prosperity. They will no longer hopelessly complain of the extortions of their masters, but will blame themselves for having allowed such a system to exist so long, and set to work to build a more equitable one in its place. DAVID A. ASDRADE.

LAND OWNERSHIP IN RELATION TO POVERTY.

(Continued from page 15.)

In England, between 1868 and 1879, the increase of the annual wealth of the United Kingdom was 242 millions. The working man received 99 millions, and the capitalist received 143 millions. The working man contributed 97 per cent. to the population and received 41 per cent. of the wealth, while during the same period the capitalist class contributed three per cent. to the population, and received 59 per cent. of the wealth. I think the working man may obtain an idea of what help he may expect from Tory legislators from the writings of Dr. Mathias, a Church of England clergyman, who once wrote the following words:—"A man born into the world already occupied, his family unable to support him, and the society not requiring his services, such a man has not the least right to claim any nourishment whatever; he is really one too many on the earth at the great banquet of Nature. There is no plate laid for him. Nature commands him to take himself off, and she will not be slow to put her order into execution." A very comforting doctrine, no doubt, and I suppose in Melbourne many people find themselves *ad hoc*, and therefore take their departure, not dignified and stately, but with—

A sob and a sigh and a murmur he gave
As he plunged himself into the billowy wave;
And a gurgle arose from the sailor's grave—

in the Yarra, which may account for so many being found drowned.

They make a jest of these things in our theatres, but the stern reality is no jest. It is time we made it rough on rats,—the vermin who are eating the vitals of the social body. Evolution or revolution,—better to destroy the vermin than that they should increase and destroy you. The masses of the people are not poor because they are numerous, but because the rich are rich. The rich are rich not because they are industrious, but because by government monopolies they are able to rob the poor of the greater portion of the result of their labor. The people are not poor because they are lazy; when unemployed they are demanding work, but monopoly keeps them off the lands where they could grow food. I may here remark that no Government can grant a monopoly until they have deprived the mass of their rights. No Government can grant a tax salary or a pension to a privileged individual until they have plundered the community of the amount in the shape of taxes.

That wretched infidel Tom Paine, as the slanderous Christians call that good man, the son of the Theiford Quaker, as early as 1791, in his excellent work on the *Rights of Man*, showed the evils of granting privileges to individuals or classes, but his voice has been unheeded, and people are going to Government for help more than ever, which really means asking it to rob the mass in favor of a class. Parliaments have become the arena where the classes dispute which shall rob first, and in these discussions the taxpayer has little interest unless he could stop the robbery, for it does not much matter to him by which thief he is robbed. A short time back the government that could not alleviate the sufferings of the starving working men found the funds £1,000, for a select banquet on laying the foundation stone of the Parliament House. The guests comprised the governor and wealthy people who could afford to provide a good dinner for themselves. It was a grand affair; the champagne was of the very best description, for it was at the expense of the State. They raised the funds by robbing traders who purchased on credit. The means were the duty stamps, and the whole amount was plundered in one night. We have wandered away from the land, so we will now hear the opinion of Mr. Henry George. He says:—"If the equal right of the whole people to the elements gratuitously furnished by Nature be asserted without draw-back or compromise, then the essential difference between property in land and property in all things of human production, is at once brought out. There will it clearly appear that not only the denial of the right of individual property in land does not involve any menace to legitimate property rights, but that the maintenance of private property in land necessarily involves a denial to the right to all other property, and a recognition of the claims of the landholders means a continuous robbery of capital as well as labor, by means of increased values or, as it is termed, the unearned increment." The non-working landowner receives the greater portion of the earnings of the workers, of course deducting the costs of feeding and clothing them, for if they were not fed and clothed they would cease to exist as workers, a fact

palpable to the minds of the most voracious landowners. The workers are kept at work by the fear of starvation, which is greatly aggravated in a cold-climate like England. In the thickly populated countries of Europe, governments let the people die off by disease and starvation, as long as they keep quiet and are content to suffer in this world, hoping to be rewarded for it on their arrival at the New Jerusalem. But when they become rebellious, the landowning rulers simply engage in a war with a power similarly situated, and thereby reduce the surplus population. It is evident that the Germans do not like the process, for the returns of the military department recently published at Berlin show that 14,702 men were sentenced last year for attempting to emigrate to avoid military service, and that there are 14,174 similar cases pending. As an example of how the landowner acquires the result of the labor of the workers, I will quote the allotment at the corner of Little Collins street, which has been recently let on a 21 years' lease of the ground at £2,000 a year, on condition that buildings are erected on it to the value of £12,000. It is valued at £1,000 a foot. What has made that land so valuable? I think it is the increase of population and the labor of the workers who have built up the houses near it, drawn trade to that locality, made the drains, laid the gas mains, water mains, telephones, telegraphs, and tramways. But who reaps the bulk of the result? The non-working landowner, who has perhaps been residing in a salubrious sea-side residence at Schnapper Point. I do not know what the gentleman paid for the land in the first instance. He might have bought it in the early times at a government land sale, at the upset price of £1 per foot, or it may have been purchased there by some one else, and if it has exchanged hands 50 times since, that does not affect the argument. The non-working landlord has always since then held possession, receiving rent from the tenant. This case gives you the profit of our non-working landholder. What must be the profit of all the landholders of Melbourne? Simply that they are accumulating the wealth of the city, which will enable them to attain a pitch of culture and refinement that their descendants will look down on the workers as quite an inferior class of people, you know. As an example of State ownership of land, I will instance the Botanical Gardens, on which large sums of public money has been expended at various times, but no private person reaps the benefit of that expenditure. It is still held by the people as a whole for the use of the people as a whole, and any citizen poor or rich can enter and add to his happiness by gazing on its beauties. The only flaw is the amount of money wasted in earlier times by mismanagement, and the injustice of the state compelling country people to contribute to the maintenance of a garden they never see. But the monstrous wrong perpetrated by government was selling what did not belong to themselves nor to the electors who sent them to Parliament, namely, the right of future generations to the use of the land. According to Hayer's statistics, up to the end of 1882 they had sold into private hands 13 millions acres for 21 millions sterling, or for the paltry sum of 31s. per acre. They then taxed the public for railway construction to enhance the value of those lands so that, according to the testimony of a member of Parliament, the holder of a large estate purchased at £1 per acre, was enabled, after railway construction, to sell a portion at the rate of from £400 to £500 per acre. The irrigation scheme will still further enhance the value of land in private hands.

When that patient ass, the taxpayer, requires the use of a piece of land to grow food, he will have to pay the advanced price in the shape of rent. Of course if he has no money to pay rent, he has to starve or rebel, that is, to turn swagman, and threaten to fire the grass.

The following are some of the views held by Mr. Henry George and the masses he proposes for the settlement of the land question:—

1. He says Mr. Justice Fitzgerald was quite right when he told the jury that the land laws of Ireland were more favorable to the tenant than those of Great Britain, Belgium, or the United States.

2. That there is nothing peculiar in Irish distress; it extends all over the world.

3. The Irish land question is the land question of the whole civilized world.

4. That the proposed remedy, the creation of a peasant proprietary, is inadequate. That for the State to buy out the landholders and resell to the tenants for annual payments extending over a term of years, covering principle and interest, will be ineffectual, for no sooner are the lands divided, than owing to the improvements in machinery now used in cultivation, making it more profitable to cultivate large farms than

small ones, a process of concentration will set in and will swallow the little patches of the peasant proprietors.

I, myself, think that the land purchase scheme proposed by the Gladstone Government would give 150 millions of British taxpayers' money for the lands of Irish landlords who cannot collect their rents, for it is absurd to suppose that the tenants would pay their rents to an alien Government, and the loss would ultimately fall on the taxpayer already ground to earth by his burdens. The State cannot remedy one wrong by inflicting another.

5. Mr. George argues: if the Irish people have an equal right to life, it follows that they have an equal right to the elements which nature provides to sustain life, viz.: air, water, land. For to deny them the right to the elements which sustain life is to deny them the right to live.

6. He says the landlord's right is the tenant's wrong—property in land, means poverty in man—and that no human being or any number of human beings has a right to say that in the year 1887 the great mass of Irish should be compelled to pay in many cases to residents in England, France, or the United States, for the privilege of living in their native land and on their own native soil.

7. Apologising for calling landowners robbers, personally they are no worse than other men. Many are esteemed cultured gentlemen, but no other word will suit the purpose so well. The right to possess and pass on things that decay and cease to exist, is very different to the right to possess and pass on the ownership of what does not decay, and from which each successive generation must live.

Capt. Kidd's, the pirate, business was capturing merchantmen, appropriating the cargo, and making the crews walk the plank. Suppose he left his wealth to his legal heir and the great-great-grandson of a merchant complained to the Tribunal of Society, and said, This man's great-great-grandfather plundered my great-great-grandfather. I want restitution of the plunder. The Tribunal would say, But he is not plundering you; he came into possession of these things peacefully, and we will allow him to hold them peacefully or there will be no end of disputes to secure possession of anything. That is the common-sense view of the statute of limitations. If Capt. Kidd having established a profitable, piratical business, handed it down to his descendants who still carried on the enterprise of seizing ships and making the crews walk the plank, and who considered it the most natural thing in the world to do, when Society's Tribunal was appealed to by the victims it would stop the piracy at once without any compensation. No appeal to vested rights would assist their cause. If the descendants of Capt. Kidd had sold out to the firm of Brown, Jones, and Robinson, and the court was appealed to, that would not help the case. It is a public wrong and must be stopped immediately, no matter how long the public have endured; and the powers of public endurance are great, for the majority of men do not think they have to expend so much energy in the struggle for life, that they have not time, and accept injustice engrained in the social system as a matter of course.

Landownership is a kindred business to Capt. Kidd's. It robs the producer of wealth as remorselessly, more silently, regularly, and systematically, than the pirate who robs the merchantman and condemns thousands to far more lingering, horrible deaths than walking the plank. If a man of his money, he can work for money; rob men of the land necessary for existence, and the robbery is continuous. Labor can produce no wealth without land. Land can yield no wealth without labor. You can abolish private property in land by diverting the rent, which now flows into the pockets of the landlords, into the common Treasury. It is not possible to divide the land, giving each an equal share, but it is possible to divide the rent, or, what amounts to the same thing, to apply it to purposes of common benefit. This is the way that absolute justice can be done.

Herbert Spencer says:—(Such a doctrine is consistent with the highest state of civilization, may be carried out without involving a community of goods, and need cause no very serious revolution in existing arrangements. The change required is simply a change of landlords. Separate ownership would merge into the joint stock ownership of the public. Instead of being in the possession of private individuals the country would be held by the great corporate body, society. Instead of leasing his acres from the isolated proprietor, the farmer would lease them from the nation. Instead of paying his rent to Sir John or his Grace, he would pay it to an agent or deputy agent of the community. Stewards would be public officials instead of private ones, and tenancy the only land tenure. Clearly therefore on such a system, the earth might

be enclosed, occupied, and in entire subordination to the law of equal freedom."

This view of Herbert Spencer's sounds very well, but some slight difficulties present themselves. Under the law of equal freedom, that is to say, that every man should do as he pleases, the tenant may not please to pay his rent, even to the corporate body. Society, a corporate body, acting as one is necessarily coercive, and governmental expropriations are the worst of all. Would it not be better to remove all artificial restraints and the curse of law-making, and then everything would settle itself to our full satisfaction, if only the shackles were taken off and free play granted to the existing industrial forces? In making stewards, rent collectors, &c., civil servants, an army of officials in authority, would soon become corrupt and tyrannical.

Henry George's scheme to abolish private ownership of land is by combining the strongest forces against the joint of least resistance, by forming an irresistible combination of labor and capital against landlordism—the same combination which proved its strength and power in 1846 by winning the battle of free trade against the landed interest. Making land common property and using the rent for the common benefit is easily effected by abolishing one tax after another until the whole weight of taxation falls on the value of the land. The real fight will be in consolidating existing taxation on land values. This once won, the landowners will be defeated, and the nature of land values will be so generally understood, that to raise taxation so as to take the whole of the rent for common purposes, will come as a matter of course. Now although I think it possible to gain a victory by that combination, I think it very probable that the landlords would defeat the object for a time, by raising the rent to the amount, and making the tenants pay the tax, which would entail a deal of suffering on the farmer. The rapacity of the landlords has no limit and is only checked by having their farms unoccupied. And evidence from England proves that they are demanding rents which cannot be made off the land at the price stock and produce are now fetching in the market.

This is the picture Mr. Henry George presents as the possible results of the success of his scheme. A republic of equal citizens will then be possible; dependence of all will give true independence to each. Competition will then become co-operation; moral progress will go hand in hand with intellectual progress; material progress will elevate and enfranchise the poorest, weakest, and lowliest. From this also I slightly differ, although I believe in individual independence. I also believe in competition under fair conditions, that is to say, equality of opportunity, and I do object to the workers being handicapped as they are at present by monopolies granted by parliament, and running in the race with capital. Like a horse with leaden weights in his saddlebags. Privileged credit gives capitalists, besides their real capital, an amount of spurious capital, in contending with which the savings of labor have no chance of success. The banks accept the deeds of land, the value of which has been inflated by the unearned increment, as security for borrowed money, so that the wholesale gradually eats up the retail, and an employé has small chance of rising into the ranks of the employers.

The land question first came into prominence of late years as the Irish land question. What brought it into notice in that country, what permits the relations between land and labor to be seen there with such distinctness, to be seen by those who cannot in other places perceive them is certain special conditions. Ireland is densely populated, so that the competition for the use of the land is so sharp and high, as to produce marked effects on the distribution of wealth. It is mainly an agricultural country, so that production is concerned directly with the soil. Its industrial organisation is largely that simple one in which an employing capitalist does not stand between the laborer and the nonworking landowner, so that the connection between rent and wages is not obscured. But the Irish tenant under the rule of the hated Saxon, is much better off than the American tenant under the rule of the so-called free Republic. The land question really is not Irish, but the question of all civilized countries at the present time; and the same thing which causes the Irish to emigrate, causes the American to migrate westward, and causes the English, Scotch, Swedish, German and Italian to emigrate. The French and Belgians do not leave their native land, because they have not large families. They keep down population on the Malthusian principle, against which Mr. P. J. Proudhon protests in his pamphlet, the *Malthusians*.

JUSTE AU MILIEU.

WHAT IS IT TO BE AN ANARCHIST?

The popular conception of an Anarchist is a curious one. Most persons conceive of him as a moody, disappointed individual, angry and discontented with all existing society institutions, and not at all scrupulous as to the means by which he may get rid of them. In fact, he is considered to look specially upon dynamite, bomb shells, and other murderous explosives, as particular friends and companions of his, to be used in preference to all other reasons.

And this opinion is entertained in spite of all protestations of Anarchists to the contrary—in spite even of etymology. For Anarchy literally means "without rule." The Anarchist consistently opposes all compulsion, and rule is but compulsion; and this phantom Anarchist, that vexes the souls of illogical Archists, is supposed to be an individual ever desiring to exercise his rule on others by forcible endeavor. The oft-recurring periods in human history, when opposing bands of Archists contended bitterly for the establishment of the *locals* of Archy, are with a delightful impudence, called periods of *Anarchy* and confusion, as if the words were identical, instead of being diametrically opposed. When it is settled which party or class shall rule, it is then said that Anarchy is at an end and rule established—rule meaning in each case, that for the present one band of confederated Archist rillians has given the other its quietus, and force and injustice shall reign, till the never-dying lore of liberty in the human breast shall re-assert itself, and attempt to teach its tyrants another lesson. Then again, Anarchy is supposed once more to prevail. The real fact in all this is, that neither party has correctly conceived the fundamental principles of natural justice, yet have resolved if any ruling is to be done, they, and not others, shall do it. They have loved liberty, it is true—but for themselves only. The scientific Anarchist of this century, essays to give Liberty to all, and as a necessary consequence, to abolish *rule*.

The Anarchist is such from intense intellectual conviction. He starts from the fundamental principles of justice and right doing. Since the thinkers of the world have abolished phantom gods, from whose commands were supposed to be derived the sanction for conduct, no other basis for morality can be conceived than that of equity of inherent individual rights. This cardinal fundamental principle of Anarchy, equity, coincides with the best and deepest thoughts of the world, and sought religious reformers, who have impressed the world, and sought unto others as you would wish to be done unto; these are the mottoes of all Anarchists, who see that these sayings cannot have their full effect, unless Wisdom be united to love, and the positive institutions that stand in the way of their fulfilment, be undermined and destroyed. Where equity is the base, none can rightfully rule the other. If the freedom to do this wrong be given to any, then it must be given to all, and this mutuality must inevitably, if observed, restore harmonic relations, and abolish rule altogether. It is the denial of this mutuality—the existence of a privileged caste that rules,—that is the fatal enemy of human happiness. And this is true of all rule—despotic, limited monarchic, or democratic. To take from any person anything against his consent, violates fundamental morality, and the ethics of numbers under majority rule is no way condones the offence.

But the constant cry comes from the Archist, "What will you do with aggressors? Rule is necessary to keep criminals in check, and an organized judiciary is preferable to leaving revenge to private individuals." Would that Archists could come into court with clean hands, and truthfully plead, not even that all past governments, but that any existing government, rigidly confine themselves to the function of observing strict mutuality and justice among the individual members of the community? Could they do so, our opposition would end. But what is the record of the world's experience? *That governments have been the champion aggressors from all time, and still remain so.* How much, we ask, of this individual wrong-doing is the direct result of our positive institutions, our lands of confederated criminals, our governments? What poverty and incitements to crime have they not caused by their monopolies of land and currency, by their protective laws of every description, by their class legislation, their brutal coercion, their corrupt practices and robberies, their army of parasitic officials? Alas, poor human nature! it is ever being degraded, and then being cursed for its degradation. Of old-time, God worshippers looked upon human nature as fallen, deriving all its bad features from itself or from a rival God, viz: the devil. Reconciliation was to be effected by grovelling to God, and his self-elected mediators,—men rob-

bing themselves of their goods for these parasites. And even yet, so-called liberal theologians give praise to God, and not to man, for all man's splendid qualities, ascribing them to him as gifts and not as the results of long evolutionary processes in human nature. So, as in the theological sphere, is it in the social and political sphere. Man in the past was supposed to need divine civil rulers, gods, or the descendants of gods, or divinely appointed. These gone, he still needed direction from limited monarchic or aristocratic constitutions. And nowadays, he is still popularly supposed to need democratic rulers—the envious heirs to aristocratic power. Just as all was robbed from matter to give to spirit, so is all robbed from men in the aggregate to give to their unworthy rulers. In truth, it is the general good behavior of mankind that militates against the vicious influence of the ruling classes. If individual aggressors need reforming, much more do governments need destroying by the moral influences, arising from intellectual convictions of justice allied to will. The same process that reforms the one will destroy the other,—the proceeding, and accustoms them always to be just before being generous,—going away with all necessity for government. Not even an Archist, have he but some slight claim to intellect, can say there is anything ethical about government. It is the sign of disease and not of health. The necessity which will lead us to deal with aggressors, systematically probably, will gradually dwindle as first principles extend among our rulers, and are acted on as an example to all beneath. Without that knowledge and that action, crime must inevitably continue.

We hope for no forcible release from present ills. It is force is the cause of them, and it can in no way cure them. Force is never ethical, and can even be rendered justifiable on the score of necessity, only when used as a means to keep men alive, who will spread moral influences. Because of this repugnance to force, deductively and inductively borne in upon us, we reject all authority imposed against our consent. The authority we accept willingly, the authority of specialists in all lines of human industry, and peaceable activity, is all the more weighty on us, that we know we are free to reject it if we please. The authority we shall respect and recognize shall be temporary, and limited in area, arising spontaneously, and existing because of the consent of those accepting it. Above all it shall be mutual and reciprocal, while our interests are as discrete as possible. The mode of election shall be reversed. Those worthy of authority,—that is, those who can gain the voluntary consent of others to guide them, will elect themselves, and be voted for afterwards by the Anarchistic method of dealing with them if Anarchists think fit. To get rid of arbitrary authority and restore reciprocal relations, must be the work of time, of patience, experiment, and steady effort. We must creep from under our positive institutions and let them fall for want of a base.

To hold the above convictions and aspire to act on them, is in my opinion to be an Anarchist.

J. D.

REPUBLICAN TYRANNY.

The United States government made a treaty with the Crow Indians guaranteeing to them the possession of certain land in common "so long as grass grows and water runs." Commissioner Atkins wants the tribe to give up the land, but the Indians point to the treaty. Mr. Atkins says: "If this government can annul State laws by decisions of the supreme court, and otherwise control States through a central power, as the war decided it could, then its power over the Indians is just as great, and no independent nation can exist within our borders, and Congress has power to deal with the Indian as it sees fit. If we cannot carry this matter by persuasion, we must resort to other means." In plain terms, the government can and will perpetrate any infamy that brute force is capable of achieving. In what respect does a republic differ from any other form of despotism?—*Liberty*.

Governments are the foes to freedom; Privilege and Authority are their supports; they exist by the exploitation of labor, and by the creation of monopolies which facilitate that exploitation; they are the fountains of social inequality and the destroyers of social prosperity; all the good works ascribed to them are done outside of them, and would be better done did they not exist; the combined knavery and ignorance of barbarians created them; the combined intellect, vigour and determination of the civilized shall destroy them. The political system of tyranny and robbery shall give place to the Anarchist system of liberty and honesty. Friends of freedom, hasten its advent!

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"Whenever we depart from the great principles of truth and honesty, of equal freedom and justice to all men, whether in our relations with other states, or in our dealings with our fellowmen, the evil that we do surely comes back to us, and the suffering and poverty and crime of which we are the direct or indirect causes, help to impoverish ourselves."—ALFRED RUSSELL WALLACE.

ON THE LOOK-OUT.

THE promoters of the Working Men's College could not have singled out a much more competent man than Duncan Gillies to deliver their inaugural address; for he is so proficient in political sophistry. On the occasion in question, he is reported to have said: "England, which a few years ago might be supposed to defy the rest of the world in trade competition, had been very hardly pressed in many of her industries, and, unfortunately, in some of them she had been beaten in her own market. They asked the question, How was this? The cause assigned by thinking men was, not that England was not highly flourishing, and capable of occupying the highest industrial position, but that some years ago she did not make the effort to educate her working classes in technical knowledge as other nations had done, but had been falling behind in some of her manufactures, and now it was as much as she could do to keep her place." Anyone who knows anything at all about the subject, knows that England has been hardly pressed in her industries, because the industries have been made subordinate to the profit-making speculations of the class of monopolists and politicians, which Messrs. Ormond and Gillies represent. Technical education under free conditions is undoubtedly a good thing; but while the workers remain in their present condition of slavery, it can do them really no good for the whole of the gain is reaped by the capitalist. In the first place, technical education is paid for by the worker, who ultimately pays for everything. The more proficient the workers become in the use of industrial appliances, the more they tax their brains in the invention of machinery of increased labor-saving power, the keener will be the struggle upon the labor market. Less workers will be employed, because technical knowledge can accomplish more, and the capitalist cannot be expected to speculate in unremunerative employment; and those he does not require may starve or steal. The ranks of the unemployed will swell, as fast as those in employment develop greater proficiency in their pursuits. There will be a diminished market because less are in a position to purchase—the means of the unemployed are necessarily small. The competition between employed and unemployed will keep wages down to starvation level—the Brighton line on the 11th ult., an express train running into a disabled ordinary train. Seventeen passengers were killed and a number wounded. Official inquiries are of course being held, but the statements made before them are as usual so conflicting that little can be learnt of them. It appears, however, that the railways, which are under governmental ownership and control, are simply evidencing the inherent mismanagement which characterizes all State undertakings. In order to counterbalance the extravagant salaries which are paid to useless old fossils employed by the State, children are employed to do some of the most important work, irrespective of the responsibilities attaching to the post. One of these children, a boy of sixteen years of age, who had been but two

months in the telegraphing profession, and but two weeks in his present billet, was left in charge of the signalling. With his carelessness, which anyone but a politician would anticipate from anyone so young and inexperienced, the youngster telegraphed to the station which the express was to pass, that the line was clear, although he had not waited to ascertain if such was the case. The result was that, in turning a sharp curve, one train ran into the other before the dangerous situation was perceived. What followed is difficult to learn, for the conflict of evidence has not yet helped to clear it up. There is one fact, however, which is indisputable; and that is, that owing to the disaster which official bungling and "economy" has helped to bring about, the people of Victoria are being put to the expense of a series of costly inquiries, which will no doubt end in smoke, and a horde of injured passengers and relatives of the killed are putting in their claims to the "government" to recompense their losses. We heard one lawyer pompously arguing that the people are the property of the State, and should be carefully looked after by it, and that it is therefore the latter's duty to deal handsomely with the applicants in this particular case as it failed to properly ensure their safety. Many simple-minded and easily-pleased persons endorse this view, erroneous as it is. If the State paid its own bills—that is, if the politicians, the lawyers, and the rest of the social parasites, paid the penalty of their own negligence, by the sweat of their own brows, there would be much less cause for complaint. But unfortunately, for every thousand pounds which is paid away by the State, the wealth-producers have to give two or three thousands to pay it with,—the difference going to the feathering of political nests and the appointment of stupid officials to places where they may bring about similar, as well as dissimilar, catastrophes in the future. The working man and woman, when reading the lists of magnificent awards, which will no doubt be made, would do well to recall the motto on the signboard of an old London inn: "I pay for all!"

EXPERIENCE has always shown that a good man is always let or out of the inside of Parliament. The London correspondent of the New York *Truth Seeker* writes that, "Since Bradlaugh has sat in Parliament without opposition, his views on things in general appear to have become greatly modified, and another few years may see him with strong Conservative tendencies."

THE *Liberator* commences each week with the phrase: "Hereditary rulers suit none but fools." Why the stupid word "Hereditary" is inserted, it is difficult to see; for it simply spoils a good sentence.

This same paper says: "There is not a newspaper in Melbourne, except our own, that dares publish the names of those responsible for the articles. This shows what rogues they are." We thank our bible-banging contemporary for the compliment, though it is scarcely deserved. The writers in the *Liberator*, not only dare to, but frequently do append their names to their articles. Were our paper a cheap advertisement for them, instead of the thorough-going liberator which it is, they might flourish their names on every available opportunity, or the editor might reject nearly all the articles contributed in order to monopolize the space himself. If the editor of the *Liberator* takes pleasure in calling us rogues, &c. editorially-speaking, have no objection to his doing so; but we caution the occupants of glass houses against stone-throwing, lest there be a smash.

Our Sydney contemporary, *Matrimony*, says of us: "We have to acknowledge the first two monthly numbers of HONESTY, a new paper published by the Co-operative Publishing Company, 9 Alexandra Theatre, Exhibition-street, Melbourne. We are by no means prepared to agree with some of the principles of HONESTY, which is probably the most radical journal published in the colonies, and it is very doubtful whether it does not even eclipse the notorious *Reginald's Newspaper*, for its bold attacks on existing institutions. However, our new contemporary holds aloft the flag of progress, and all seeks to better the world by removing some of the fearful inequalities which now press so heavily on the world's toilers, and we wish it every success."

SPECIAL NOTICE.

Owing to the unavoidable delay in bringing out the present issue, the next issue will be dated August. This arrangement will not affect subscribers, as the year is calculated by the number of issues issued.

PROGRESS.

"To stand still is to step back, and every step backwards has within itself the beginning of death. The future belongs to progress alone."—EUGST HUCKER.

DANCE KATYONIK's work, *In French and Russian Prisons*, has just been issued by Messrs. Ward and Downey, London. The volume is published at 7s. 6d.

Rational Banking versus Bank Monopoly is the title of a work just published by Elliot Stock. The writer, O. E. Wesslau, advocates a system of free banking as a remedy for the depression in trade.

THE Central Labor Union of New York has passed a resolution denouncing T. V. Powderly for his action in forbidding Knights of Labor to extend help to the condemned Chicago Anarchists.

At a public meeting, held in Cokermonth on March 30, when it was proposed to celebrate the Queen's Jubilee by giving the well-to-do poor a free feed, to be wined up with a concert and gunpowder squibs, Mr. Robert Mitchell, a share-broker, proposed the following address to the Queen as an amendment:—"That we, your loyal subjects in the ancient borough of Cokermonth, do pray your Majesty (but not humbly) that, in consideration of our having, during a period of 50 years, contributed our quota of £385,000 annually paid to your Majesty, as well as having also provided for your offspring in a lavish manner, amounting in the 50 years, at compound interest, to no less than £4,000,000 sterling, in addition to which we have, at your Majesty's wish, provided lucrative and almost nothing-to-do situations for many of your German relations and others—we, therefore, in common reasoning, ask your Majesty to hand over one year's income (£385,000) to erect some useful and lasting memorial from the grateful Queen to her loving subjects for having during so long a period, and under many trying circumstances, contributed so liberally towards the support of yourself, family and friends."

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL has contributed to a recent number of the *North American Review* a timely and well-written article which he calls "Some Interrogation Points." The evils of our present social system are brought under review with all the eloquence for which he is so justly famed; and although, as the title implies, the purpose of the article is to ask questions rather than answer them, Ingersoll has not failed to suggest most of the answers if he has not actually answered them, and to answer them in such a manner as to win the approbation of the friends of liberty and individuality. It is the intention of Mr. F. P. Upham to issue the work in pamphlet form, when our readers will have the opportunity of judging of its merits for themselves.

"MONEY: a study of the Currency Question, especially in its relations to Justice, Utility, and Liberty"—the paper which was recently read before the Melbourne Anarchists' Club—will probably be issued in pamphlet form in a few weeks, at the price of 3s.

THE London paper, *The Anarchist*, commences its third year in a greatly improved form. It is now reduced to magazine size, suitable for binding, and the printing and general get-up are very creditable. Besides the first instalment of Marat's "Chains of Slavery," and an excellent article of Kropotkin in exposure of the Malthusian fallacy (reprinted against all persons who speak against the present order of government. The most republican institutions are conservative; they guard the vested interests of idle parasites as eagerly as their monarchic models, and are equally opposed to the rights of labor.

A CORRESPONDENT writes to "Justice," that "the saying 'Eat grass' must really yield its classical position. Euclid has been fairly beaten and quite eclipsed by one of the Lanarkshire coalmasters, who, on being told, during the recent strike, that the miners and their families were starving, suggested 'that the big ones should eat the little ones'." This elegant phrase might form a fitting title for one of our popular Malthusian lectures.

"HEMANTAS," the Anarchist journal of Naples, was suppressed after three numbers had been issued. The editors and staff of some other Italian labor journals have been imprisoned. This does not appear to damp the ardour of those who are trying to emancipate themselves, however; for we learn that Anacleto Cipriani, the revolutionary Socialist, has been returned to the Italian Parliament a fourth time, having secured 3,611 votes out of a total of 8,762 on the register. The Government refuses to release him from prison, where he has been for some time. While their failure to send him to Parliament is no loss, their almost unanimous vote of sympathy speaks volumes.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

VICTORIAN AND INTERCOLONIAL.

There is talk of an unemployed demonstration in Melbourne on the 21st inst. It is to be hoped it will be arranged successfully—not that demonstrations as a rule have much to recommend them; but such a demonstration as the one proposed, will at least give an inkling into the terrible state of destitution into which hundreds, if not thousands, of able and willing workers are fast falling or have fallen already.

A MOVEMENT is on foot to start a charity organisation society in Melbourne. How considerate the professional philanthropists are getting, to be sure! If they really meant good, and know how to set about doing it, they would work for justice rather than charity. Give the workers "a fair field" and cease robbing them, and they will not require charity. And what is charity after all, but a restitution to the workers of a small fraction of the surplus products which privileged exploiters have wrung from them in the past. When the laborer has sufficient sense to retain the full fruits of his labor, the charity-mongers will soon starve or become the recipients of charity themselves.

A YOUNG woman named Cabbutt has been sentenced to five years' imprisonment for the murder of her infant child at Madras, New South Wales. Such a course will never stop infanticide, nor even minimise it. While the young mother is compelled by our institutions to look to one of the opposite sex for support, and while her children, born of a union which knows no ceremony, are contemptuously called "illegitimate," we must expect to find the practice a common one. It is only when woman becomes free and self-dependent that these crimes will cease to be.

THE editor of the "Liberator" complains that the Sydney Free-thinkers boycott the paper—that it refuse to purchase it; and then he thunders forth his anathemas: "Professors Secularists, who cannot exhibit common honesty, should return to their only proper place—the churches." Subscribe to my paper, whether you care for it or not, or otherwise call yourself orthodox, says in effect this self-elected high priest of heterodoxy. It is a good thing that Sydney folks have a truer conception of the meaning of free-thought than to sacrifice their opinions when commended to do so.

THE police have made several raids on Chinese gambling-houses, in Little Bourke Street, Melbourne. On one occasion they seized a safe containing about £110 in cash and several hundred lottery tickets. The Chinamen were imprisoned. On another occasion four Chinese were fined £10 each, with £2 costs; and another was fined £20. What is commendable at a church, is infamous in Little Bourke Street, according to the pleas of our law-makers.

A CHINAMAN named Sing Kum, whose means would not permit him to purchase the privilege of a licence, has been sent to jail for three months for selling a bottle of beer. Those who, by industry or robbery, have succeeded in accumulating sufficient money to purchase a right to trading in this monopoly, can sell their beer without any such risk. What sort of justice do the sticklers for law call this?

WHILE the lot of a licensed Chinaman is a hard one, the lot of a would-be licensed Chinaman is not much better. A large meeting has been held at Bunkerley, Queensland, to protest against the granting of licences to Chinese and Chinese-looking houses and to prohibit Kanakas from collecting in the townships.

MORE robbery to further enslave us! The Victorian Government intend to propose an annual expenditure of about £35,000 for ten years, towards the establishment of an Australian navy.

JUDGE WILLIAMS last month passed an exceptionally light sentence upon a man convicted of robbery. His reason for this leniency was that he held the government responsible for assisting to manufacture criminals, and he was not desirous of adding another criminal to feed on the Victorian public. The judge was not wick of the mark either. There is very little crime indeed, which cannot be ultimately traced back to governmental interference of some kind or other.

At a meeting of the Footscray town council held last month, it was stated that the Shops and Factories Act will shortly be brought under the notice of parliament with a view to its repeal. "Better late than never."

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FREEDOM of speech threatens to be further abridged in democratic America. A bill has been introduced into the Illinois legislature, against all persons who speak against the present order of government. The most republican institutions are conservative; they guard the vested interests of idle parasites as eagerly as their monarchic models, and are equally opposed to the rights of labor.

A CORRESPONDENT writes to "Justice," that "the saying 'Eat grass' must really yield its classical position. Euclid has been fairly beaten and quite eclipsed by one of the Lanarkshire coalmasters, who, on being told, during the recent strike, that the miners and their families were starving, suggested 'that the big ones should eat the little ones'." This elegant phrase might form a fitting title for one of our popular Malthusian lectures.

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THE New South Wales government are finding work for the unemployed at the National Park. The Commissioner of Roads has calculated upon employing 1,500 of them very shortly.

THE MELBOURNE ANARCHISTS' CLUB.

SECRETARY'S SECOND HALF-YEARLY REPORT.

COMRADES,—

Now that the Melbourne Anarchists' Club has entered upon the second year of its career, I am afforded the unqualified pleasure of reporting its progress during the six months just ended.

The first six months' transactions of our Club having been chronicled in the secretary's former report, which appeared in *Our Commonwealth* (S.A.) of December 18, 1886 (with the exception of one paragraph), I need not again enumerate them.

During the past half-year, public debates have been held by the Club every Sunday evening, without intermission; there have been twenty-three of these held, one of which has been adjourned to the following Sunday, and one repeated. As before, they have covered a wide range of thought, the subjects discussed comprising: Anarchy, Archy, voluntarism, co-operation, public works, private enterprise, politics, government, education, pauperism, commerce, profit-making, exploitation, destruction and construction, in fields of reform, labor, slavery, economy, philanthropy, feecrate, prostitution, female emancipation, physical science, ethics, property, currency reform; and many other incidental subjects. These discussions have been opened by thirteen different essayists, being four in excess of the previous half-year. The essayists, and the number of essays read or addresses delivered, were as follows:—Messrs. W. A. Andrade (4), P. P. Upham (3), A. A. Andrews (3), W. A. Gregory (2), James Donovan (2), John McMillan (2), and J. Morris, G. C. Newberry, Robt. Beattie, D. W. Brookhouse, John Landridge, J. W. Fleming, and E. W. Thompson (1 each). The papers by D. A. Andrade were upon "Anarchy in Relation to Public and Private Works," "Abolish the State! an indictment of the Government of Man by Man," "Is Property Robbery?" and "Money: a study of the Currency Question, especially in its relations to Equity, Utility and Liberty." Mr. Upham's papers were upon "The Follies of Archy," "The Gravitation Theory applied to Morals," and "Prostitution and How it may be Ameliorated." Mr. Andrews treated upon "Government Jobbery," "The Exhibition Fraud," and "The Ethics of Anarchism." Mr. W. A. Gregory read papers upon "Colonial Politics and Politicians" and "Frostrate in relation to Poverty" (read twice). Mr. Donovan spoke upon "Government and the Gutter Children," and "The Economic Emancipation of Humanity." Mr. McMillan undertook to answer the question: "Does the Laborer's Position Improve?" and to explain "Modern Slavery." Mr. Morris asked, "Is Anarchy the Correct Designation for Voluntary Co-operation?" Mr. Newberry spoke upon "The Irish Question." Mr. Beattie upon "The Spirit of the Age." Mr. Brookhouse, on "Anarchist Methods of Social Reform." Mr. Landridge, on "Education Worship;" Mr. Fleming, on "The Subjection of Women;" and Mr. Thompson on "Philanthropy."

A special lecture was delivered by the secretary, on January 27, upon "The Chicago Anarchists' Trial," at the conclusion of which a resolution was unanimously adopted by the meeting (a public one), and transmitted to the Governor of the State of Illinois, condemning the action of the authorities, and expressing sympathy with the condemned men, while not endorsing all their principles nor methods of social reform.

The propaganda continues to be pushed ahead outside of the direct action of our Club, the most noteworthy efforts in this direction being (1) an able address on "A Practical Solution of the Land Question," delivered recently before the Australasian Secular Association by Mr. D. W. Brookhouse, whom we have had the good fortune to welcome as a new accession to our ranks, though unfortunately he is not a member of the Club; and (2) a spirited discussion between Mr. James Donovan and Mr. Isaac Selby (a State Socialist) upon the question: "Is State Socialism superior to Anarchy in Promoting the Happiness of the People?"

The Club was represented at the late Australasian Free-thought Conference, our resolution (slightly modified by our delegate, Mr. W. C. Andrade) being carried by a majority vote, and published in the official organ of the Conference.

Our outside influence appears to be steadily increasing, and although we appear to have been deserted by Mr. W. W. Collins and have had to contend with an active boycott from many of the local Free-thinkers (2), we have had the satisfaction of seeing the leading daily paper advocate our views in its editorials, and of noting other evidences that our labors have not been fruitless.

A quantity of Anarchistic literature has been imported and

distributed by the secretary, and a few propagandist leaflets have been issued.

The circulating library has almost collapsed, owing to the secretary having unwarily lent nearly all the volumes to Anarchist opponents, whom he hoped to win over, but who have retained their former opinions and the books also.

The members' roll shows an increase, though not equal to the previous half-year. There is, however, a strong body of sympathizing working Anarchists, who have refrained from enrolling themselves, but whose services are none the less recognized.

Our Sydney comrades are trying to form a similar club in the sister colony.

Although our expenses were about fifteen per cent, less than they were the previous half-year, the financial condition is for the time rather unsatisfactory, owing to the artificial "bad times" which our monopolists are subjecting us to, besides the heavy expenses which have lately been incurred in floating a representative paper; but there is every reason to hope that a few months will see us all right in this respect, there being no paid lecturers or officers to burden us, and our total expenses being very small indeed.

It is greatly to be regretted that a few of our members have held aloof, owing to their being in pecuniary difficulties, and being thereby unable to contribute towards the working expenses. As this Club is not a money-making swindle, like most of its competitors, but a free organisation for mutual help and social advancement, it is to be hoped that the members will not fail to view it in its proper light, and continue to bestow their interest and energies upon it.

The greatest event of the half-year is the publication of a newspaper to represent our views. A private partnership, known as the Co-operative Publishing Co., has undertaken the publication of a monthly paper, entitled *HONESTY*, which is anonymously edited by a member of our Club, and the first number of which appeared in April.

The new year finds us better understood by the public than the old one did; and although the newspapers which represent monopoly boycott us or misrepresent us, and those which represent denaughtism, abuse and jeer at us, the public are fast learning that we are not the black villains we are painted, but a body of men and women, bent on benefiting ourselves and our fellows without wronging any, but honestly opposing the tyranny and robbery which has made our earth a huge slaughter-house, and which alone delar us from achieving the blessings of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

DAVID A. ANDRADE,

Hon. Sec. Melbourne Anarchists' Club.

Melbourne, May 1, 1887.

DEMOCRATIC ADDRESS TO THE QUEEN.

The following address, which is lying for signature in some of the republican depots of the different colonies, contains some good thoughts, though it wrongly ascribes to the ruling monarch, evils which are inherent in our social system, and which would exist in an equal, if not worse degree, were our institutions democratic. It is addressed: "To Victoria, Queen of England, &c." and runs:—

"MADAM.—We can scarcely expect that this address shall give rise to those pleasurable feelings, which in you will undoubtedly be called forth by the multitudinous epythetastic adulatory addresses with which you will be literally deluged on this your Jubilee. Nevertheless, we, the undersigned, honestly and boldly beg to enter our warmest sincere and ardent protest against the method now being adopted by certain sections of our fellow colonists to give effect to the Jubilee celebrations, and more particularly inasmuch as these arrangements will entail the lavish, illegal, and unjust expenditure of the public funds at a time when honest industry is ill paid and multitudes of wretched workers are absolutely starving through compulsory idleness. We further beg to assure you that we are but a fraction of those who view with dismay and disgust the system under which such vast sums of money have, during the past fifty years, been quietly paid over to, and pocketed by your Majesty, for your service whatever, in a land where the masses must drag through lives of arduous toil in order that eventually they may fill paupers' graves. We believe that both in nature and common sense alike revolt against the aristocratic system of which you are the representative, and that every moral law is violated by the class distinctions, privileges, sinecure offices, &c., which it creates and maintains, while every true instinct of the higher humanity is insulted by the wicked injustice to which it gives rise. Commending to you these expressions of our thoughts, we beg to subscribe ourselves, &c."

"The best government is that which governs least."—Jefferson. Therefore, the best government of all is that which governs not at all.—Athen.

Under Liberty—Every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal liberty of any other man."—Herbert Spencer.

THE IDEA OF A REVOLUTION.

BY PIERRE JOSEPH PROUDHON.

(Continued from page 21.)

But if we question the doctors as to this law, said to be engraved upon the heart of man, we shall immediately see that they dispute about a matter of which they know nothing; that concerning the most important questions, there are almost as many opinions as authors; that we find no two agreeing as to the best form of government, the principle of authority, and the nature of right itself; that all has passed upon a shoreless and lotless sea, abandoned to the guidance of their private opinions which they modestly take to be right reason. And, in view of this melody contradictory to opinions, we say: "The object of our investigations is the law, the determination of the social principle. Now, the politicians, that is, the social scientists, do not understand each other; then the error lies in themselves; and, as every error has a reality for its object, we must look in their books to find the truth which they have unconsciously deposited there."

Now, of what do the lawyers and the publicists treat? Of JUSTICE, EQUITY, LIBERTY, NATURAL LAW, CIVIL LAWS, &c. But what is justice? What is its principle, its character, its formula? To this question our doctors evidently have no reply; for otherwise their science, starting with a principle clear and well-defined, would quit the region of probabilities, and all disputes would end.

What is justice? The theologians answer: "All justice comes from God." That is true; but we know no more than before.

The philosophers ought to be better informed: they have argued so much about justice and injustice! Unhappily, an examination proves that their knowledge amounts to nothing, and that with them—as with the savages whose every prayer to the sun is simply O! O!—it is a cry of admiration, love, and enthusiasm; but who does not know that the sun attacks little meaning to an interjection? That is exactly our position toward the philosophers in regard to justice. Justice, they say, is "a daughter of heaven; a light which illumines every man that comes into the world; the most beautiful prerogative of our nature; that which distinguishes us from the beasts, and likens us to God,"—and a thousand other similar things. What, I ask, does this pious litany amount to? To the prayer of the savages: O!

All the most reasonable teachings of human wisdom concerning justice are summed up in that famous adage: "Do unto others that which you would that others should do unto you; Do unto others that others would not do unto you." But this rule of moral practice is unscientific: what have I a right to wish that others should do or not do to me? It is of no use to tell me that my duty is equal to my right, unless I am told at the same time what my right is.

Let us try to arrive at something more precise and positive. Justice is the central star which governs societies, the pole around which the political world revolves, the principle and the regulator of all transactions. Nothing takes place between men save in the name of RIGHT; nothing without the invocation of justice. Justice is the work of the law; on the contrary, the law is only the definition and application of JUSTICE in all circumstances where men are liable to come in contact. If, then, the idea that we form of justice and right were ill-defined, if it were imperfect or even false, it is clear that all our legislative applications would be wrong, our institutions vicious, our politics erroneous; consequently there would be disorder and social chaos.

This hypothesis of the perversion of justice in our minds, and, as a necessary result, in our acts, becomes a demonstrated fact when it is shown that the opinions of men have not borne a constant relation to the notion of justice and its applications; that at different periods they have undergone modifications; in a word, that there has been progress in ideas. Now, that is what history proves by the most overwhelming testimony.

Eighteen hundred years ago, the world, under the rule of the Cæsars, exhausted itself in slavery, superstition, and voluptuousness. The people—intoxicated and, as it were, stupefied by their long-continued orgies—had lost the very notion of right and duty; war and dissipation by turns swept them away; usury and the labor of machines (that is, of slaves), by depriving them of the means of subsistence, binaried them from continuing the species. Barbarism sprang up again, in a hideous form, from this mass of corruption, and spread like a devouring leprosy over the depopulated provinces.

The wise foresaw the downfall of the empire, but could devise no remedy. What could they think indeed? To save this old society, it would have been necessary to change the objects of public esteem and veneration, and to abolish the rights affirmed by a justice purely secular; they said: "Rome has conquered through her politics and her gods; any change in theology and public opinion will be folly and sacrilege. Rome, merciful toward conquered nations, though binding them in chains, spared their lives; slaves are the most fertile source of her wealth; freedom of the nations would be the negation of her rights and the ruin of her finances. Rome, in fact, enveloped in the pleasures and gorged with the spoils of the universe, pleasures are the price of her conquests; she can neither abate nor dispense herself." Thus Rome had the facts and the law on her side. Her pretensions were justified by universal custom and the law of nations. Her institutions were based upon idolatry, religion, slavery in the State, and epicureanism in private life; to touch those was to shake society to its foundations, and, to use our modern expression, to open the abyss of revolutions. So the idea occurred to no one; and yet humanity was dying in blood and luxury.

All at once a man appeared, calling himself the Word of God. It is not known to this day who he was, whence he came, nor what suggested to him his ideas. He went about proclaiming everywhere that the end of the existing society was at hand, that the world was about to experience a new birth; that the priests were vipers, the lawyers ingenuities, and the philosophers hypocrites and liars; that master and slave were rivals; that usury and usury were things

was robbery, that proprietors and killers would one day burn, while the poor and pure in heart would find a haven of peace.

This man—the Word of God—was denounced and arrested as a public enemy by the priests and the lawyers, who well understood how to inflame the people to demand his death. But this judgment, however it put the finishing stroke to his crimes, did not destroy the doctrinal seeds which the Word of God had sown. After his death, his original disciples travelled about in all directions, preaching what they called "the good news," creating in their turn millions of missionaries; and, when their task seemed to be accomplished, dying by the sword of Roman justice. This persistent agitation, the war of the excommunicates and martyrs, lasted nearly three centuries, ending in the conversion of the world. Idolatry was destroyed, slavery abolished, dissolution made room for a more austere morality, and the contempt for wealth was sometimes pushed nearest to perfection. Society was saved by the negation of its own principles by a revolution in its religion, and by violation of its most sacred rights. In this revolution, the idea of justice spread to an extent that had not before been dreamed of, never to return to its original limits. Hereafter justice had existed only for the masters; it then commenced to exist for the slaves.

Nevertheless, the new religion at the time had some by no means all its fruits. There was a perceptible improvement of the public morals, and a partial release from oppression; but, other than that, the souls sown by the Son of Man, having fallen into idolatrous hearts, had produced nothing save innumerable deisms and a quasi-poetical mythology. Instead of developing into their practical consequences the principles of morality and government taught by the Word of God, his followers busied themselves in speculations as to his birth, his origin, his person, and his actions; they discussed his parables, and from the conflict of the most extravagant opinions upon unanswerable questions and texts which no one could understand, a new mythology—which may be defined as the science of the infinitely absurd.

The truth of Christianity did not survive the age of the apostles; the deism, commented upon and symbolized by the Greeks and Latins, loaded with pagan fables, became literally a mass of contradictions; and to this day the reign of the infallible Church has been a long era of darkness. It is said that the gates of hell will not always prevail; that the Word of God will return, and that one day men will know truth and justice; but that will be the death of Greek and Roman Catholicism, just as in the light of science disappeared the artifices of opinion.

The monsters, which the successors of the apostles were bent on destroying, frightened for a moment, reappeared gradually, thanks to the crazy fanaticism, and sometimes the deliberate connivance, of priests and theologians. The story of the enfranchisement of the French communes offers constantly the spectacle of the ideas of justice and liberty spreading among the people, in spite of the continued efforts of kings, nobles, and clergy. In the year 1193 of the Christian era, the French nation, divided by caste, poor and oppressor, struggled in the triple net of royal absolutism, the tyranny of nobles and parliamentaries, and priestly intemperance. There was the right of the king and the right of the priest, the right of the patrician and the right of the plebeian; there were the privileges of birth, province, commune, corporations, and trades; and, at the bottom of all, violence, immorality, and misery. For some time they talked of reformation; those who apparently desired it most favoring it only for their own profit, and the people who were to be the gainers expecting little and saying nothing. For a long time these poor people, either from distrust, incredulity, or despair, hesitated to ask for their rights; it is said that the habit of serving had taken the courage away from those old communes, which in the middle ages were so bold.

Finally a book appeared, summing up the whole matter in these two propositions: What is the third estate?—Nothing. What ought it to be?—Every thing. Some one added by way of comment: "What is the king?"—The servant of the people.

This was a sudden revelation; the veil was torn aside, a thick bandage fell from all eyes. The people commenced to reason thus:—If the king is our servant, ought he to report to us; If he ought to report to us, he is subject to control; If he can be controlled he is responsible; If he is responsible, he is punishable; If he is punishable, he ought to be punished according to his merits; If he ought to be punished according to his merits, he can be punished with death.

Five years after the publication of the brochure of Sieyès, the third estate was every thing; the king, the nobility, the clergy, were no more. In 1793, the nation, without stooping at the constitutional fiction of the inviolability of the sovereign, conducted Louis XVI. to the scaffold; in 1830, it accomplished Charles X. at Cherbourg. In each case, it may have erred, in fact, in its judgment of the offence; but, in right, the logic which led to its action was irresistible. The people, in abolishing their sovereign, did precisely that which the government of July was so severely censured for failing to do when it refused to execute Louis Bonaparte after the affair of Strasbourg; they struck the true culprit. It was an application of the common law, a solid decree of justice enforcing the penal laws.

The spirit which gave rise to the movement of '89 was a spirit of negation; that, of itself, proves that the order of things which was substituted for the old system was not methodical or well-considered; that, born of anger and hatred, it could not have the effect of a science based on observation and study; that its foundations, in a word, were not derived from a profound knowledge of the laws of Nature and society. Thus the people found that the republic, among the so-called new institutions, was acting on the very principles of reaction which they had sought and was swayed by all the prejudices which they had intended to destroy. We congratulate ourselves, with inconsiderate enthusiasm, on the glorious French Revolution, the regeneration of 1789, the great changes that have been effected, and the reversion of institutions; a delusion, a delusion!

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

(Continued from page 21.)

Russian tyranny is progressing. "The Siberian prisoners in Russia (says "Justice") are not to be strangled in figures. They are to be kept in solitary confinement at the new fortress in Lake Ladoga. There, according to a statement in the "Daily News," they are exposed to tortures many times worse than death, in order to extort confession."

The wife of Oscar Neube, one of the condemned Chicago Anarchists, died on March 9th, of a broken heart. 30,000 Knights of Labor, Fabians, and Socialists, were invited to attend her funeral. Her husband was not permitted to attend, although it was originally decided that he should be "manacled" and allowed to accompany the procession under guard.

LEUC PARROSS, the wife of A. B. Parsons, who was condemned along with Neube, was refused the use of a hall to lecture in, at Columbus, Ohio. She appealed to the mayor, asking him to protect against it; but instead of showing any sympathy for her, he called in a policeman and had her locked up, thus preventing her from lecturing. She was then charged with "disorderly conduct," committed and placed under bonds of 300 dollars to keep the peace. And all in the name of Justice!

A NEW JERSEY bookseller has been sentenced to two years imprisonment and a fine of £100 for selling a copy of Balzac's "Contes et Nouvelles" and a copy of the "Hephaestus." This is another name to add to the long list of the victims of the official censorship of the United States, Anthony Comstock.

The sixteenth anniversary of the Paris Commune was celebrated in England, Europe and America, in March last, by the Communists and State Socialists. The London Anarchists held a meeting at South Place Chapel, in condemnation of it.

The hearing of the arguments for a new trial in the case of the Chicago Anarchists, was commenced on March 17th, at Ottawa, Illinois (U.S.A.) It is generally believed that the decision of the confeder court will be confirmed; should such be the case, the condemned non-offenders will probably be hanged on September 6th. And then will doubtless be witnessed "the beginning of the end."

The evictions in Ireland continue to be carried out with as much ferocity as ever. In the County Mayo, a bailiff named Gallagher was removing the furniture of an old woman, who abused him for so doing, when he instantly drew a revolver and threatened to shoot her. A dying boy was carried out of one of the cabins during a heavy snow-storm, and left to perish in the cold.

T. FOWELL BUXTON, in a recent letter to the "Ball Mall Gazette," upon the native policy of the British States says:—"The aim has always been to destroy the chiefs, such as Langalibale, Putim, Seocooen and Cetshwayo, and to scatter their tribes or subjects, and to rely on no influence but the terror of our arms. This policy has been successful. The old tribal authority and regard for female virtue enforced by the severest punishment have vanished because we have only cared to destroy their power of defence against those who in Zululand, at all events, are kindly treated in stealing the land and cattle of a race who could govern themselves, and but for our insane and wicked war might have helped to maintain order throughout South Africa."

The petty spirit of patriotism sometimes borders on the ridiculous. It was actually necessary to stop the performance of "Lobengrin" at a Parisian theatre last month, in consequence of the persistent anti-German demonstrations outside the theatre. It is no wonder that these people are the tools of politicians when they are susceptible to such petty ill-feeling towards their fellow-men.

A STRIKE is reported from the mines at Bossages in France, where the company has not paid any wages for three months, it having appropriated them to provide funds for prospecting. This sort of thing is not confined to European climes. Here the workers may strike or not, as they please, but the latter manages to take cash, but even if the money is available someone else shall get it. There are many who know this by bitter experience.

ARGENTINE REPUBLIC, South America.—The rate of wages for skilled labor, eight or ten shillings a day, and for unskilled labor, from six down to three shillings; the hours being thirteen daily. The correspondent of "Le Revolté" says expenses are very high, and he rents a room without chimney or window in a vile court, and measuring twelve feet square, for sixty-five pounds a year.

SOME Anarchists published there a recommendation of annexation, and the police arrested a dozen people in connection with it, but four of them were imprisoned without trial and have not yet been brought up for inquiry although nearly two months have elapsed.

J. D. N.

NOTES BY "ZANONI."

DENCAIS GILLES, in his inaugural address on the opening of the Working Men's College, said:—"There was no question that, notwithstanding all the culture that might be given, the great body of the people must work and labor; there was no culture that could be given them, that would take away the necessity to work. Very true, Duncan! Out of the mouths of fools and sucking babes, comes wisdom. He might have gone on to tell us that the man or woman who does not work, but leads on those who do it a rogue and vagabond, no matter how else he might be styled, whether prince, priest, premier, member of Parliament, lawyer, or any of the other multifarious cast terms by which these thieves are known.

The bread manufacturers of coffee and mustard take exception to a clause proposed to be added to the Amending Health Act, to the effect that packages of coffee or mustard should in future disclose on their labels the exact quantities of the different ingredients comprising the compound. No wonder! It would be hard to give a name to some of the vile rotting that is sold to a gullible public.

MEETINGS, LECTURES, &c.

Secretaries of Radical Reform Societies and Working Men's Clubs are invited to send to the Editor brief reports of any meetings or proceedings suitable for publication in these columns.

DEBATE UPON "FREETRADE IN RELATION TO POVERTY."—Mr. W. A. Gregory delivered his interesting paper upon this subject on April 24th, before the Melbourne Anarchists' Club. The usual discussion followed.

DEBATE UPON "DRINK AND PROGRESS."—On May 1st, Mr. Fredric P. Upton opened a debate on this subject at the Melbourne Anarchists' Club in the place of Mr. Robert Beattie, who had been advertised to read the opening essay. The speaker contended that drink, in spite of all that might be said against it, had been a potent factor in aiding human progress. A lively discussion followed.

DEBATE UPON "MEDICAL SUPERSTITION."—This was held on May 8, at the Melbourne Anarchists' Club, the opening address being by Mr. David A. Amford, who undertook to show the striking similarity between medical and religious superstitions, the common origin of them both, and the extensive prevalence of the former in the present day. He contended that the existing medical monopolies, and advocated the fullest freedom for practitioners of all studies, together with greater self-help and faith in hygiene, sanitation, and one's own efforts, and little if any reliance on doctors. The discussion which followed was well supported on both sides, Mr. Connor being the principal opponent to the speaker.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MELBOURNE ANARCHISTS' CLUB.—The first annual meeting of the Club was called on the 11th, and adjourned to the 15th, when the secretary's report and balance sheet were presented and accepted. It was originally intended to deliver readings and addresses; but these were dispensed with and the time was devoted to the business of the Club. The secretary's report appears on page 33 of the present issue.

DEBATE UPON "DEMOCRACY, SOCIALISM, AND ANARCHY."—Mr. James Donovan delivered an instructive address on this subject at the Melbourne Anarchists' Club on May 15. He traced the growth of political institutions from the primitive systems of barbarians to the complex governments of civilization. The evils of monarchical systems were well known from bitter experience; the people take upon themselves to rule and only succeed in producing a new despotism. Socialists (i.e., State Socialists) realising the evils of both monarchical and democratic systems, but following no similar method of action, strive after a system which would be still more tyrannical than either. Anarchists realising the failure of all these force systems, and the necessity for liberty and equity as the basis of a social state, seek to reform by peaceful and moral means, employing force only to resist force, and always respecting individual rights. Discussion followed, the speaker meeting with little opposition.

DEBATE UPON "THE SINS OF LEGISLATORS."—Mr. John McMillan delivered before the Melbourne Anarchists' Club, on the 22nd ult., the first of a series of addresses, which he contemplates giving upon this subject. He dealt chiefly with the wars of the past, and endeavored to show how they had originated our modern governmental systems, which everywhere retained the aggressive characteristics that mark their origin.

DEBATES UPON "WHY DO MEN STARVE?"—A series of debates upon this subject was held during the past month at the Australasian Secular Association. They were opened by Mr. Joseph Symes, who, we are informed, described the causes of poverty mainly to thriftlessness, drunkenness, over-population, and the want of land nationalization, and who took advantage of the circumstance to abuse the Anarchists, whom he has never yet had the courage to attempt to refute.

MEETINGS ANNOUNCED.

DEBATES will be held at the Melbourne Anarchists' Club during the month, as follows:—

- June 5.—Some Reflections on Anarchy."
- 12.—"Submissiveness."
- 19.—"Optimism and Other Popular Anti-Progressive Theories."
- 26.—"A Colony of Lunatics."

Debates commence at 7.30 p.m. Public invited. Admission free. Collection.

MR. WALKER ON "PROFITEERS": A CORRECTION.—The third sentence in the fifth paragraph was omitted by mistake, and not noticed until after it had been printed off. It reads as follows:—"In 1880 our imports amounted to £32,081, whilst we only exported £78 worth of our products."

POLITICAL ECONOMY.—Then I have been reading books on political economy. They don't, however, seem to have much to do with the people. Theories and humanity have yet to be reconciled. Besides, the writers think only of markets. Some day there will be a new science of political and social economy, in which supply and demand will be cut out altogether, and be replaced by—something not at present known to the scientific.—Walter Besant in "All in a Garden Fair."

ROBBERY.—Brobbery is robbery, whether it is practiced against the individual or against the State; and I cannot understand why the community are the only people who are to be without restful. If the rights of property are sacred, surely the rights of the poor are entitled to equal reverence.—Rt. Hon. J. Chamberlain.

DEBATE—ALMS—JUSTICE.—Despite our nerve the multitude had, it cannot feel them a plus can feel millions, but cannot nerve them; justice would both nerve and cool them.

POETRY.

SONG—TO THE MEN OF ENGLAND.

Men of England, wherefore plough
From the cradle to the grave,
Those ungrateful drosses who would
Drain your sweat—nay, drink your blood!

Wherefore feed and clothe and save,
From the cradle to the grave,
Those ungrateful drosses who would
Drain your sweat—nay, drink your blood!

Wherefore, Bees of England, forge
Many a weapon, chain, and scourge
That these stingless drosses may spoil
The forest produce of your toil?

Have ye leisure, comfort, calm,
Shelter, food, love's gentle lull;
Or what is't ye buy so dear
With your pain and with your fear?

The seed ye sow another reaps;
The wealth ye find another reaps;
The robes ye weave another wears;
The arms ye forge another bears.

Sow seeds—but let no tyrant reap;
Find wealth,—let no impostor heap;
Weave robes,—let not the idle wear;
Forge arms, in your defence, to bear.

Shrink to your cellars, holes, and cells;
In halls ye deck another drells,
Why shake the chains ye wrought? Ye see
The steel ye tempered glance on ye.

With plough and spade and hoe and loom,
Trace your grave, and build your tomb,
And weave your winding-sheet, till fair
England be your sepulchre! —SHELLEY.

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No. 4.

MELBOURNE: AUGUST 28, 1887.

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CHINESE LABOR.

THE visit of the Chinese commissioners to Australia has afforded a fresh opportunity for the labor agitators to raise the old familiar anti-Chinese cry. Again do we hear the outcry against their vicious habits—their smoking of the opium which we thrust upon them, their simple mode of living, and their industrial success. It is time that the laborers looked this matter squarely in the face, and took a rational view of the matter.

The Chinese have been persecuted long enough. Not only have they had poll-taxes imposed upon them, and other legislative obstacles thrown in the way of their immigration to these shores; but a constant effort is being made to drive them from their employment, if not from the colonies altogether. Meetings are constantly being held in Queensland protesting against the employment of them; Victorian trades' unions are forever trying to devise means to drive away "the yellow agony," and everywhere are evidences of determined hostility towards them. It is feared that they are superseding the European races, and the descendants of "the noble Britons" are recoiling in horror at their number, although, as a matter of fact, there are not fifty thousand Chinese in the whole of Australasia, as against two million eight hundred thousand Europeans,—sixty-five of us to every Chinaman. Think of it: sixty-five white men afraid to compete with one yellow skin! They are actually alarmed at the fact that the Chinese are setting up as gardeners, carpenters, miners, hawkers, storekeepers, cooks, laborers, and probably will soon be doing our washing and laundry work. What matters it to the laborer that his Chinese neighbor also is a laborer?—were he an idler instead, there would be some grounds for complaint. The Chinese are admitted to be industrious and persevering, and yet condemned for this very perseverance. If they excel as cabinet-makers, owing to their cheap production, it is clearly to the advantage of us who buy their articles. If they sell at low prices, it is at their own loss, and to the advantage of our poorly remunerated laborers, who can only buy cheap articles, or none. If they transport their money—a valueless thing in itself—to China,

we are again the gainers, for they have consumed the less of our produce. If they work so diligently, and such long hours, to produce so much, it is to the advantage of ourselves who have thus more to consume. If they are economical—if they live so simply, and fare so poorly, we suffer nothing by their lack of consumption. And yet the European laborer is fighting poor "John," because he produces too much and consumes too little!

If the Chinese being employed is the cause of a European starving, it is clearly not the Chinaman, who produces much and consumes little, who is to blame. We must seek further. We must seek out the exploiter who produces nothing and consumes much. The fact is that statute law has monopolised the wealth of nature in the hands of a few idlers; and the workers—Chinese and European—are cutting each other's throat for the crumbs from the rich man's table, when they might more advantageously cease piling the fruits of their labor upon that table. The Chinese, like ourselves, are the victims of monopoly and exploitation. Were every Chinaman banished from Australasia to-morrow, the evils would still exist as bad as ever. Instead of the Chinese being the scapegoats of economical blundering as they are now, their places would be filled by European scapegoats. While monopoly is supported some must go to the wall, the weakest must decline, a huge number of the workers must be sacrificed upon the altar of Usury.

Stump orators and professional labor agitators propose that the "difficulty" be met by compelling the Chinese to adopt our manners and customs. Could absurdity go much further? Does any intelligent laborer imagine for a moment that the labor troubles will be even minimised by compelling the Chinese to eat flesh food and wear European clothing (when the other workers have already not enough), to cut off their pig-tails (which harm no one), and to practise the "civilized" customs of tobacco-smoking, beer-drinking, alcoholic intoxication, wanton luxury and indolence? We must seek other "remedies" than these.

The Chinese labor question must be settled by reversing the aims of the trades-unionists,

who seek high wages and high prices,—two principles which destroy each other. We must aim at high wages and low prices, or in other words, the Cost Principle. When the workers combine together to exchange equivalent for equivalent, boycotting all capitalists, usurers, and profit-makers generally, we shall hear no more of the Chinese labor question, which is one of the most hollow delusions by which the monopolists hold the laborers in subjection.

CONSTRUCTIVE ANARCHY.

(Continued from page 26.)

I intend to show the difference of the prices of a woman's levant lace boot, under the present system, and under the cost system. The first column of the subjoined table will show how the price is arrived at under the present system; the second column will show how the price would be arrived at by a co-operative company of working men, acting on the cost principle. Supposing that company to be the only one working under the cost principle; and the third column will show how the price would be arrived at, when all the other trades had adopted the same principle:—

PRESENT SYSTEM.			Cost Syst'm, one Company only Established.			Cost Syst'm, all Trades Established.		
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Levant	2	2	3	11	3	11	...	...
Lining	2							
Facings & tongues	6							
Silk thread, &c.	1							
Sole leather ... 1 0								
Grinding	1		6	...	6	...	...	...
Manuf'ring exp. 6...			6	...	6	...	...	...
Cutting tops ... 3			2	7	2	7	...	...
Stitching tops ... 5								
Putting up ... 10								
Finishing	10		1	0	...	nil.	...	...
21 p.c. disc'n								
21 p.c. losses								
21 p.c. travell'rs expenses.								
71 p.c. profit			1	0	...	nil.	...	...
Wholesale Price	8	0	8	0	...	7	0	...
Profit & expense of retail only, 25 p.c.	2	0	2	0	...	8	10 p.c.	...
Retail price of boot	10	0	10	0	...	7	8	...

You will notice in the above table, in the first and second columns, that the items of material are of the same cost; and in the third column the cost of material is only about one-half.

Of course, when all trades are manufacturing and selling for cost, the bootmakers would be able to get their leather and all other boot material for cost; but when they first started being the only ones running upon the cost principle, they would have to pay the same prices for materials as other manufacturers. When first established, the co-operative company would have this advantage, that they would have work the year round on account of underselling other manufacturers. Selling for cost, they could command cash for their goods, and would need no expensive traveller constantly on the road to push a trade. So the 15 per cent. expenses due to present systems would become nil in the second and third columns.

The labor item would remain the same throughout, for working men, uniting in a cost company, would reckon their labor, material, and expenses as the cost of a boot, and would set their wages, (if piece-work) at about the average of other working men in the same trade; and their object being only to eliminate the expenses arising out of our present system, it would, under ordinary circumstances, keep their wages at the same standard.

We have supposed the purchasing company to be formed, so the retailing expenses would not be over 10 per cent. which I believe would be an excessive amount. If you examine the table for the wholesale price of the boot in the first and second column, you will find a reduction of one-eighth in the second column; and as the boot is, at the least calculation,

four processes removed from the raw material, the wholesale price of the material entering into the boot should be only one-half (i.e., 1s. 11d. as against 3s. 11d.) in the third column. But there are several things not taken into account in the cost of material, such as the middle-man's excessive charges for railway carriage, national taxes to support useless political officials, &c., &c.

I believe if the exact thing could be arrived at, we would find our material reduced still further, so that our retail price would be one-third instead of one-half of its present price.

Manufacturing expenses would be less, for you would need less supervision, for each one would take an interest in their work; and also there would not be so much clerical work, on account of no credit books being kept.

The example of the boot would apply to every article, for the profit in one trade is about the same in all—if it were not so, you would see people flocking to the business that would give them the greatest profit.

Why not carry out the cost principle in everything, instead of throwing away your time on governmental questions? Why be swindled on the one hand, through governmental officials drawing big salaries and perpetrating huge jobs in carrying out public works, and on the other hand, by profit-makers, bankers, middle-men, and so on? Let those of you that are interested in public works, such as railways, canals, waterworks, &c., unite to construct them, and you will have them done better and cheaper; and unite together for production and purchasing, and you get rid of a host of swindles.

Don't throw away any more energy at the polling-booth, fighting over protection laws and the Chinese question; you have nothing to fear from either if you have no government to harass you.

Why not go to the root of the evil at once? Protection is only a temporary expedient, at best, to compel the slaveholder to provide work for the slave, and then only for a little while, for internal competition will surely bring wages down, in a few years, to that of the country you are competing against, (about 25 years has been sufficient in America). It strikes me very forcibly that the most sensible thing to do is to get rid of the slave-holder.

There was a very good example given in *Our Commonwealth*, of Adelaide, S.A., some little time back. I will only quote the ideas in as few words as possible:—

A man owns an island, and on that island lives the man, his family, and ten slaves. These ten slaves can just support themselves, their master, and his family. We will suppose that a foreigner now comes to the master, and offers to supply him with all that he now gets from the slaves and a good few luxuries beside, and to take in exchange the amount that five of the slaves will produce.

The master could say to the slaves: "I only want five of you to work for me after this, so there will be five of you that will have to look out for yourselves." "But," say the slaves, "can the five of us, whose services are to be dispensed with, have a part of the island to cultivate, to keep us from starving?"

"Oh, dear, no, that would be stealing my land." So our readers can see that the slave has the choice of starving, or protecting their island against foreign trade, or declaring himself free by refusing to work for their master any longer, by appropriating and cultivating the island for themselves.

If they were free, then it would be to their advantage to arrange with the foreigner to provide them with all that they wanted, for what they could produce by four hours work per diem, or if the foreigner would be kind enough to support them for no return, so much the better; there would be no cry against free-trade at all events. So much for *Our Commonwealth*. Now let me ask the question, What would be the most sensible thing for the slave to do,—try to get protection, or get rid of the slave-master?

D. W. BROOKHOUSE.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

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 We have cast aside for ever laws both human and divine;
 We have cast aside for ever all the laws of fools and knaves;
 We assert our independence. We no longer shall be slaves.
 Shake with fear, ye kings and princes! Quake with awe and coward dread!
 Queens, princesses,—charming paupers—ye who live on others' bread—
 Knights and nobles, lords and ladies, step ye off your fancied height,
 For your brutal reign is ended: Wrong shall now give place to Right!
 Stand back, priests, and monks, and friars! Stand back cardinals and popes!
 Stand back, lying goal-proclaimers, with your baseless fears and hopes!
 Stand back, all ye rogues who dangle petty gods to daze our view:
 We've no time to scan such trifles! We have nobler work to do!
 Stand aside, ye ballot-mongers, selling votes that but enslave!
 We have done with counting noses to select the crafty knave
 Who shall rule and rob, unhindered, those he feigns to represent,
 While the poor oppressed electors may but vote and then repent.
 Throw to earth the ballot-boxes—Tyranny's most potent tools—
 Instruments with which the cunning outwit thoughtless ones and fools!
 Ask us not to vote for rulers: Men vote not their rights away:
 He who votes is slave and coward, and shall surely rue the day.
 Vote for ye, ye knaves and noodles? vote to put ye in a place
 Where ye sit like despots o'er us, to our shame and our disgrace?
 Vote to put such things in office, there to meddle—there to plot—
 There to say what others *shall* do—there to say what they *shall not*!
 Stand aside, ye robber-rulers! Quit your posts this very hour!
 Stand aside! Make way for Freedom! Bid farewell to place and power!
 Cast aside your laws and statutes—mandates never made to last—
 Emblems of the days of bondage—emblems of a barbarous past!
 Hands off, thieves by law protected! Labor comes to claim its own.
 Dare to ask no tithes nor taxes: Labor shall no longer groan
 'Neath the burden laid upon it to accommodate the knaves;
 Workers shall retain their products: tribute only comes from slaves.
 Cease your taxes—deeds of plunder—wealth extorted from the fool—
 Blackmail levied on their *subjects* by the rogues who rob and rule;
 Cease your taxes—legal plunder—drawn from slaves by bribe and threat;
 Tax no more: restore the plunder: pay this long outstanding debt!
 Off our soil, ye landed gentry, till the ground or else depart;
 Each who lives on earth's fair surface claims the right to use his part;
 Work or starve—exploit no longer—earth is wide and men are few:
 If ye will not till your portion, stand aside for others to.
 Free the lands! The fruitful earth belongs not to the idle few,
 While the landless millions struggle, knowing not what they may do
 To allay the pangs of hunger, to protect the shivering frame,
 To provide a wretched living, tainted oft with vice and shame.
 Take your coin, ye finance-mongers, plutocrats who thrive on theft,
 While the slaves who make your riches, scarce have bare subsistence left.

Money shall not be man's master: Man was not for money made;
 Keep your dross, ye idle bankers, we have ceased with you to trade.
 Free exchange! Let honest labor e'er with labor freely trade;
 Give to industry the freedom that the usurer has stayed;
 Break the power of money monarchs—Interest's every form assail—
 Free the money, free exchanges, equity shall now prevail.
 Free all labor! Death to Profits—foes of industry and toil—
 Schemes for Labor's exploitation—schemes to swell the idler's spoil.
 Death to Profits, stateless leeches on the back of industry,
 Things which hold the slave in bondage! Break them!
 Labor must be free!
 Our loved sisters shall no longer sell their bodies on the street—
 Selling virtue for a trifle that they may both clothe and eat—
 Selling virtue to the buyer, for a life or for a day—
 Selling all that makes life noble for the thrice-scourged pay.
 Stand ye back, ye legislators, makers of the things called "laws"—
 Laws that crush each noble leader in the State's various jaws—
 Things called "laws" which hold the nation centuries behind it's time,
 Thwarting every noble effort, crushing manhood in its prime.
 Who are ye, that we should humbly bow before your stern dictate!
 What but men, except that conscience is not part of your estate?
 What do ye but wrong amongst us, ever working some new ill?
 Curb your appetites, Oh Rulers, we're no fatted calf to kill.
 We are men, and we are women. We are here to live or die:
 If to die, as ye would have us, we shall know the reason why;
 We shall know why blood and muscle, brain and sweat, shall waste for ye;
 We shall know the reason, Tyrants, why the slave shall not be free!
 Ah, ye domineering despots, relics of the days gone by,
 When the priest controlled our actions, making happiness a lie,
 Your authority shall vanish, vanish as the priests has done:
 It shall rise not with the morning; it shall cease with setting sun.
 Go to school, ye legislators! Make your laws to sticks and stones.
 Hide the record of your actions, bleached the way with human bones—
 Human bones and broken heart-strings, happy homes all deserted made,
 Through the tyrant legislator driving his accursed trade.
 Politicians, use your muscles! Politicians, use your brains!
 Not to persecute your fellows—not to keep mankind in chains—
 But to earn an honest living and to lead a useful life;
 Man has preyed on man for ages; Let it cease: 'tis fruitless strife!
 We shall suffer crime no longer; man shall govern man no more;
 Governments too long have cursed us—stained our smiling earth with gore;
 Oft they've driven us to murder those who ne'er have done us wrong;
 War no longer shall enslave us: it has reddened earth too long.
 Governments no more shall curse us, turning brightness into night;
 They, like vapors, shall wither 'neath the scorching rays of light
 Which experience is casting on their ways so dark and drear,
 Based on ignorance and blindness, built of bribery and fear.
 For an impulse has awakened men and women the world through,
 And they realize the noble work that each has now to do.

FREEDOM OR SLAVERY?

The latest advocate of limited slavery disguised under the fine names "Protection," "Regulation," &c., is Mr. Thomas Walker M.P., in your June No. Mr. Walker may be accepted as a capable and disinterested advocate; let us therefore dispassionately test the value of his arguments or statements.

He first of all lays down as a principle, that it is necessary in trade to lay down regulations to secure fair and equitable competition. But he himself limits the necessity for such regulation to trade between nation and nation only.

This is at once to pass by the greatest amount of unequal competition, both in intensity and quantity. There is the widest possible disparity in the ability of men in the same community to compete with one another. A Castleman's shoemaker in the early days of Victorian protection, thus exulted in himself at a public meeting: "I don't care for your duties on the foreign producer. He is not the man that I am afraid of. But there is a fellow on the other side of the toll-gate, who cuts down prices and makes better and cheaper shoes than I can afford to make—confound him. Now I want a duty on him." The inequality of the basis of competition is patent everywhere—but Mr. Walker does not as yet propose to regulate it. Only the producer who must send his produce abroad is to be "regulated." And the only regulation proposed is to punish the exporting producer, and make his business less profitable by putting a tax on what he gets in return for his produce. Mr. Walker's picture of the New South Welshman brought down to the level of the Chinaman, applies evidently only to some New South Welshmen, if not any. Clearly the New South Welsh producer who exports will never be the worse off because the Chinaman gives him such a tremendous lot for his money. He will even receive with great complacency, the products of the god labour of America or France, and the more he gets the better he will be satisfied.

At this stage let me ask Mr. Walker what he supposes, we all endure the disagreeable necessity of working for? I do obtain bread, clothes and other necessities for my work. I do not eat bread in order to employ the baker, nor wear clothes in order to find the tailor and shoemaker with work. If these things could be had without work, I would employ no one to get them for me. The object of working is not work—but the product of work. To diminish therefore the product of some New South Welsh workers—Newcastle colliers to wit who exports coal—in order that some other New South Wales man may profit by the amount of diminution, is not to increase the total payment for labour, but simply to rob a New South Wales Peter in order to pay a New South Wales Paul. The method is indeed identical with Faddy's mode of lengthening his blanket—cutting a piece off the top and sewing it at the bottom.

Suppose now that Chinamen were to send us all the tea, silks &c. &c., which we now pay them for with coals and other things, for nothing; and the American and French Gaol authorities, all the prison made furniture we wanted for nothing.

Ask Mr. Walker, should we be better or worse off, richer or poorer, if we had all the tea, silk and furniture we wanted, and all the money value of them in our pockets besides? say they cost us £500,000 per annum, and we had them all cut out of our £500,000 besides? Very simple arithmetic will decide that question.

And now is it not as certain as the multiplication table, that if we had three quarters, or half, of that £500,000 in our pockets, we should still be better off to that extent?

The greater the quantity of goods we obtain in exchange for our produce—Chinaman's goods or any other—the better for our whole community, except of course the privileged and protected trades, which after all form a very small part of our community.

The bulk of our communities belong to the plundered—not to the protected classes, and it is a mere jugglery to speak of these protected trades as if they comprised everybody.

Mr. Walker and every protectionist advocate constantly uses this jugglery. The aristocratic bread taxer in England used to do exactly the same thing.

There are plenty of fallacies crowded into Mr. Walker's short article. It is easy to string a score of fallacious assumptions together each of which requires considerable space to expose. Take for instance his notion of increasing employment by protection. You can neither create new in-

dustries, nor extend employment, by putting a tax on the payment we receive for our goods.

The tax must operate on an old industry, by diminishing it, before you can create your new industry out of the diminution. The protectionist receipt for making employment and new industries, is like Rowland Hill's receipt for making a pair of shoes in five minutes—by taking a pair of boots and cutting the tops off. Thus by the protectionist method you slice down an old industry, in order to have the material to create your new industry.

Mr. Walker (in whose import and export figures, there is some prodigious error), is evidently of opinion that an excess of Imports over Exports is a very bad thing for us. Let us see how this excess arises. A cargo of coal worth a thousand pounds is shipped at Newcastle for Melbourne. With freight and charges and profit, it is sold in Melbourne for twelve hundred and fifty pounds. A cargo of Victorian flour and potatoes is bought with this money, which with freight charges and profit is sold for fifteen hundred pounds in Newcastle, and according to Mr. Walker the coal shipper (and consequently the colony) has lost five hundred pounds by the transaction, that being the amount of Excess of Import over Export. But if that cargo of coal had been lost at sea, the Export would have been one thousand pounds and the Import nothing, which according to protectionist arithmetic would have been a clear gain of a thousand pounds to the colony!

If protectionist principles are as beneficial as Mr. Walker would have us believe, why cannot protectionists leave us free to find that out? I hope I am at least as sane as an average protectionist, and I don't resent the force of Government and its policy and custom-house officials to compel me to do something for my own benefit. All beneficial trading is voluntary, and the very fact that you want to use force, shows that forced trading is not voluntary and not beneficial.

Protectionists are a class so enamoured of Government force and regulation, that they are quite willing to part with their own freedom, provided they can have power to enslave others.

They submit to impositions on their own trades, for the sake of imposing restrictions upon others.

It is indicative of the survival of the slavish temperament, that the tyrant and the slave are often combined in one person. Parliaments, Press and ballot-box may be used to enslave, if those who use them love regulation and restriction rather than freedom, quite as effectively as standing armies and arbitrary police. The worst condition of men is that of being self-enslaved and enslaving others, yet believing themselves to be free and to be lovers of freedom, and that is the protectionist state.

BALLARAT.

THE INTERNATIONALISTS.

The Internationalists believe that if universal suffrage had been capable of emancipating the working people from the rule of what they call the "ruling classes," that it would have been taken away from them before now, and they therefore have no faith in the ballot as a means of righting the wrongs under which the masses groan, because the "district" system, the division of the people into political parties, the manipulation of primaries, caucuses and elections, the use of money, and the influence of bourgeoisie priests, press, and politician make it impossible for real and honest representatives of the people to be elected; because to means exist to punish or recall unfaithful public servants; because there are no means by which the people themselves can pass such laws as they may desire; because participation in politics, as at present conducted, not only corrupt the leaders, but the rank and file as well; because, in order to accomplish their aims, it is necessary that in the hearts and minds of the people there shall be developed the greatest contempt, the loftiest usefulness, and the most heroic devotion and that the "dirty pool of politics" does not elevate or refine. They believe that the spoliation of the producing classes can only be terminated by a bloody and universal revolution; that this revolution will be precipitated upon them by the "sinful" legal robbery dangerous to themselves or their institutions; and they hold that only by the education of the masses can they gain their social and economic freedom. They therefore declare that their first duty is to educate the masses; to prepare for the coming universal revolution, and to endeavor to so direct it that there may be secured as its results a system of co-operative society which will insure justice to all.

From the Principles of the "International Workmen's Association."

"If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait for ever."—Lord Macaulay.
"Society performs for itself almost everything which is ascribed to government."—Thomas Paine.

(Continued from page 39)

See! They tear to shreds their fetters; find their limbs and brains intact;
 Slaves no more, they will be free men—free to think and free to act;
 Get ye from us, priests and rulers, who have held us slaves so long;
 We have torn to shreds your mandates, waged relentless war with wrong;
 And although ye heed our voices, or ignore us as of yore,
 Ye shall now submit to justice, for the reign of wrong is o'er,
 Honest toilers, come and aid us; honest tradesmen, lend your might;
 Friends of truth, and friends of justice, show your zeal and aid the right;
 Free the slave, and crush the tyrant; give to labor labor's due;
 Crush the hand which throttles freedom; make the old give place to new!
 Justice we demand this instant; Liberty for one and all;
 Honesty in every act; Equality for great and small;
 Freedom from the vicious rule of democrat or monarchy;
 Truth and reason showing on us all the joys of Anarchy!

DAVID A. ASDRADE.

THE CZAR AND THE NIHILISTS.

The Nihilists have failed in their latest attempt to rid the world of a tyrant, whereupon hiring scribblers and no royal worshippers inhaled in peana of joy, and indle columns of high-falutin traddle about "dastardly assassins and Nihilist conspirators." Amidst all the loud hosannas and cringing to crowned heads and their satellites so delightfully typical of this boasted era of enlightenment—the 19th century—we hear little or nothing of the sufferings and martyrdom of millions enslaved and degraded through the reign of despotism, and causing hypocrisy. The Czar of all the Russias, and leader of one of the greatest military despots in the world, trembles upon his throne and fears an assassin in almost every person that approaches him. What a life for a divinely-appointed ruler—God's representative on earth—to lead! His palace is a prison—his subjects hate him and his counsellors, and in spite of the hired slaves that guard his person, they are determined that he shall die, and that the baneful rule of his military gang shall be overthrown. Secret police spies and detectives swarm throughout the Russian empire to seize upon suspected Nihilists and transport them, after a mock trial, to the dreary dungeons or prisons of Siberia. Still, in spite of all the pretensions of the military tyrants that rule Russia, the great Nihilist organization grows larger and gains added strength day by day. This wonderful society—the hope of millions of enslaved peasants—spreads its secret plans through the length and breadth of the empire. Thousands may be hanged or sent to the terrible Siberian mines to languish in life-long misery, but thousands more fill their places. Ah! some of the noblest and best men and women who have known have sprung from the revolutionary ranks of Russian Nihilism, and many of them rotted to death in the dungeons of Russia; aye! to-day hundreds are suffering tortures unutterable for the cause of human freedom. Such names as those of Michael Bakonine, Osinsky, Pierre Kropotkine, Stefanovic, Vera Zassulich, Sophia Perovskia, will live in human memory as long as the world lasts. The sufferings which these and kindred spirits endured—the noble self-sacrificing work they have done in the cause of humanity—he examples they have given—ought to stir to untold action all those who have the welfare of the toiling, suffering masses at heart.

The Ides of March have come, and with them came the threat and attempt on the despot's miserable life. Six years ago his sainted father was sent to join the angels amidst the execrations of an oppressed people and the wallings of the Continental and Australian capitalist press. The Nihilists menaced the present Czar with his father's fate if he did not bring about constitut onal reforms. The time of grace has expired, but no reforms have come. The son is sure to meet the fate of his father, Alexander II, for he is enclosed in a network from which he cannot escape unless by suicide or assassination. He is besieged by enemies on every side; the Nihilists threaten him with certain death; while on the other hand if he submits in any way to their claims, he is liable to assassination by the military lords of the empire that support

him on his throne of blood. Nihilists in the army and navy, in the schools and public offices, among his generals and high officials, hem him in, and only await the given signal to end the Russian despotism, and bring about a complete revolution. Nihilists even fill the ranks of the police, whose special business it is to ferret out the conspirators—these are to be found even in the Imperial household in personal attendance upon the Czar. We have seen it reported, that through the constant fear of attack he has become insane, and that he shot one of his attendants, whom he mistook for a purveyor of dynamite bombs. Although he is surrounded with wealth and luxury, and slaves guard him night and day, he shrinks in terror from his comb—for an explosive substance may be concealed beneath it. The ghosts of victims, done to death on Russian scaffolds and Siberian dungeons through his cruel and blood-thirsty government, are conjured up before his guilty, cowardly conscience, and the dying yells of the succumbing weak ring verlastingly in his ears. Behind great bolt and bar he shields his greatness—hidden by armor plates and attended by armed and trembling slaves, he hies him to church and gatschina—but spite of all his pretensions and all the legual powers of darkness that support him, his doom is sealed—his empire is tottering to its fall.

But, we are informed that "the Czar shed tears" on being notified of the danger which he had so narrowly escaped. The Czar shed tears at the abortive attempt on his own selfish interests, but did he ever shed a tear or feel a pang of pain when he signed the transportation orders for noble-minded men to be immured in dark Siberian mines knout-armed friends remorselessly peel the flesh from lare-white backs and all the wildest imaginations of eternal sorrow are fully realized? Did he ever shed a tear for the millions crushed in crime and savage slavery so that he and his military and ecclesiastical partners might rule and share the plunder? And even if he did, not all the tears (were they even tears of blood) that he and his parasitical tribe throughout the world can or ever will shed would atone for the ignorance and injustice that they have perpetrated. From rapine, madness, treachery, an l thorny willfulness" their power arose. The blood of martyred millions cries to heaven for vengeance; numberless insane and hopeless human wrecks in dungeon, asylum and galleys, bear witness to the withering effect of the Royal, ecclesiastical and aristocratic pestilences on the masses of mankind. Stepaniak's *Underground Russia*, Dostoeffsky's *Ten Years in Siberia*, and Kropotkine's writings, depicted in lurid colors the effect of despotic government in Russia, and the first-named work gives a faithful description of the Nihilist organization and its extensive and secret modifications. Therein a description is given of the *modus operandi* by which the late Emperor met his doom. Most of us have read the newspaper accounts as to how the plans were carried out in 1881, and can remember that a woman was the leading spirit in the maturing and successful issue of those plans. Sophie Perovskaya—a young Russian maiden of gentle birth, left her high estate, and on the banks of the Volga taught the Muscovite peasant and the dark-eyed Tartar self-reliance—taught him how to organize to overthrow the common enemy. The outcome of all her sacrifice was the destruction of a Royal depot. She was arrested, and hanged on April 15th, 1881, for her action in the memorable month of March of the same year. Czar of all the Russias was dead, and a woman—representative of her dishonored and suffering sex—was the master-hand that destroyed him!

The storm burst forth! from out that storm
 The clean red lightning crept!
 And to! a prostrate royal form!
 Like any blood, his crept
 Down through the snow, all smoking war,
 And Alexander's! crept!
 Yes, one lies dead for millions dead!
 One red spot in the snow
 For one long damning line of red;
 While exiles endless go—
 The tale at breast, the mother's head
 Bowed down, and all dying so!
 Ah! did a woman do this deed?
 Then build her scaffold high,
 That all may on her forehead read
 Her martyr's right to die!

W. H. McNAMARA.

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"Whenever we depart from the great principles of truth and honesty, of equal freedom and justice to all men, whether in our relations with other states, or in our dealings with our fellowmen, the evil that we do surely comes back to us, and the suffering and poverty and crime of which we are the direct or indirect causes, help to impoverish ourselves."—ALFRED RUSSELL WALLACE.

ON THE LOOK-OUT.

THE articles on "Protection," by Mr. Walker, and "Ballarat," in this and the previous numbers of HONESTY, bring out some very good points. The popular fallacy that our prosperity is measurable by the excess of our exports over our imports is ably refuted by "Ballarat," whose article on the whole is an excellent one. He scarcely does justice to the Protectionist, however, when he states that the latter's object is "to punish the exporting producer . . . by putting a tax on what he gets in return for his produce." The general object of Protectionists, as they so frequently reiterate, is not so much to impose taxation, but to fix the tariff charges at such high figures as to practically prohibit foreign importation, and encourage local monopoly instead of foreign. This is, of course, as economically indefensible as the other; but it must not be overlooked that what is generally known as Free-trade is not Free-trade, but privileged speculation amongst plutocrats, and almost as costly a luxury to the consumer as is protection itself. The merchants form "rings" to monopolize markets, raise prices, and swell their enormous profits; and it is remarkable that the short-sighted Protectionists ask to be denied the blessings of free interchange of commodities throughout the civilized world. "Ballarat's" article generally meets with our warm approval; not so, Mr. Walker's article, however. This shining star amongst the moulders of a nation's destiny, appears to have a very poor opinion of the material he has undertaken to mould, and a very mixed-up idea of the moulding operations. He thinks we will be able to dispense with statutory laws and governments when we become just and perfect; being apparently oblivious of the fact that it is the existence of these very laws and governments which prevents us from becoming either just or perfect, presuming the latter to be attainable. He asks for equitable competition, and yet advocates a Protectionist monopoly. He says it is criminal to deny opportunities for honest employment, and yet holds a seat in the very institution which denies those opportunities, instead of helping us to acquire them. He objects to the existence of poverty, and yet supports a policy which forbids our poor from purchasing cheaply that which the poor abroad are offering to sell, that they too may not starve. He wants to find more employment for the toilers, when they are already overworked, although starving, and those for whom they slave are bemoaning their "over-production." And, worse than all, he proposes to better our condition—not by removing the political shackles from the weak, that they may become strong, oh, dear, no—but by imposing a "handicap" on the strong, the energetic, and the deserving! A system which tends to assist the weaker by weakening the strong, is a most pernicious system—and such a system is Protection.

Mr. Collinson, writes in a contemporary: "I deplore that men of talent, education and eloquence, like Messrs Andrade and Donovan, should be so engrossed with minor issues, some of them quite above the average intelligence of the masses, to the neglect of this, the land question, which, if properly wielded, would prove a hammer to weld those masses into one compact and irresistible phalanx." The writer of the above, whom we have not the pleasure of knowing, is welcome to assail the views of the parties named in these columns, and to lift them above the "minor issues" which he asserts them to be

engrossed with, and of which he appears to be so ignorant. It is rather strange that, all with all the bonhomie which most of the local republican leaders give vent to, only one has yet had the courage to discuss with us in these columns.

The *Republican* is the title of a new monthly paper just published in Sydney. The first number is a wretched rag; but the second is a far more creditable production, and is apparently anti-prohibitionist, for it asks: "When will the clerical gentlemen learn that they cannot make men either sober or moral by acts of Parliament?" We endorse the quotation; and beg furthermore to ask: When will Republicans learn that they make men immoral by acts of Parliament?

An organization called the "Anti-Government League" has just been formed at Ballarat, the object of which is "to protest against the manufacture of renewals or other new rolling stock in the Government workshops." It appears that the clerical gentlemen were originally confined to repairs and pattern carriages, engines, &c., the money being voted for that purpose; but, naturally enough, the railway Department have increased the operations of the workshops by rebuilding carriages and effecting all descriptions of renewals. This departure has caused no little concern amongst those interested in this particular industry; and they complain that, "as it is only a question of a few years when railway extensions must be very small if they do not cease altogether, it follows that when extensions cease, the Government workshops will monopolize the whole of the work, and such industries as the Phoenix Foundry in Ballarat and the carriage manufacturing companies in Sandhurst, West Melbourne, and other places, and their related industries, will cease to exist, to the great loss of manufacturers, business people, property owners, and workmen, whose skill and capital must perish, or at the least suffer very severely;" and they seek to establish in place of this monopoly, "a fair, open, and beneficial competition," by bringing pressure to bear upon Parliament in order that the works may be reduced. How illogical some folks are to be sure; they ask the State to construct and manage their railways, and then blame them for so doing, as it tends to limit their own industry! But surely, if it is better for the State to supplant private efforts by efforts of its own, in small undertakings, it is more advisable that it undertake works of greater magnitude; surely if monopoly can facilitate repairs, it can facilitate construction! Of course, the reason for the inconsistency of the league is not difficult to perceive: they are quite content to see the public taxed for the construction of railways, that it may provide the local capitalists with profitable jobs, and they are not at all particular about the unfortunates whom it may inconvenience; but as soon as the monopoly, which bestowed the trade upon them, takes the trade over to itself, they instantly cry out against monopoly, and ask for fair, open, and beneficial competition. But why not encourage competition earlier? If people chose to voluntarily combine to mutually satisfy their requirements, instead of appealing to the arch monopolist, the State, to provide for them, there would not be this constant danger of the stifling of private enterprise. The league would do far better if, instead of simply opposing Governmental manufacturing, it opposed Governmental management, repairing, and ownership generally.

The powerful article of P. J. Proudhon, which is concluded in this issue, constitutes the introductory chapter to his deservedly celebrated work, *What is Property?* We should publish the entire work, were it not that it would take several years to complete. Meanwhile, we refer our readers to the advertisement of it which appears on page 48.

READER! If you sympathise with the principles and objects of this paper, do not hesitate to do your share in aiding it; but send 8s. 6d. for a year's subscription; or, better still, take a dozen copies of each issue for 2s. prepaid and post free—an amount equal to less than a penny per day. This trifling expenditure is within the reach of all; and if every subscriber acts upon the suggestion it will secure us a circulation that will guarantee our permanent success, and firmly establish our principles.

THE IDEA OF A REVOLUTION.

BY PIERRE JOSEPH PROUDHON.

(Continued from page 31.)

WHEN our ideas on any subject, material, intellectual, or social, undergo a thorough change in consequence of new observations, I call that movement of the mind *revolution*. If the ideas already held are simply extended or modified, there is only *progress*. Thus the system of Ptolemy was a step in astronomical progress, that of Copernicus was a *revolution*. So, in 1789, there was strategic and political progress; revolution there was none. An examination of the reforms which were attempted proves this.

The nation, so long a victim of monarchical selfishness, thought to deliver itself for ever by declaring that it alone was sovereign. But what was monarchy? The sovereignty of one man. What is democracy? The sovereignty of the nation, or, rather, of the people in majority. But it is, in both cases, the sovereignty of man instead of the sovereignty of the law, the sovereignty of the will instead of the sovereignty of the reason; in one word, the passage from natural justice. Unhappily, when a nation passes from the monarchical to the democratic state, there is progress, because in multiplying the sovereigns we increase the opportunities of the reason to subordinate itself for the will; but in reality there is no revolution in the government, since the principle remains the same. Now, we have the proof to-day that, with the most perfect democracy, we cannot be free.

Nor is that all. The nation-king cannot exercise its sovereignty itself; it is obliged to delegate it to agents: this is constantly reiterated by those who seek to win its favor. Be these agents five, ten, one hundred, or a thousand, of what consequence is the number; and what matters the name? It is always the government of man, the rule of will and caprice. I ask what this pretended revolution has revolutionized?

We know, too, how this sovereignty was exercised; first by the Convention, then by the Directory, afterwards confiscated by the Consul. As for the Emperor, the strong man so much adored and mourned by the nation, he never wanted to be dependent on it; but, as if intending to set its sovereignty at defiance, he passed within its suffrage: that is, its abdication, the abdication of this inalienable sovereignty; and he obtained it.

But what is sovereignty? It is, they say, the *power to make laws*. Another absurdity, a relic of despotism. The nation had long seen kings issuing their commands in this form: *for such is our pleasure*; it wished to taste in its turn the pleasure of making laws. For fifty years it has brought them forth by myriads; always, be it understood, through the agency of representatives. The play is far from ended.

The definition of sovereignty was derived from the definition of the law. The law, they said, is *the expression of the will of the sovereign*; then, under a monarchy, the law is the expression of the will of the king; in a republic, the law is the expression of the will of the people. Aside from the difference in the number of wills, the two systems are exactly identical; both share the same error, namely, that the law is the expression of a will; it ought to be the expression of a fact. Moreover they followed good leaders: they took the citizen of Geneva for their prophet, and the *contract social* for their Koran.

Bias and prejudice are apparent in all the phrases of the non-legislators. The nation had suffered from a multitude of exclusion and privileges; its representatives issued the following declaration: *All men are equal by nature and before the law*; an ambiguous and reluctant declaration. *Men are equal by nature*: does that mean that they are equal in size, texture, talent and virtue? No; they meant, then, political and civil equality. Then it would have been sufficient to have said: *All men are equal before the law*.

But what is equality before the law? Neither the constitution of 1791, nor that of '93, nor the grantal charter, nor the accepted charter, have defined it accurately. All imply an inequality in fortune and station incompatible with even a shadow of equality in rights. In this respect it may be said that all our constitutions have been faithful expressions of the popular will: I am going to prove it.

Formerly the people were excluded from civil and military offices. It was considered a wonder when the following high-sounding article was inserted in the Declaration of Rights; "All citizens are equally eligible to office; free nations know no qualifications in their choice of officers save virtues and talents."

They certainly ought to have admitted so beautiful an idea; they admitted a piece of nonsense. Why? The sovereign people, legislators, and reformers, see in public office, to speak plainly, only opportunities for pecuniary advancement. And, because it regards them as a source of profit, it degrades the eligibility of citizens. For what use would this precaution be, if there were nothing to gain by it? No one would think of unloading that noble lot, astronomers and zoogeographers should be politicians, nor of prohibiting stammerers from acting at the theatre and the opera. The nation was stillaping the kings, like them it wished to award the lucrative positions to its friends and favorites. Unfortunately, and this last feature complicates the resemblance, the nation did not control the list of livings; that was in the hands of its agents and representatives. They, on the other hand, took care not to thwart the will of their gracious sovereignty.

This effing article of the Declaration of Rights, retained in the charters of 1814 and 1830, implies several kinds of civil inequality: public functions are sought only for the consideration and emoluments which they bring; inequality of wealth, since, if it had been desired to equalize fortunes, public services would have been regarded as a duty, not as a reward; inequality of privileges, the law not stating what it means by *talents and virtues*. Under the empire, virtue and talent consisted simply in military bravery and devotion to the emperor; that was shown when Napoleon created his nobility

and attempted to connect it with the ancients. To-day, the man who pays taxes to the amount of two hundred francs is virtuous; the talented man is the honest pick-pocket; such truths as these are accounted trivial.

The people finally legalized property. God forgive them, for they knew not what they did. For forty years they have suffered for their miserable folly. But how could the people, whose voice, they tell us, is the voice of God, and whose conscience is infallible—how could the people be err? How happened it that, when seeking liberty and equality, they fell back into privilege and slavery? Always through copying the ancient *répétit*.

Formerly, the nobility and the clergy contributed towards the expenses of the State only by voluntary aid and gratuitous gift; their property could not be seized even for debt,—while the plebeian, overwhelmed by taxes and excluded from public office,—barely appeased, now by the king's tax-gatherers, now by those of the nobles and clergy. He whose possessions were subject to mortmain could neither bequeath nor inherit property; he was treated like the animals, whose services and offspring belong to their master by right of accession. The people wanted the condition of *ownership* to be alike for all; they thought that every one should *own and freely dispose of his possessions, his income, and the fruit of his labor and industry*. The people did not invent property, but as they had not the same privileges in regard to it, which the nobles and clergy possessed, they decreed that the right should be exercised by all under the same conditions. The more obvious forms of property—statute-labor, mortmain, *usufruct*, and exclusion from public office—bare disappeared; the conditions of its enjoyment have been modified; the principle still remains the same. There has been progress in the regulation of the right, but there has been no revolution.

These, then, are the three fundamental principles of modern society, established one after another by the movements of 1789 and 1830: 1. *Necessity of the human will*; 2. *short despotism*, 3. *Inequality of wealth and rank*, 4. *Property*—alone JUSTICE, always invoked as the guardian angel of sovereigns, nobles, and proprietors; JUSTICE, the general, primitive, categorical law of all society.

We must ascertain whether the ideas of *despotism, civil inequality and property*, are in harmony with the primitive notion of *justice*, they necessarily follow from it—assuming various forms according to the condition, position, and relation of persons; or whether they are not rather the legitimate result of a junction of different things, the fatal association of ideas, and since justice deals especially with the questions of government, the condition of persons, and the possession of things, we must ascertain under what conditions, judging from an universal spirit, and the progress of the human mind, government is just, the condition of citizens is just, and the possession of things is just; then, striking out every thing which fails to meet these conditions, the result will at once tell us what legitimate government is, and what the legitimate condition of citizens is, and what the legitimate possession of things is; and finally, as the last result of the analysis, what *justice* is.

Is the authority of man over man just?

Everybody answers, "No; the authority of man is only the authority of the law, which ought to be just and untrick. The private will counts for nothing in government, which consists, first, in discovering truth and justice in order to make the law and, second, in unflinchingly executing the law. I do not now inquire whether our constitutional form of government satisfies those conditions; whether, for example, the will of the ministry never influences the declaration and interpretation of the law; or whether our deputies, in their debates, are more intent on competing by argument than by force of numbers; it is enough for me that my definition of a real government is allowed to be correct. This idea is exact. Yet we see that nothing seems more just to the Oriental nations than the despotism of their sovereigns; that, with the ancients and in the opinion of the philosophers themselves, slavery was just; that in the middle ages the nobles, the priests, and the bishops felt just in holding slaves; that Louis XIV. thought that he was right when he said, "The State I am the State;" and The idea of justice, then, applied to society and government, has not always been what it is to-day; it has come on developing and shaping itself by degrees, until it has arrived at its present state. But has it reached its last phase? I think not; only, as the last obstacle to be overcome in order to finish the reform in government which we have long talked in order to finish the reform in government and consummate the revolution, this very institution we must attack.

Is political and civil inequality just?

Some say yes; others no. To the last I would reply that, when the people abolished all privileges of birth and caste, they did it, in all probability, because it was for their advantage; why then do they favor the privileges of fortune more than those of rank and caste? Because, say they, political inequality is impossible; that is, the rich and without property society is impossible: thus the question just before becomes a question of property. To the second I content myself with this remark: If you wish to enjoy political equality, abolish property; otherwise, why do you complain?

Is property just?

Everybody answers without hesitation, "Yes, property is just." I say exactly, for up to the present time no one who thoroughly understood the meaning of his words has answered so. For it is no easy thing to reply understandingly to such a question; only time and experience can furnish an answer. Now this answer is given; it is for us to understand it. I undertake to prove it.

We are to proceed with the demonstration in the following order:—

I. We dispute not at all, we refute, nobody, we deny nothing; we accept as sound all the arguments advanced in favor of property, and confine ourselves to a search for its principle, in order that we may then ascertain whether this principle is faithfully expressed by property. In fact, property being defensible on no ground save that of

CORRESPONDENCE.

While desiring to show the fullest impartiality to correspondents the Editor reserves the right to reject all letters which he deems uninteresting. Rejected manuscripts will be returned if stamped and addressed envelope is enclosed; responsibility will be taken, however, in the event of their being miscarried.

All communications should be addressed to THE EDITOR OF "HONESTY," 9 ALEXANDRA THEATRE, EXHIBITION-STREET, MELBOURNE.

HONESTY will be supplied gratis to Mechanics' Institutes and Free Libraries, if the secretaries of those institutions notify the Editor to that effect.

TO CORRESPONDENTS, &c.

The conclusion of "Land Ownership," and several short articles are unavoidably held over to next number.

Foreign correspondents and exchanges will please be careful to affix sufficient postage stamps to the newspapers, letters, &c., sent to these colonies, as the fines for deficient postage are excessive, and there is great danger of miscarriage.

A WORD OF CHEER FROM OUR PARISIAN COMRADES.

(TO THE DIRECTOR OF "HONESTY.")

We have been much pleased in receiving the first copy of your Anarchist paper; and we are glad to see that there are Anarchists in all parts of the earth-ball. Please send us the further copies of your journal, on our side we shall send you our little publication.

You will find, perhaps, that there is no worthy as yours. But you ought to know that we are all young men; our enemies call us "The Children." Let them call us as they are pleased to do. We have the fast hope that our work, united with the work of the Anarchists of all countries shall have a good result.

Here, in France, it is very dangerous to speak against patriotism, but we hope that the Anarchists, whose number is increasing from day to day, will succeed in destroying that fatal idea of "patriotism," which has yet caused so much trouble amongst men.

We wish you a welfare, and remain your friends.

We write very badly English but you know that workmen have scarcely time to learn foreign languages.

For the relation of L'AVANT-GARDE COSMOPOLITE.

PARIS, the 10th JUNE, 1887. E. VILLARET.

THE SOURCE OF ENGLAND'S GREATNESS.

(TO THE EDITOR.)

SIR.—While strolling down Bourke-street one evening last week, I observed in front of one of our enterprising milliners' confectionery in the calico line, a small boy, studying intently what proved to be an inspection a justice pocket-handkerchief. It was one of those works of art so highly prized by small boys and missionaries; to the latter they will no doubt prove invaluable—the guides' heathen will probably pawn the family yamatch, to become the proud possessor of one of those painted rags. Of course, the artist, by his pencil, recoll'd that suggest old fable concerning the most graceful old hunching in England, the good old boy, and the colored gentleman, exhibited in the same window, was a large portrait of Her Gracious, and almost every article in the window was labelled justice some thing or other. Stopped at sight of so much grovel, I resumed my perambulation, studying England's greatness. Of course, England is great in wealth; but that wealth is in the possession of a few. So too, is she great in poverty. Immense wealth produces, in the great majority of cases, pride, luxury, licentiousness, fear and tyranny—pride, because wealth gives power—luxury, because the idle mind, debased by pride, creates unnatural wants—licentiousness, because the mind now diseased by pride and luxury runs riot—fear, because of an instinctive knowledge that they are squandering wealth which they never created—and tyranny, because they must oppose the march of progress to exist as they are. Where you find a hill, you are sure to find a hollow in close proximity; so too, you are certain to find poverty side by side with wealth; the one is the natural outcome of the other; it needs no argument to prove this. The outcome of my study was, that the real source of the present greatness of England is the ignorance of the many, who are bribed by a small moticum of the toilers; and their guardians, as policemen at home; and their hired assassins and cut-throats abroad. Ignorance alone created the present state of inequality; knowledge alone can destroy it.

ROBERT DEATIE.

THE POLITICAL LIE.

BUT whenever I find my dominion over myself not sufficient for me, and undertake the direction of my neighbor also, I overstep the truth, and come into false relations with him. I may have so much more skill or strength than he, that he cannot express adequately his sense of wrong, but it is lie, and hurts like a lie both him and me. . . . This undertaking for another, is the blunder which stands in colossal ugliness in the governments of the world. . . . I do not call to mind a single human being who has steadily denied the authority of the laws on the single ground of his own moral nature.—EMERSON.

MEETINGS, LECTURES, &c.

Secretaries of Radical Reform Societies and Working Men's Clubs are invited to send to the Editor brief reports of any meetings or proceedings suitable for publication in these columns.

MELBOURNE ANARCHISTS' CLUB DEBATES.

"The Survival of the Fittest; or, Might is Right," was the title of a very animated discussion, opened by Mr. D. W. Brookhouse, on May 29. The speaker held that might should be a basis for ethics; his opponents held that might is entirely distinct from right, and opposed to Anarchist principles as a basis for morals. A number of excellent points were brought out on both sides.

"Some Reflections on Anarchy" was the title of an address delivered on June 5, by Mr. George C. Newberry, who said that while Anarchy was his hope, he feared that an Anarchist community would be in constant danger from local monopoly and foreign invasion. A warm discussion followed.

"SUBSTITUTES" was the subject of debate on June 12. Mr. F. P. Upham opened, maintaining that substitutes was the great obstacle to progress, and that popularization increased it; a letter food supply is the necessary incentive to rebellion.

"OPTIMISM, and other Popular anti-Progressive Theories" was the subject of an address, delivered on June 19, by Mr. D. A. Andrade, in which he touched upon Optimism, Malthusianism, pseudo-Darwinism, thrift, and several other matters. Discussion followed.

"A COLONY of Lemmings" was the title of an exceedingly witty paper read by Mr. W. A. Gregory, on June 26. The allegory, which was written by Mr. James Smith and published in the *Argus* some years ago, is a powerful satire on Anarchy.

"MORMONISM and Anarchy: their resemblances" was the subject of an address by Mr. Beauchamp (a Mormon cleric) on July 3. He made the mistake, however, of dealing almost entirely with the theological, instead of the social, aspect of Mormonism.

"The Land Question" was the subject of Mr. D. W. Brookhouse's lecture on July 10. He outlined the workings of a land system under free conditions, and the method to reach them from the present conditions. There was comparatively no opposition offered.

"FREE Trade" was the subject of debate on July 17. Mr. F. P. Upham opened, advocating a thorough free trade policy.

"Is Alcohol a God?" was the unique question which Mr. Robt. Beattie propounded to the club, in a very able paper, on July 24. He strongly condemned the editor of *Honesty* for championing the publicans in their selling of liquor within prohibited hours.

"AN Anarchist Bomb; or, the Coming Slavery," was the sensational title of a spirited paper by Mr. W. A. Gregory, read on July 31. His "bomb" was intellect, and the "coming slavery" the regime of popular privilege which Demos was trying to sanction.

"CRIME" was the subject of Mr. D. A. Andrade's lecture on August 7. He quoted from the writers on jurisprudence to show their inconsistencies, and their lack of definition of what constitutes a crime; and he defined crime to be "denial of individual life or liberty," applying it to our political and social customs.

"TRADES Unions" was the subject of Mr. J. McNaught's carefully prepared address on August 14. He supported these combinations, as they had done some good in the past and had taught labor to combine; although, on the other hand, they could effect no permanent good, as they ignored fundamental principles, and worked in a wrong direction. A good discussion followed.

—10—

DEBATES AT THE AUSTRALASIAN SECULAR ASSOCIATION, MELBOURNE.

THE debates on the labor and poverty question, noticed in our last, were continued, under different names, for several weeks, most of them being opened by Anarchists.—Messrs F. P. Upham, D. W. Brookhouse, McMillan, J. McNaught—who met with little opposition. Mr. Montagu Miller opened a debate on "The Cause and Cure of Larrakinism." Two set debates upon Anarchy have taken place between Mr. James Donovan (Anarchist), and Mr. W. Trevelyan (Archist), a prominent worker in trades unions and other popular labor movements. Mr. D. A. Andrade opened a debate on "Anarchy and How to Realize It," and another upon "Malthusianism." Mr. F. P. Upham read a paper on "State Railway Systems versus Individual Effort." Mr. J. T. Kelly opened a good debate upon the Chinese question. Mr. Morris making an exceptionally good reply.

FORTHCOMING DEBATES.

DEBATES are held at the Melbourne Anarchists' Club, 9 Alexandra Theatre, every Sunday evening, at 7.30, the subjects being advertised in the daily papers. The public are invited to attend them. Admission free; collection.

It is not the characteristic of every government that the criminal rule and guides the philosopher. . . . The very first necessary act of government is criminal—the enslaving of its subjects, that they may be successfully manipulated. . . . To appoint a ruler, or rulers, over you, is to create privilege—to give another man a license to rule and rob you, or deprive you in any way he chooses of your rights and your liberty. No matter what form of government, you are never more powerful than when you are free from the withholding of your own, and by the organization of soldiers, police, courts of injustice, jails, and all the other paraphernalia by which rich hold fools in subjection.—D. A. Andrade, in *The Redoubt*.

POETRY.

"FREEDOM."

Men! whose heart it is that ye
 Care of fathers brave and free,
 If there breathe on earth a slave,
 Are ye truly free and brave?
 If ye do not feel the chain,
 When it works a brother's pain,
 Are ye not base slaves indeed,
 Slaves unworthy to be freed!

Women! who shall one day bear
 Sons to breathe New England air,
 If ye hear, without a blush,
 Deeds to make the roused blood rush
 Like red lava through your veins,
 For your sisters now in chains,—
 Answer! are ye fit to be
 Mothers of the brave and free!

Is true freedom but to break
 Fetters for our own dear sake,
 And, with leathern hearts, forget
 That we owe mankind a debt?
 No! true freedom is to share
 All the chains our brothers wear;
 And, with hand and heart, to be,
 Earnest to make others free.

They are slaves who fear to speak
 For the fallen and the weak;
 They are slaves who will not choose
 Hatred, scolding, and abuse,
 Rather than in silence shrink
 From the truth they needs must think;
 They are slaves who dare not be
 In the right with two or three.

J. R. LOWELL.

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PROUDHON.

PIERRE JOSEPH PROUDHON, the remarkable social philosopher, whose portrait appears on this page, has marked a new era in the history of socialism—a new era in social advancement. His writings have revolutionised human thought, and are laying the foundations of a new civilisation.

This great philosopher had, like many other great men, a humble origin. Born of poor parents—his mother (a common servant) and his father, both being employees in a large brewery, and possessing very limited means—Proudhon started his career with the terrible problem of human misery staring him in the face—the terrible problem to the solution of which the

years of age, we find him helping in the household and tending cattle; at twelve, he is the cellar-boy at an inn; afterwards we find him a proof-reader in a printing office, then a compositor, then foreman in a large printing establishment, and afterwards in a printing office of his own. And all the time, we find him ceaselessly studying—his parents are too poor to buy him books, he borrows them from his comrades to copy his lessons, and he reads with avidity almost everything which comes under his most keen observation. Though he was so poor, and knew the want of a meal, he frequented the town library, and lost no opportunity of pursuing his studies, until we find him a master of the Latin and Hebrew languages, and the author of a comprehensive essay on general grammar.

But it is as a sociologist that Proudhon stands out pre-eminently. His great work, *What is Property?* which he published in 1840, was the first bold stroke that made him famous. In it, he struck at the very roots of our social system. In it, he tore away the veil of sophistry which makes political tenets, he showed property palatable to the disinherited proletariat, and the social destruction which everywhere marks the government of man by the philosopher, and he proclaimed the gospel of Anarchy—the philosophy of civilised man. From that time his public career was a stormy one, but his pen never faltered. He wrote his *System of Economic Contradictions*, *The Solution of the Social Problem*, *General Idea of the Revolution in the Nineteenth Century*, and many other works, amounting in all to some fifty

distinct volumes. He battled for his principles in Parliament and out of it; he founded a bank that should destroy usury, and had obtained thirty-seven thousand adherents when it was suppressed; he published newspapers to popularise and extend his opinions, for which he endured persecution and imprisonment. A disease, which had been long growing upon him, hastened the termination of his active career, and on the 19th of January, 1865, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, the great revolutionary philosopher breathed his last.

Proudhon was essentially a philosopher of the people. He sought, to use his own words, for "the discovery of some means of ameliorating the physical, moral, and intellectual condition of the more numerous and poorer classes," and never did he swerve from that resolution. Born of the proletarian class, he ever sympathised with them and pleaded their cause. And with what self-denial and untiring energy! "I have consulted," he says, in his first work, "the masters of science; I have read a hundred volumes of philosophy, law, political economy, and history; would to God that I had lived in a century in which so much reading had been useless! I have made every effort to obtain exact information, comparing doctrines, replying to objections, continually constructing equations and reductions from arguments, and weighing thousands of syllogisms in the scales of the most rigorous logic."



P. J. PROUDHON,
Revolutionist and Philosopher.

Unfortunately, while his works are all obtainable in the French language, none, except *What is Property?* have been translated into English, beyond a few brief extracts. This want will probably be supplied in course of time, as Mr. Benj. R. Tucker has already started the translation and issue of the entire works of Proudhon.

When the historian of the next century, writes the history of this, he will find an important place for the philosopher who first promulgated the bold doctrine that "property is robbery," tracing its history through the various stages of social development, and laying bare the terrible evil engenders, and inlets upon social welfare, the vice which it creates, for the crimes which it commits, the vice which it engenders, and the relations of men to each other, who first maintained the absolute necessity of liberty as an invariable social principle, and who first established the truism, that "Society finds its highest perfection in the Union of Order with Anarchy."

VOLUNTARY COMMUNISM.^o

It is a strong sense of the injustice dealt out to the industrial classes (to which I belong), by those who, by a system of grab, have annexed wealth, other than their own, and become powerful, that has forced me to raise my voice against tyranny, and to try to draw the attention of my fellow-men to the ways and means of bettering our condition; and, if you only give me credit for being sincere in this respect, I care not how severe your criticism may be.

I have chosen "Voluntary Communism" as the subject of this paper, believing it to be the best form of society for mankind to adopt. Having told you in my belief the next best thing to do is to give you the reasons on which I build my belief. I believe that land, sea, and air should be the common property of all; and no man, whether endowed with mental or physical superiority or not, is entitled to more than his fair share. I believe intelligence to be a universal property of matter, and that man's brain is but an atom of this universal matter, and that the fact of a man being possessed of a more than average amount of brain is the result of an accident over which he has no control. To hear some men allude to their mental capabilities, which they do in a very cunning and indirect way, you would be apt to think that they themselves had moulded this atom of matter, breathed intelligence into it, and adjusted it in their own skulls. For instance, an employer will sometimes insinuate that it is the result of his mental energy, that gives employment to his workmen. His workmen might with equal justice say: "If we were not capable of carrying out your ideas, you might lay your brains on the shelf?" I believe that every man has a right to live, and enjoy all the privileges of life in common with his fellows. I believe that men will yet grow wise enough to reverse the doctrine of "the survival of the fittest," and alter society so that it will be the best that will survive. The farmer does not allow weeds to grow up and choke his grain, nor does the conservator of forests allow worthless vines to destroy his trees; and reformers should take especial care to remove all social weeds. At present, it is the unscrupulous loafers (those who brighten by hell, cozy by heaven, rob by law, poison with alcohol, starve by land-grabbing, extort by usury, and plunder by swindling) who survive. Better the world be rid of this vast army of social vermin, than lose one honest man! Some assert that all these work with their brains; but what, I ask, is the result of all this mental labor? It produces nought, save bigots, legal victims, drunkards, paupers, and fools. Their brain power is but a bastard intelligence, begotten of greed and cunning. I hold that any system, that takes out of the pockets of a great many and puts into the pockets of a few, is detrimental to the welfare of a community, and ought not to be tolerated. Some cry out: "Why not rise up like men, and demand our rights?"—and get shot down like asses! You all remember how three unfortunate men were persecuted for asking for work; and those who abused the power entrusted to them in unjustly imprisoning men, would not scruple to use the bullet and bayonet against those who dared to ask for their rights. Those who know what human rights really mean, are so few, alas! that any attempt to gain them by force would be suppressed, and our throats would be cut by our own countrymen. There is a quieter and simpler way of getting out of the difficulty; that is, by establishing communes and co-operations. Certainly we should have some of the machinery of government to contend against, but our example, I feel sure, would have a good effect, and tend to destroy it. I believe that it is every man's duty, and it ought to be a pleasant one, to expend his energies, both mental and physical, for the benefit of humanity. This is not mere sentiment; he, himself, would receive as much benefit as any. I contend that mankind would have been much happier, as a whole, had they been gifted with a mere instinct, instead of with a superior intelligence which has been selfishly misapplied. Better had the gold, silver, diamonds, and precious stones, lain undisturbed in the bowels of the earth, than be hoisted to the surface to gratify the vanity of kings and other snobbish drones; the securing of these almost useless articles has cost more human life than they are worth. The world, so far, has been ruled by self; and selfishness I believe to be the real cause of all the misery we see around us to-day. True communism aims to extract that base feeling from the human

heart, and enthroned there the spirit of true humanity.

I will now try to deal with a few objections people generally bring against communism; and I shall quote occasional extracts from Hinal's and Nordhoff's Histories of American Communities to support my own ideas. Some people have a terror of being loafed upon. I don't see why men are not naturally idle. Even the winter shakers,—the shiftless fellows who, as cold weather approaches, take refuge in shaker and other communities, professing a desire to become members, who come at the beginning of winter, as a shaker elder said to me, with empty stomachs and empty trunks, and go off with both full as soon as the roses begin to bloom,—even these poor crass-encumb to the systematic and orderly rules of the place, and do their share of work without shirking, until the mild spring sun tempts them to a freer life." I am inclined to suspect that it is the fear of not being able to loaf on others that deters many from even contemplating the communistic question. From what I myself have been able to observe of life amongst the North American Indian, the Maories, and even the Australian aborigines, I find loafing is seldom a source of trouble. Of course, these people have only adopted a very crude form of communism, and a somewhat unjust form as far as the women are concerned, for they have to perform a large amount of drudgery; yet I do not hesitate to say, that these people enjoy more of the privileges of life than do one fourth of the civilized world; they never had to (before the advent of the whites, anyhow) depend on charity. Charity! why an honest man's gorge rises at the sound of that hateful word; it is so suggestive; the imagination conjures up scenes of soup-kitchens and the old Supreme Court; it is but a cloak for robbery. I was rather surprised, some time ago, to hear a prominent Anarchist make use of this word. If every man was to fill his place honestly and uprightly in this life, this word could be expunged from all languages. No man can accumulate enormous wealth, without having infringed on the rights of others; and any man, who will literally roll in luxury while his fellows are starving, lacks two sterling qualities of true manhood—honesty and humanity. The Australian aboriginal has been pointed out by naturalists as the most degraded of human beings. They could never have studied the Australian larrakin. Why, an ordinary sober black-fellow is a gentleman compared with this vicious bi-jed. Yet this is the outcome of our boasted civilization! The industrial classes are eaten out of house and home by loafers, kings, landlords, brewers, parsons, lawyers, bankers, medical quacks, and sporting men. All these parasites utterly ignore productive labor, and assume airs of superiority, simply because they possess that low cunning which prompts one man to loaf on another. These are the fat social vermin that have caused men to degenerate into larrakins.

Another obstacle raised, is that the useful arts and sciences would languish and die out. I fail to see why this should be. The man who possessed an inventive genius would, I am sure, meet with every encouragement in a commune,—that is, if the invention was for any practical purpose; petty-fogginess would be scouted, I imagine, by any body of sensible men and women. I feel sure that ample time and assistance would be given him to perfect his ideas; and the increased prosperity of the commune would be his reward. And don't you think it would be a grand one? Why, to my mind, there could be no greater. I also think it would be a perfectly fair one; for every member helps to create the necessity which inspires the man of genius with ambition to overcome obstacles; and had it not been for the necessity his brains might as well have been in the possession of an eunuch. The man, who possesses a more than ordinary amount of brain power, can no more help being a genius, than a man, who possesses almost none, can help being a fool. Genius has struggled and asserted itself through poverty and disease, and yet reaped no reward in life. It would not be so in a commune. I believe there have been many bright ideas lost to us through the evils of our present social system. Just here, I will quote from Nordhoff to show that communal life does not dim the ideas: "The communists' life is full of devices for personal ease and comfort. At Icaria, owing to their poverty, comfort was, until within a year or two, out of the question—but they did

^oThis article was written some time ago, and has been awaiting insertion for several months, during which time we believe the writer's views to have become considerably modified in some important particulars, necessitating a departure from some of the ideas expressed here. We mention this in justice to Mr. Peattie, who will probably have something more to say upon the subject later on.—Ed. HONESTY.

what they could. Amongst the older and more prosperous communes a good deal of thought is given to the conveniences of life. One sees perfectly fitted laundries, covered ways by which to pass from house to out-houses in stormy weather, ingenious contrivances for ventilation and against draughts. Another extract goes to show that communists are not devoid of inventive genius, that they understand the science of agriculture, and are first class mechanics: "In the year 1873 the Oneida community produced and sold preserved fruits to the value of 27,417 dollars, machine and sewing silk and woven goods worth 203,784 dollars, hardware, including traps, chucks, silk-measuring machines, and silk strength testers (the last two of their own invention), gate hinges and foundry castings, 90,417 dollars. They raised 25 acres of sweet corn, 6 acres of tomatoes, 2 acres of strawberries, 2 acres of raspberries, 31 acres of pears, 1 acre of currants, 1 acre of grapes, 22 acres of apples. In the beginning of 1874, they were worth over half a million dollars. In February of the same year, they numbered 283 persons, of whom 131 were males and 152 females." I have heard lately that this community, since the death of their leader, has broken up and settled into a joint stock company. I am not at all surprised that they should do so. The peculiar views they held regarding sexual matters tended, I am sure, to breed dissension amongst the younger members—it is a dangerous thing to meddle with mutual love. But the fact of their surviving over 40 years, and having overcome persecution and other obstacles, is very encouraging to communists, who will adopt more rational views on sexual matters and elevate humanity to the place usurped by religion. This is the foundation on which the Icarians have founded their community, and although they have been in most instances fortunate of all American communities, yet, in the end, prosperity awaits them, for all their ideas are rational and humane, and as real live men and women are growing sick of bigotry and superstition, they cannot help but gain in numbers and wealth. Hear what Hind says: "Now Icaria is free from material embarrassment; without being in a very prosperous condition, it stands on a solid basis; its fidelity to the great principle of human fraternity has not failed. Now, as well as on the first day of its existence, it believes in, and proclaims, the equality of rights and duties for all the children of nature. It is opposed to every idea of superiority, whether based upon muscular strength, intellect or wealth. It does not make any distinction between the son of a poor man and the son of a king; in its estimation all are equal, all have a right to receive from society the entire satisfaction of their wants, all have the duty to produce according to the amount of strength with which they are endowed by nature." Such is Icaria. I regret that I cannot give an outline of the history of this interesting community; it would occupy too much time. I will quote one more brief extract, however: "One cannot withhold his admiration from the little band at Icaria—a mere remnant of the army assembled at Naverro under Cabet. Of every half a score that could then have responded to the roll-call, scarcely one is left; and yet they are apparently as full of courage and as enthusiastically devoted to communism, as they would have been had their pathway been strewn with roses instead of beset with thorns." In 1878, the members of this community numbered 88, with 50 applications for membership. Hind deals with 27 well-established communes and a number of other socialistic experiments. I will now quote the deductions he makes; they will be more interesting than anything I can say, as I have never had an opportunity of observing life among civilized communists, save one in Canada. I was stopping in a French Canadian boarding house; and among the inmates were 17 Parisian communal exiles. They were justly fellows enough, but partial to brandy, and I could not help observing, that their communistic ideas got somewhat mixed under its influence—generally speaking, it's a bad ingredient to mix anything with. I will now go on with Hind's deductions: "We have given a description of the principle of communism in the United States. Let us inquire in what is taught by the facts of their history. They teach, in the first place, that it is possible to solve, by methods free from strife, the problem of the relations of labor and capital. In these communities, there exists no distinction of rich and poor. All are laborers, and all are capitalists; and a lock-out on men interest. A strike on the one hand, and a lock-out on the other, are made impossible by their fundamental principle of common property. They teach that individual holding of property is not essential to industry and the vigorous prosecution of complicated businesses. They teach that a large portion of what are termed middle-men, as also of num-

producers in general, may be transferred to the side of production. They teach that litigation and other expensive evils, made necessary, in part at least, by the system of individual property, disappear with the advent of communism. They teach that pauperism and trampism, necessary results of the grab system, by which some are made extremely rich and others extremely poor, have no place in communism. They teach that education, libraries, lectures, the pleasures of art, the instructions of science, the best means of moral and spiritual discipline, may be brought within the reach of the common people. They teach that the necessary preliminary conditions of successful communism are comparatively few, and within the reach of all. None of the described communities had, at starting, the numbers or capital required by Fourier, or any conception of the system, or special interpretation of *The Scriptures*, is essential to successful communism; religion is a powerful promoter of agreement, which is indispensable to the permanent prosperity of any commune. The present anarchic condition of the Icarian community emphasises this fact, as does the entire history of American socialism. (I might say just here, that the dispute among the Icarians is over the propaganda question; the young members are enthusiastic and wish to spread the principles of communism; the older members, rendered cautious by the many hardships they came through, are more careful; and hence the difference. I have heard since that the dispute is settled.) They teach that as a community loses the altitudes of its first leaders and relies upon doctrines and the machinery of government, it tends to death. In other words, a community needs for its growth and progress in all stages of its career, a living power at its head, not inferior to that which it had in the beginning." I agree with most of these conclusions. There is one point, however, on which I differ with him. He asserts that religion is a powerful promoter of agreement; that may be for a generation or more, but when religions ferret leads communists to adopt celibate lives you see at once where the mischief comes in, and you no longer wonder at their decreasing in numbers. Both the Rappists and the Shakers, though increasing in wealth, are decreasing in numbers. The peculiar religious views held by other communities, who have not adopted celibacy, prevents them from gaining converts; and contact with outside influences robs them of many young members. Rational communism would, I feel sure, be a success. I will now quote a passage from Hind to show what woman thinks of communism. The lady belonged to the Oneida community: "Do community women talk much about their rights? No; there is no occasion for that—they have all they desire. One of them thus defines the position of women in the community: 'Communism gives woman, withdrawn from her, the place which every true woman most deserves as the free and honored companion of man. Communism emancipates her from the slavery and the corroding cares of a mere wife and mother; stimulates her to seek the improvement of mind and heart, that will make her worthy of higher place than ordinary society can give her; freed from forced maternity, a true and holy desire for children grows in her heart. Here no woman's hand is red with the blood of innocents as is whispered so often of many of her sisters in bondage.' Gradually, as by natural growth, the community women have risen to a position, where, in labor, in mind, and in heart, they have all and more than all that is claimed by the women who are so loudly asserting that their rights, and through it all they have ceased to love and honor the truth, that man is the head of the woman, and that woman's brightest man is the head of the woman. This sounds well: God-given rights in our midst would dare say so much for our present state of civilization? Although I do not wish to propose as a leader in communism, simply because I am not capable of filling such an important office, yet I will be content in any a few fixed principles, that I would like to see adopted in every community I were a member of—First, the total abolition of priestcraft. I believe that every man should be his own priest. I believe too, that once you make a man your spiritual guide, it is a hundred chances to one he will try to control your temporal

WHAT OUR CRITICS SAY.

(NOTE.—The following notices are quoted verbatim, with the exception only of references to our rates of subscription, postal address, and quotations (many of which are rather lengthy) from our paper.—ED. HONESTY.)

"HONESTY?" That's a good name for a paper, and it is borne by the Anarchist journal which comes to us from Melbourne, Australia. It has twelve pages, two wide columns to the page, and the typography and press work are good, very good. These paragraphs from its prospectus will give a fair idea of its principles and purposes: . . . There are able articles by D. W. Brookhouse, Juste au Milieu, and W. C. Andrade; selections from Proudhon and others, and a great variety of notes and short criticisms. We shall be glad to order it for any of our subscribers. We give most hearty greetings to our Anarchistic contemporary on the other side of the globe. May it live long and prosper in its honest work.—*Lucifer*, (Kansas, U.S.A.)

HONESTY is the ineffective title of a new Anarchistic journal published by the Melbourne Anarchists, the first number of which has just reached me. It bears a true and earnest ring, which in the long run is the sure sign of success. . . .—*The Anarchist*, (London, England.)

A new journal.—We have received the three first numbers of a new monthly advocate of social reform entitled "HONESTY." The new venture is published by the Co-operative Publishing Co., Melbourne. It is carefully written, and endeavors to show that governments are an unnecessary evil, and altogether unworthy of the *genus homo*. This view is of course anarchistic, and leads its promoters into conflict with those who have the *artful* view of anarchy before them. The popular idea of anarchy is like the majority of popular ideas—a very much mistaken one. We believe, however, that anarchy assumes too much, when it says that all government is an evil, and that because existing governments are bad, a good form of government is impossible. Government seems absolutely necessary, while human nature is as it is. While nature varies in the two extremes—philosopher and criminal—it seems a scientific impossibility that all men can be equal. The philosopher must guide and rule the criminal, as the parent must guide the child. The philosopher is in advance of civilization; the criminal lags behind, and it seems unthinkable that nature will ever bring them to an equality which will enable them to live uncontrolled. The law of progression seems to involve leadership and guidance. So long as human nature progresses, some individuals must go the front, while others lag behind, but these laggards must be controlled and looked after. We are quite willing to admit that in all existing governments the class that drags behind civilization is the largest interest represented. That is certain, and it is equally certain that they must be looked after. "Honesty" however, must do good, as it will forlornly direct attention to the combinations of swindlers who are at present holding the reins.—*The Radical* (Hamilton, N.S.W.)

Our comrades of Melbourne, in the Australian colony of Victoria, have set a good example. They have founded an Anarchist review, HONESTY, which we hope will continue to remain in sympathy with our ideas. The first article, on "Constructive Anarchy," is highly interesting.—Translated from *Le Révolté*, (Paris.)

The first number of "Honesty," the new anarchistic paper published in Melbourne, Australia, has come to hand, and justifies all the good words said of it in the last issue of "Liberty." . . . "Liberty" will receive subscriptions for "Honesty."—*Liberty* (Boston, U.S.A.) [The following is the notice referred to] — I am expecting now from day to day to receive the first number of a new Anarchistic journal from Melbourne, Australia, which was issued, if the promise of the prospectus was fulfilled, on April 2. It is a child of Liberty, has been christened "Honesty," and will prove, I have no doubt, a chip of the old block. It announces itself as "a fearless journal of radical social reform, especially studying and criticising all the 'live' questions of the day of a political nature, and explaining their relation to the welfare of the people as a whole." It will be "the working-people's paper, championing the interests of all who work mentally and manually to support themselves, and opposing every scheme, whether legal or illegal, by which they are robbed." Its principles are formulated thus: 1, "Equal liberty for all; 2, Equality of opportunity for all; 3, Freedom of exchange and distribution; 4, The right of the laborer to the full fruits of his labor; 5, The total abolition of all imposed authority, privilege, mon-

opoly, and exploitation." The first of these includes those that follow, but it has been used so unintelligently and indiscriminately by antagonistic schools that it has to be amplified to secure explicitness. To the readers of "Liberty" it is needless to say that our intelligent, earnest, brave, and active comrade Andrade probably has the principal finger in this Anarchistic pie, which alone should be sufficient recommendation. . . . Let us help the new enterprise all we can. "Liberty" feels safe in the assertion that this latest addition to our literature will earn after the normal period of gestation, and that there is little danger of its following in the footsteps of that product of a miscarriage, its elder brother in London. Long live "Honesty!"—*Liberty* (Boston, U.S.A.)

It is an excellent production; we can thoroughly recommend it.—*The Republican*, (Sydney, N.S.W.)

FREEDOM OR SLAVERY?

(SECOND ARTICLE.)

We flatter ourselves that we are a free and self-governed people; more than this, we actually boast that we of the English race are the only people who have a true sense of freedom. Others may have some limited degree of freedom, but we are the nations who can boast of a free parliament, free press, free speech, and a wide suffrage, all of which we ordinarily assume means actual freedom. If any one were to venture to tell us that whole classes are held at this moment in a modified personal slavery, that the majority of the people of Victoria are, to a large degree, the personal property of privileged classes, in the same sense as a slave is entirely the property of his owner, his statement would probably be scouted as the wild utterance of a political fanatic. The sober fact nevertheless remains that the statement is literally true.

Surely the first right of a freeman is the right to live in the best way which his powers will enable him to do, without infringing the rights of others. This involves the right to use the product of his labor for his own exclusive benefit. But does anyone dispute so obvious a right it may be asked? Yes. Every protectionist disputes it; and the reason assigned for disputing it is that it will tend somebody else to deprive a man of this right. The farmer, the miner, the wool-grower, the exporting manufacturer in Victoria, sends the product of his labor abroad, in order to get the most he can for it. Instantly up springs the shoe-maker, the cloth-maker, the latter, the iron-worker, the timber-maker, and a whole host of parasites, crying out: "You shall not have the right of getting the most you can for your work, for if you do that, what is to become of us?" Accordingly the government by majority, the articles brought in to pay for them, such as clothing, or furniture, or machinery, &c., &c., a tax, or more properly speaking, a fine, shall be levied, in order to limit their quantity and value, and thereby enable our parasitical industries to live.

Thus all our *nature* producers, in the proper sense of the term, are prevented from getting for the most they can for their labor, in order that a privileged class of producers may thrive upon the results of this "robbery by act of parliament." The maker in every protected trade sells the product of his labor in the dearest market, namely, at home; the unprotected worker must face the competition of the world, and sell in the cheapest market—abroad. The farmer, wool-grower, export manufacturer works, in fact, so many hours per day for himself, and so many for the benefit of the privileged and protected trades.

These privileged traders invest money in the plundered trade. Not less than six millions are said to be so invested in Victoria, and daily the government is urged to extend the system so that more may be invested. The slave, we know, is robbed of all his labor, save what suffices to keep him in working condition, by his owner. The unprotected worker in Victoria is daily robbed of a portion of his labor by his partial owner—the privileged and protected worker. So that, as John Bright justly says: "Protection has the taint of slavery on it." Truth to say, Freedom cannot be always enacted by governments, nor slavery abolished. "My friends," says Carlyle, "I perceive that you cannot abolish slavery by act of parliament—you can only abolish the name of it."

In the face of the popular and extending slavery of protection, how can we Victorians have the audacity to claim to be a free people? Government by the privileged classes for their own personal profit, by the plunder of the unprotected, exists in Victoria as in the despotic countries in Europe.

BALLANTRAE.

LAND OWNERSHIP IN RELATION TO POVERTY.

(Concluded from page 23.)

There has been recently wide-spread distress in Ireland, but similar spasms of distress have been felt in the most civilised countries, not merely in Russia and Poland, but in Germany, England, and even the United States, where large numbers of the poorest classes are reduced to the direst straits, and are only saved from starvation by charity. Why not give them justice instead? When there is famine among savages, it is because food enough is not to be had. But this was not the case in Ireland in any part of that country during the height of the famine, or what was called the famine. There was food enough for whoever had means to pay for it. There was, as a matter of fact, no real scarcity of food, and in proof of that, it did not command scarcity prices. During the so-called famine, food was constantly exported from Ireland to England, which would not have been the case had there been any more true famine in one country than in another. Our sending supplies in a national war ship was a piece of vulgar ostentation fully paralleled by their distribution in British gunboats under the nominal superintendence of a royal prince; he might have saved his fat, a cable draft turned in Dublin into postal orders would have afforded relief much more easily, quickly and cheaply, for the reason that so many of the Irish people were starving, was not because the food was not to be had, but that the people had not the means to buy it. The Irish famine was not a true famine arising from the scarcity of food, but a financial famine like that in India, arising from the poverty of the people; the effect of short crops in producing distress was not so much in raising the price of food as the cutting off the accustomed incomes of the people. The masses of the Irish get so little in ordinary times that they are rarely able to live; when anything occurs to interrupt their accustomed incomes they have nothing to fall back upon. Such famines on a small scale always exist in the most civilised countries even when trade is booming. It spreads and rages when any depression comes. In the very centres of civilisation, where bank vaults hold millions, shop windows flash with a prince's ransom, mansions are gorged with grain, and dinners, fit for Lucullus, are eaten every day, and even greyhounds wear their dainty little blankets, there are always ragged, hungry men, women, and little children. Never the sun goes down but on human beings, prowling like wolves for food, or huddling like vermin for shelter and warmth.

In conclusion, I would ask, Does landlordism produce poverty, and is a social system by which the man who does not work reaps the bulk of the results of the labor of the man who does work the best civilisation of the nineteenth century can devise? Are our legislators rogues, or are they fools, in parting with the fee-simple of the public lands in the early times comparatively for a mere song? Up to 1882, 13 million acres had been sold for 21 million pounds—about 31s. per acre. They certainly have given us protection to native industry, which, whatever merits it may possess under present circumstances as a measure of expediency and whatever good it may have done on its initiation, is merely a measure to enrich the mass of consumers by act of parliament to enrich a class of consumers; and I may remind the working men that they constitute the principal part of the mass of consumers, and a few wealthy merchants the principal part of the class of producers. We hear of trade combinations to protect the skilled artisan from the competition of the unskilled, and to keep up wages. Have they done away with poverty, and are they a complete success? In England they have flooded the country with foreign labor, and in Victoria, a short time back, you had a third of the bootmakers out of employ, and what did you benefit? There are many protected industries in a similar state. You may hope to escape the land question by possessing a house of your own; but there is still the rent charged on every article you purchase; and competition does not save you from that, for all you have to pay rent, and there is the rent of the factory you work in.

Thousands of unemployed with each other crowd and tussle, scrambling for work too strangely rare, and but few wares and bustle, And even vague, uneasy fears oppress or chill the tolling masses, While hope or doubt alternate warms or chills the tolling masses, Methinks if now the wheels of state be with wisdom tended, There'll come about a smash that won't with ease be mended, The Jingo-Tory working man likes picnics, peers and slaughter, For beer is good, and lords shake hands and carnage is God's daughter, He thinks the world is very well, when he is money getting.

And like a true John Bull, believes in boozing, boxing, betting, Reform, he fears, for he suspects all blockheads it will bustle, And think the friends of women's rights are fools, all fust and bustle, Low church (because it's low) he hates, just like the upper classes, He likes it high, although he has no fondness for the masses, 'Tis time he turned his thoughts from crickets, football, races, And had the law repealed, which our statute-book defaces, JUSTE AU MILLIEU.

BLANQUI ON USURY.

THE old economists neglected the question of the legitimacy of usury. This question is recent, dating in the public mind scarcely farther back than 1848.

Bastiat seized upon it and made it the text of his discussions with Proudhon, the socialist champion of that period. The arguments of his fellow-writers, whatever their form, do not differ from his own. On this question of interest, then, may be referred, in Bastiat's person, all political economy.

For the rest, the form of the fable that he devises to demonstrate the legitimacy of usury has been employed also by others. They use it with assurance,—one might say, with presumption. They seem to believe themselves irrefragable, and treat their adversaries after the manner of grand lords towards the common people. Bastiat notably assumes an air of overweening conceit thoroughly ridiculous. He seems to fear, in his argument, but some one may accuse him of storming gates already open, so Joviallike is his style.

"James first exchanges his plane for money. He lends the money to William, and William exchanges the money for a saw. The transaction is divided into two factors. But thereby its nature is not changed. It none the less contains all the elements of a direct loan."

There lies the sophistry and the delusion. The money ceases to be what it should be, a simple instrument of exchange. It abandons this beneficent rôle to assume a harmful one. From a friend it becomes an enemy; from a benefit, a scourge. From an auxiliary it becomes an obstacle; from an aid, a barrier. This metamorphosis is effected during its passage through the hands of James, who uses the coin that he holds to fleece his neighbor. For he does not exchange it at par for a product of equal value, as was done for him in the substitution of the coin for his product. For he obtains at the end of the year either a portion of William's product equal in value to his own with a bonus in addition, or his money increased by one-tenth. His duty was to buy with his coin a product equal in value to that which he had sold for the coin. He has wickedly retained the money which he should have restored to circulation by the complementary operation of the exchange—namely, the barter of the coin for a product equal in value to his. If he did not wish to proceed immediately to this barter, it was free to him to choose his hour, provided he should ultimately fulfil the fair and just condition of exchange—in equality of the two values exchanged through the mediation of the coin.

As for the pretended service of the loan, service deserving reward, that is a sham. If James had needed his tool, he would have used it. Apparently he did not remain idle during the year that William had possession of his plane. If he lent his plane, he did so because he could get along without it. To say that he has made a sacrifice, that he has deprived himself of a useful object for the benefit of his neighbor, is pure hypocrisy. He labored during the year of the loan, and William, whether William used the plane or not, it is sufficient for him to return it to James in the condition that he received it. He owes him nothing further.

"But why should I lend," says James, "if nothing is to come back to me for the service that I render? I will refuse, then."

Refuse, if you like. But you cannot escape this dilemma. Either you need your plane, or you do not. If it is detrimental to your interests to part with it, keep it and use it. If you can dispense with it, if, without loss to yourself, you can do something else, to demand, as reward for a service that costs you nothing, one-twentieth of the price of your plane, besides a new plane, is simply a swindle.—From Auguste Blanqui's *Capital and Labor*.

LOPPODEN ISLANDS FISHERMEN.—I was surprised at the very comfortable clothing of the fishermen; none suffered from cold on account of the thickness of their garments, nor were any ragged; all wore thick stockings, and had water-proof clothing, tarpaulins, and comfortable sea-boots. It spoke well for the humble households of these fishermen, that almost everything they had was home-made; they all had homes, however humble, either on the fjords by the coast, or on some little islands. Every one retired early, the steadiness and good behavior of the fishermen being only surpassed by the neatness of their homes. In the evening there was never any fighting or quarrelling, and the fishermen were the only men there to preserve law and order. At all times the fishing-stations everything is as safe as on shore; the doors are left open, chests are never locked, and no one would ever think of stealing the fish that were drying.—Du Chailas's *The Land of the Midnight Sun*.

Governments are the foes to freedom; Privilege and Authority are their supporters; they exist by the exploitation of labor, and by the creation of monopolies which facilitate exploitation; they are the fountain-headers of social inequality and the destroyers of social prosperity; all the good works ascribed to them are done outside of them, and would be better done did they not exist; the combined knavery and ignorance of barbarians created them; the combined intelligence and determination of the civilized shall destroy them. The political system of tyranny and robbery shall give place to the Anarchist system of liberty and honesty. Friends of freedom, hasten its advent!

"HONESTY,"

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"Whenever we depart from the great principles of truth and honesty, of equal freedom and justice to all men, whether in our relations with other states, or in our dealings with our fellowmen, the evil that we do surely comes back to us, and the suffering and poverty and crime of which we are the direct or indirect causes, help to impoverish ourselves."—ALFRED RUSSELL WALLACE.

ON THE LOOK-OUT.

A LENGTHY article upon the Knights of Labor in America, appeared in the Melbourne Age of August 27, being copied from an American paper; and a leading article appeared in the same paper, two days later, commenting upon it. Among other things, the writer says:—"Another evil resulting from the admission of politics is that the association gradually, but surely comes under the sway of the most audacious and the least scrupulous faction. We need not wonder, therefore, that the Anarchists have crowded into the Knights of Labor, and, not content with perpetually ringing the changes upon the theories of Proudhon, Marx and Lasalle, have, although a minority, succeeded in capturing all the positions in the order worth holding. These men, foreigners for the most part, may be mistaken in their views, but they are terribly in earnest, even to the point of fanaticism. It is not surprising that they should have eagerly sought the command of an organisation which promised to become powerful enough to accomplish, under their direction, the social revolution which they desire to bring about. But the great bulk of the workmen in America, as in other English speaking countries, have too much intelligence not to recognise that the emancipation of labor is not to be achieved by a practical denial of the rights of property, and by the overthrow of social order. The immediate effect, therefore, of the attempts to turn a labor protection society into a Socialist conspiracy has been a stampede of the moderate members, and the proportionate decline of the order in numbers and in usefulness." The writer of the foregoing—who, if we mistake not, is himself an Anarchist, but of the invertebrate species—has avoided one serious blunder made by the Chicago paper, but has nevertheless made some lamentable exhibitions of ignorance of his subject. The Anarchists, whom he unwarrantably alleges to be "the least scrupulous faction" have not crowded the Knights of Labor and driven the so Anarchist, who realises his position, is foolish enough to join so irrational an organisation; on the other hand, they strongly oppose them, as the unenlightened Age writer may learn if he consults their newspapers. The platform of the Knights of Labor, like our own trades-unions, is too archaic and superficial for them to waste their time upon it; and all the "Anarchists" to be found in the organisation are a few semi-State-Socialists, and a few Archæic advocates of senseless violence whom the capitalist press designate "Anarchists" to further their own ends, or who occasionally call themselves by that name through ignorance of what it implies. The writer is not far out when he says that "the emancipation of labor is not to be achieved by a practical denial of the rights of property;" the Anarchists are well aware of this, for what they oppose are the wrongs of property, the artificial function, given to it by the existence of the organised State, by which it dishonors and exploits the laborer for the benefit of the idler. The writer of the article in the Chicago Tribune showed most lamentable ignorance, when he wrote:—"In all the discussions brought up, the changes are rung upon the theories advanced by Proudhon (?) Marx, Lasalle (?) Holbertus, and the various disciples of that belief." When a scribe labels such a list of conflicting theories "that belief," it is no wonder that he says the Knights of Labor are surrendering to the "Anarchists." We shall probably hear next that the falling off in the

Victorian trades-unions is due to the accession of Anarchist members, rather than to their own lack of principle and inability of methods.

REFERENCE to the extensive increase in burglary of late, the Age makes the sensible suggestion that "Perhaps the fault lies to some extent with the citizens, who have come to rest too implicitly on the police for security against robbers. . . . Moreover, as burglars seem to be arming themselves for the fray, the loaded revolver is likely once more to become a handy article in suburban residences." Were it not for the "law"—which humbugs enact, and stupid people reverence—people would often be prepared to resist these aggressors; but as matters stand, the burglars are virtually protected in their burglary. It is considered a crime to "take the law into one's own hands"; and the aggressor party has the "Holston's choice" of calling a policeman if one is available, of submitting his grievance to the whim of some indolent "justice," and of probably having the only satisfaction of seeing his unwelcome visitor imprisoned, and losing his goods after all. But it may not have struck the writer that his words imply a great deal more than was intended. It is implicit reliance on the police, and the institutions they represent, which causes the citizens to be insecure against those who rob them, by rent, by interest, by profit-making, and by taxation. So great is their faith in their fancied guardians, that they not only let the little fish slip through their fingers, but they let the big ones go too.

WHAT are we to think of such reckless statements as the following?—"Politics in the colonies are dead. There are no great questions agitating the public mind; and the poor drowsily permit the sharpers to rob them of all they possess, or ought to possess. If they are to be roused, the Liberator must rouse them. No other paper can treat these great subjects with the same directness, energy and fearlessness as ours. Others may imitate; but it is only imitation after all,"—and much more to the same effect. If the Liberator is going to "rouse" the people, it is a long while making a start; for we observe that it is in its fourth year. And if it can treat these great questions with such exceptional "directness, energy and fearlessness," it is time it put its ability to the test. Our own experience has been that it ignores and shuts out great political questions, because it evidently fears to discuss that which it cannot comprehend; that it is afraid of offending the prejudices of its party, and especially its dull-headed board of directors; that it is crammed with theological disquisitions just at a time when its readers are trying to turn their attention to political and social subjects; that it has never once attempted to meet the arguments advanced in HONESTY, but has only noticed us by inference and petty *insinuo*, carefully avoiding even mention of the name. There are just now evidences of an awakening which we gladly hail, and watch with some curiosity; though past experience necessarily creates serious misgivings upon the matter. At all events, it will never do to let so autocratic a paper have a monopoly of the market (as the editor asks for), if Freethinkers desire to preserve freedom of discussion and aid on social progress.

A RATHER annoying typographical error occurred in this column, in our last number. The Anti-Government Manufacturing League was wrongly called the Anti-Government League.

The Sydney Bulletin says that New South Wales has had a long experiment of freetrade under the most favorable circumstances. It is no wonder that that paper has embraced the protectionist fallacy, when it is so lamentably ignorant of the principles of freetrade. New South Wales, like Victoria, is virtually a protectionist colony. Its freedom of trade only extends that of Victoria in a slight degree—that is, the local capitalist is not protected in so many cases against that competition which is the laborer's salvation. But both alike protect the landlords in their monopoly, against the competition of the laborers; and both protect the bankers in their monopoly, against the competition of those who desire to exchange their products equitably. While there is a monopoly of land and currency, freedom of trade cannot exist; for the producers are the slaves to the monopolists. Protection is a tariff on our exports; and land monopoly is a tariff on our production; and money monopoly is a tariff on our exchanges. They are simply one thing under different names, and may all be summed up as A TAX ON INDUSTRY.

"So far is it from being true, as has been pretended, that the abolition of any formal government is the dissolution of society, that it acts by a contrary impulse, and brings the latter closer together."—Thomas Paine.

An unfortunate working-man, named Dakin, has just been fined \$1 for contempt of court—his "contempt" consisting in carrying on his work while a judicial trial was pending, and thereby interrupting the course of the trial by the noise he was making. It is to be hoped he has got more contempt of court than ever he had previously.

A SO-CALLED quack doctor, named Drake, has just been sentenced in Melbourne to six months' imprisonment for selling to a newspaper spy some drugs designed to procure abortion, though there was no abortion in the case. How anxious some folks seem to be that we are not destroyed in the womb, lest they lose the satisfaction of destroying us at maturity!

A PUBLIC meeting for the advocacy of woman suffrage is to be held in the Melbourne Town Hall some time this month. The government of man by man has proved an unqualified curse; and now these well-meaning dames seek to inflict upon us the twin curse of the government of man by woman. What a deal of good these enthusiastic ladies could effect, were they to boycott the institutions which oppress them, and lend their efforts to the social elevation of humanity, instead of taking part in the disgusting scramble for political power.

THE sheavers' strike, which has been carried on for some time in New South Wales, is ending very disastrously for the sheavers. Eighteen months ago, the sheavers formed a union to protect themselves against the squatters who had increased the charge for their rations and lowered the rates of remuneration. Some of the squatters gave in to the union, but others have fought it out, and some are still fighting it out. Legal difficulties have arisen, which are confounding the sheavers, and the squatters are taking advantage of them, by prosecuting them under the Masters and Servants' Act for breach of contract. Numbers are being prosecuted, heavy fines as high as 10 and 25 s. costs are being imposed, and in some cases imprisonment has been inflicted. One magistrate suggested that the Sheavers' Union should be indicted for conspiracy. This has been the experience everywhere. When the monopolists combine to oppress the laborers, that's right, and the law protects them; but when laborers combine to better their condition, that's wrong, and they are indicted for conspiracy or something. Law is their foe; they must oppress it.

MR. JAMES KELLY, who intercepted the plunderer that the government attempted to extort from Messrs Scholzkraft and Co., and appropriated it for himself, has been fined £1,000. It was said he was a very charitable man. No doubt he was; he could well afford to be. Had he relied solely on his own industry for the accumulation of his wealth, he would have found it no such easy task to be "charitable."

If any doubt existed as to the uselessness of the present trusteeships, the new "board of conciliation" ought to dispel it. The board consists of ten permanent members, appointed by the Trades Hall Council and the Victorian Employers' Union executive, and having power to add to their number. The board is to have the power of settling disputes between the employers and the employees, so that strikes may be averted. While it is very desirable that strikes (which only injure the strikers) should be averted, it is still more desirable that the laborers, who are trying to emancipate themselves from the tyranny of capital, should make no compromise with their exploiters; and yet that is what the new board is deliberately designed to do. The workers should beware.

INTERNATIONAL.

DR. T. B. KINGET has been thrown into prison in New York for attempted abortion. A woman called at his office for medical treatment, and upon examination he found her affected with venereal disease and uterine displacement. She paid the fee, and remained there till the following morning, when she said she was *enraged*, and wanted an operation, which was refused as was also her demand for a return of the fee. She thereupon went to the police station, and charged Dr. Kinget with having made an attempt at abortion, when, upon her bare and unproven statement, he was thrown into prison to await his trial. He is an old man of seventy, of weak health, and having a large family dependent upon him. He expects to wait some months longer before he is released, if he is ever released at all. He may well ask: "Can there be a law in Russia, made by a tyrant, so infamous as this in America, made by a liberty-loving people?"

The leaders of the Irish National League appear to be determined to maintain their organization as the authorities are to crush it out. Their resolution to evade the official edict by reorganising under the name of the Celtic League is a commendable one. Tyrants must be outwitted at all hazards.

USURY is a frightful curse to humanity. Annie Besant mentions in *Our Country* that "among the rich people's wills there have lately been proved one, that of Mr. Ferriss (a son and Ferriss' souse), who left personality to the extent of £664,431 s. 3d. in addition to real and leasehold estate; that of Mrs. Mary Ann Morrison, who left personality of over £617,000; and that of Mrs. Anna Maria Heywood, widow of a banker, who left upwards of £650,000 personality, as well as real estate. Nearly two millions of wealth bequeathed by these people to persons who have done nothing to make it; invested at 4 per cent. this will yield an income of nearly £80,000 a year for ever to others who will give to society absolutely nothing in exchange for it."

"FIVE men in New York," says the *Clark County Critic*, "are reported to have accumulated 600,000,000 dollars in the last ten years. To have earned this immense sum it would take over 100,000 men working for the period mentioned. If it is safe to say that not a dollar of it was produced by the men in possession, and it was only obtained by legless robbery. Yet capitalists talk of the 'sacredness of property,' 'vested rights,' etc. Was not that 600,000,000 dollars of property just as sacred when it was in the hands of the men who produced it, as it is now in the hands of those who have stolen it?"

"This undertaking for another, is the blunder which stands in colossal ugliness in the governments of the world."—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

VOLUNTARY COMMUNISM—Continued from page 51.

affairs. Second, total abstinence from stimulants as beverages. Experience, observation, and the evidences of scientific laws have proved to me, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that it is one of the longest franks that has ever been foisted upon humanity. I have seen its effects in the soldier's barrack-room and camp, in the sailor's fo'c'sle, in the bush, and in the city; and always it has the same baneful influences. Though not the cause of all misery, it always aggravates it. Third, total abstinence from war as a means of settling disputes. I believe that those who cultivate a fighting disposition, when hard pushed for enemies, will fight with their friends. Fourth, the abolition of permanent government, and the adoption of a system of management to be entrusted to the most capable members. Because I believe, that when men grow old in office, they grow jealous of interference, and are apt to be tyrannical; and I think it ought to become the ambition of every communist to fit himself for some office, so that he could fill the breach caused by the death or retirement of other members. And now, friends, I leave the matter in your hands, hoping you will fearlessly criticise anything you conceive to be faulty, and support me in anything you consider worthy.

ROBERT BEATTIE.

NOTES BY JUSTE AU MILIEU.

LATELY conditions have everywhere changed. Human ears are too abundant in the markets, owing to the development of machinery and the influx of country populations into the towns. Trades unions have everywhere strenuously opposed the lowering of wages, but opposition has everywhere resulted in a defeat for the proletariat.

In France alone in 1885 no less than 137 infants were abandoned by their mothers. This is one of the beautiful results of a society organised for the enrichment of privileged classes.

Le Republicain says that the theory of the struggle for existence is essentially a bourgeois theory. The proletarian theory should be operation for existence.

In Holland, a public inquiry which was made into the condition of workmen, disclosed the fact that in one cable manufactory in Amsterdam, young girls of 12 years of age were compelled to work 30 hours at a stretch. The employer admitted it was inhuman, but he said he must live, and competition forced him to it. OCTAVIUS, the Russian nihilist, in his final discourse, said that he had done all he could for the deliverance of his fellow-countrymen—he was prepared to die for the people—but hundreds of young men were ready to follow him, and finally the Car would be obliged to abandon his system of oppression.

THERE are 47,000 landlairs in Paris, who pocket yearly something like 650 million francs. If each worker owned his own house, there would be 47,000 lazy people the less, and also 650 million francs less to pay away to lazy droues. The Parisians, says *Le Republicain*, are furious at having to work to keep these fortunes and droues in luxury, when they might spend the money in obtaining for themselves the comforts and pleasures of life; and it asks, Are they always going to be such fools as to work to enrich a handful of lazy knaves?

THE DECLINE OF GOVERNMENTALISM.

The administration of justice is by far the most important duty undertaken in behalf of the people in their aggregate capacity. The due enforcement of right conduct on every individual as towards every other individual, may, indeed, be regarded as the foundation on which the whole fabric of society rests—the quintessential function of the State, any laxity or inefficiency in the discharge whereof tends with more or less directness and more or less effect to bring about a return to the anti-social condition synonymous with barbarism. This is as things are at present. In the dim future, probably anarchism will displace all the now existing forms and systems anarchically of government. The world is progressing with rapid strides towards anarchy, day by day. The operations of government, properly so-called, are vastly narrowed in every respect as compared with what they were at its recent apex, as late as the beginning of this century. They have been pretty generally held that government should concern itself with the individually held that government should concern itself with the individual's conscience as well as his overt conduct, and with his overt conduct where it did not affect the bodily condition or pecuniary interests of other individuals, but only shocked their notions touching religion, or science, or form of government. In the meantime personal liberty has grown to an immense proportion, and, of course, the functions of government have shrunk in corresponding ratio.—*Sydney Bulletin*.

NO CHOICE BETWEEN RULERS.—What does it matter to the masses who governs them, so long as they do not govern themselves? One set of rulers is about as good or as bad as any other. The defence we need is intelligence to teach us to cope successfully with kings, aristocrats, priests, and politicians, whose whole life is spent in imposture and swindling.—JOSEPH SMITHS.

"THE DAWNING."

(Continued from page 46.)

There are various other characters, good and evil, some of very little use, some totally unnecessary, for the mention of whom we have no space. There are a few very good hits in the book, one of which we subjoin (for it might have come from our own dear, delightful old *Argus*, instead of from the *Boston Current*: "The address of Mr. Langdon Bowditch at Peerless Hall, last evening, deserves no attention, except from the fact that the speaker is a young man, belonging to one of our first families. . . . The sentiments he uttered, if they came from an ignorant, blatant demagogue, would be passed in total silence. . . . The logic of his argument, if carried to its final result, would plunge society into anarchy. . . . The weak attempt to exaggerate the wrongs of the working men is only a trick of the demagogue, which even they must despise. The working men really have no grievance. Their wages are regulated by the law of supply and demand, and no agitation can overturn a natural law. The fact is, we are all working men. If any working man is discontented with his position, he has only to push ahead and get out of it. . . . If he (Mr. Bowditch) must be an agitator, the reform of the Civil Service offers him an appropriate field." That appeared as a notice of a lecture by Langdon, in which he advocated higher wages for workmen. But this was nothing singular. Bowditch had the capitalists and their supporters continually "on the jump," as witness:

Bowditch: "I happened to say that there could be no standard of opinion—all things were open to examination."
 "And then, I suppose, he called you a radical."
 "Oh, more than that. I was striking at the right of property—he told me—although I hadn't said a word about it. I rejoined, however, that there was something more sacred than property—manhood!"

He also delivers himself of some very hard truths, as, for example:

"The inequalities which pain us are the direct outcome of social despotism. The possession of wealth means, simply, power over men. You will find this in Ruskin. . . . The value of a dollar consists solely in the fact that another man is destitute of a dollar. If I have more dollars than he has, I cannot compel him to sell his services, or his commodities, on my terms—I have no power over him. Deprive him of his dollars, and he becomes, to a certain extent, my slave. In the light of these facts has been constituted the popular system of economy; by which it is not enough that you become rich,—you must also contrive to make others poor. This is the root of all social wrongs."

There is, also, one passage which we cannot but regard as a prophecy that will be fulfilled. It reads singularly like a paraphrase of Macaulay's lines—

"When our latest hope is fed, ye taste of our despair,
 And learn, by proof, in some wild hour, how much the wretched dare."
 Here is the passage:—
 "Men will not endure wrong and injustice forever. Driven mad by oppression, they strike in return—strike blindly, violently, sometimes cruelly. But the centuries roll on, blackened by fire and crimsoned with blood,—the slave flinging his letters in the face of his tyrants, only to be thrown down again, scourged and bleeding. But through all the slave is the learning to be a man. Then comes the day of ideas and the ascendancy of justice. . . . This book fairly teems with truths, but why did the author burden these truths with this — novel? Here is another fact:—
 "What is called christian civilisation takes that admirable method,—it reduces us to starvation, and then throws us the crust of charity."

There is a delightful bit at certain philanthropic societies. A strike takes place, and some ingenious individuals discover that it is caused by the wives of the workmen, who constantly complain of not having means to dress in the fashion. To quiet the women certain ladies of high degree condescend to found a "Ladies' Mission for the Encouragement of Working-men's Wives." "Professor Wanderlone has offered to give a course of twelve lectures on "The Evils of Extravagance in a Poor Man's Home." Mr. Edwin Asterisk, whose economic studies have made him famous, was ready to follow with his own course, to be entitled, "Idleness, the Sole Cause of another course, to be entitled, "Idleness, the Sole Cause of Poverty." By such methods, and establish friendly relations between the working-men, and establish friendly relations between capital and labor." The ladies discuss this glorious project at a meeting, at which Grace is present, and she, after much pressing, gives her version of the reason of the discontent.

"The working-men are agitated and turbulent because they think they are robbed of their just due. . . . They see that those who produce wealth are always poor, and that men who add nothing to the wealth of the country are rich. It is useless to tell them this is right. . . . The celebrated economist who propounds idleness as the cause of man's misery is heard with scorn by those who observe that the most idle men are the wealthiest. Poor men are idle because they are forced to be—they cannot find employment. . . . To them the loss of work involves utter destitution, and a week's sickness means a month's starvation. Who can have the heart to tell them that extravagance and idleness cause all their ills. . . . Pay him what he earns—it is his right to earn what he makes. All you can do to secure him justice will so far relieve his discontent. All less is labor thrown away."

We have now said as much as possible in this brief space. The book under notice is not all bad nor all good. For the novel; *i. e.*, the story, it is good material spoiled by bad handling. For the moral portion; the author lays open some very nasty sores, which exist in all their beauty and glory in America now. Things are not quite so bad in Australia, but we have all the materials for just such another system of plutocratic tyranny, so it behoves us not to cease our watch, nor stop our endeavor for the only solution of these vexed questions, which solution is—Anarchy. N.

"LIBERTY AND LIBERALISM."

MR. BAUCE SMITH'S book has made its appearance. It bears the title of *Liberty and Liberalism: A protest against the growing tendency toward undue interference by the State with individual liberty, private enterprise, and the rights of property*. The word "undue" expresses the conservative character of the work; and all the "liberty" and "liberalism" contained in it is of course just as much as will suit conservative ends. The author rightly contends that the happiness of humanity is the great aim of "good government" (1) that security of person and property are man's first wants, and that subject to these liberty for the individual is the great aim, implying with it security of possession—or as he calls it, property—accumulation and leisure. But he objects to absolute freedom, which he wrongly says is not liberty, but rightly says is Anarchy. It is a pity that before writing his labored treatise, he did not consult Proudhon, or having consulted him that he did not understand him, or having understood him that he had not the courage to endorse or refute him—or in fact, any other writer of the same radical aim at, is totally incompatible with the present political system, and nothing but "absolute freedom" can actualize it. Liberty for the individual is impossible while the individual is held in bondage by the existing political and economical institutions; the only free individuals are the slave-holding few, the class who subject and govern the rest; "true liberalism" government" is a party government, and his "true liberalism" is after all the "spurious liberalism" which he affects to condemn. Again, security of property is a right which he denies when he denies Anarchy; for what security is there for the propertyless who is disinherited and expropriated at his birth? Or what opportunity is afforded for accumulation to one who is dispossessed at the start and robbed by statute-law ever after? And, furthermore, how can one have leisure, when he is competing with other slaves, in a fettered market, and thus reducing his remuneration to the lowest margin, and thus being the wants of the hour? These are considerations which Mr. Smith might consider with profit, when apologising for monopoly. Although he is so careful to condemn Anarchy at one moment, he fully admits it the next, for he says—and what Anarchist could say more?—"Self-interest should be subjected to the minimum of limitation, compatible with the equal opportunities!" Were it not for the existence of the State, those equal opportunities would exist; but the State is, their existence is impossible. Anarchy is essentially equal, "true Liberalism" is, according to his own exposition, both the denial of opportunity and the perpetuation of plunder. His book necessarily contains some valuable material, relating to the disastrous effects of legislation (although this is considerably impaired by the "word padding" which disfigures liberally every line); and many excellent quotations it may be found in it. As a deterrent to heartful reform it may do some good; as an incentive to heartful reform it is a failure and a sham.

A notable instance occurred in China, in the eleventh century. Wang—*one of the leading statesmen, was a great socialist, and he conceived a plan for the amelioration of the condition of his masses in the country. "Let all the land, and all the soil," said Wang "become the property of the state, and let there be given to each man, for one year, an equal portion of land and seed, for poverty exists simply because some are allowed to monopolize the land." But Wang had an opponent in the council, (with an unpronounceable name), who, although a mild conservative, seemed to have been sufficiently acute to foresee some of the evils of this socialism. "Suppose," said he, "that you do this, you will find that some of the men will sow their seed wisely, some will not, and some will not even sow at all." In fact he said that individualism will be the result, and that unless each individual has to bear the cost of his own actions, happiness and contentment are impossible. Wang, however, had his way. And did every man give back the seed? No, they brought forward all sorts of excuses, and in twenty years, the empire was reduced to such a state of misery that when the hordes of Ghengis Khan invaded it, the easy conquest of China followed as a natural result.*

The natural deduction which we make from this is that all our endeavors should be to make the conditions of natural justice prevail. How? By our intellectual efforts—by endeavoring to promulgate the true notions of causation, and by trying to get a sufficient number of individuals who will offer this passive resistance both to religious humbug and to all law. Of course there may be a great deal of persecution to be endured, just as in the case—the Quakers, who maintain their liberty solely by passive resistance. In their marriage relations, for instance, they utterly ignore the state, and though they suffered much calumny and persecution, they ultimately became so strong that they were allowed to go their ways in peace. You may say that while we have conflicting interests we must have law courts; true, so long as men look upon interests as being before rights. Interests taking the place of rights is the cause of all misery. It is the conflict of interests that is creating all the mischief in our colony. There is a horde of oil-seekers fighting one against another, and it is our total ignorance of rights which makes this possible. The people must be brought to understand that in seeking the true relation each man to his fellow, one single ounce of justice is worth oceans of benevolence from the state. It was only the other day that the editor of our *Daily Telegraph* (in one of those gleams of intelligence which sometimes enlighten an editor) criticised a speech of the Minister of Education (Mr. Pearson) who said that the elementary education now given was only a forerunner of a higher education which would ultimately be given to every one by our lenient government. Then the editor could see that Pearson was on the wrong track—that the state had nothing of its own, and that we were only getting done for us by Pearson what we could do much better for ourselves. If people can only be brought to see that it is to their truest interest to see the rights of each preserved, then, and then only, will they observe rights. It is all very well in these days of so-called morality to come forward and plead to the masses for freedom and justice; but they will never understand it until you can show them that it is to their own best interest that liberty should be preserved. The present state of society, being the product of the past, everybody is rushing for power, but all this is simply a proof that if we only understood the real principles of natural causation and the real principles of natural justice, not a priest nor a lawyer would be needed, but the movement must come from the people who must insist on their rights.

THE "HERALD" ON SOCIALISM AND ANARCHY.

I am surprised that a paper like the *Evening Herald* should insult the intelligence of its readers by inserting such paragraphs as the following, which appeared in its issue of August 4th.—"If all the money, which appeared in its issue of August 4th.—"If all the money and wealth in this country were divided up per capita as Socialists and Anarchists hanker for, none of them would have enough to keep them in idleness six months. As it is now they lead the whole year 'round."

Why does it not employ writers of some little knowledge, and not have such an exhibition of ignorance as displayed above? Socialists are men who deal with social matters for the improvement of society.

An Anarchist is a Socialist; his motto is: "Hands off, robbers!" He thinks that government is simply the executive of classes of monopolistic thieves, who rob, by act of parliament, the mass of industrious workers, of the principal part of the result of their toil. His motto spreads to its fullest principles, and to have nothing to do with governments. He neither wants to govern, nor to be governed; and he says: Tyrants, leave us alone! He says that *every man should do as he pleases*,—not as one man, or class of men, please. And, so to say that he wants to rob industrious owners by dividing their property amongst the loafers! He would convert laboring, industrious, law-abiding, governmentally-ordered, into industrious working producers, by stopping their supplies. By natural law, they would then starve, unless they found out that honest work was the best policy.

The State Socialist is a kind of another封建者. He, poor fool, wants to reform the State, by making government—that is, State robbery—good. He has good intentions, no doubt; and I have heard of a broad road paved with them; but when the blind lead the blind, they both fall into the ditch. He asks the State to remedy the evils of society by making better laws; but as all statute laws are opposed to some natural law, he only aggravates the evils. Natural laws are not made; they are discovered. Human law makers are human humbugs.

JUSTE AU MILIEU.

Governments are the scourges of God to discipline the world; for them to create Liberty would be to destroy themselves.—Providence.

MEETINGS, LECTURES, &c.

Secretaries of Radical Reform Societies and Working Men's Clubs are invited to send to the Editor brief reports of any meetings or proceedings suitable for publication in these columns.

DEBATE UPON "FREE COMPETITION."—Mr. D. W. Brookhouse opened a debate upon this subject at the Melbourne Anarchist Club, August 21. Free competition, he said, was the solution of our economical difficulties. What are called "professions" are really trades protected by government—the physician's trade, for example. Free competition would reduce prices to cost; the workers who want profits, reason like capitalists, and are blind to their own interests. State socialism is the chief denial of free competition, and would destroy all the incentives to exertion that such competition alone can create; the trades-unions and apprenticeship systems are no better—they simply succeed in producing inefficient workers. Free competition, which does not now exist, would reduce the prices of our articles of consumption to one-fourth of their present prices, instead of the profit-makers enjoying up the other three-fourths.

LECTURE UPON "THE PRISONER AND THE LAWYER: THE TWIS CUBSE."—A lecture upon this subject was delivered by Mr. James Donovan, at the Melbourne Anarchist Club, on August 28. A report appears on the previous page.

DEBATE UPON "THE CHINESE AND LABOR EMANCIPATION."—Mr. G. C. Newberry opened a lively debate upon this subject, on Sept. 4, at the Melbourne Anarchist Club. He hoped for the ultimate abolition of the state and the arrival of the Anarchist millennium; but meanwhile, while the state exists, the Chinese are the tools of the exploiters, for they rain us by their cheap labor, and therefore *he chose not to go*. He was utterly opposed to the position taken up by HONESTY upon the matter, and complained that the editor ignored first principles when writing upon that particular subject. The other speakers, with one exception, thought differently.

LECTURE:—"MORE FOURTEENTH CENTURY."—This was the title of an instructive lecture, delivered by Mr. D. W. Brookhouse, at the Melbourne Anarchist Club, on September 11. The Anarchist, he said, wants to have people do as they please, and to be free to do as they like now. Many are driven to poverty, starvation besets them, they are impelled to theft, and then cast into prison, and manufactured into criminals, until, after several incarcerations, they are turned out fully-developed criminals. Owing to our monopolistic labor is robbed, markets are glutted because the exploiters cannot consume all that is produced for them, and then we hear of "over-production." Thought is crystallized by our state education system, and progression retarded. The world's thinkers explain the situation, and the people rebel. But in the past, socialists and others have made the mistake of trying to legislate the evils away, and many are still trying the same thing. They ignore the experience of the past as to the failure of improvement by law. Two extreme schools have grown up—the State Socialists and the Anarchists. The former overlook the failure of law, and insist on legislation with good intentions; punishment always comes too late; thieves are imprisoned, instead of being compelled to make good restitution of that they have stolen; we dare not defend ourselves against lawbreakers, but have to depend upon a corrupt police system, influenced by bribery; the system alone is to blame. The workers should boycott all landlords, bankers, etc., for their own sakes. It is useless to cry out for protection, and Chinese legislation, eight-hours legislation, etc. The laborers must see that they get the whole fruits of their labor, and they must own the land. Freedom is wrong in saying that property and possession are identical. Our labor system, and not the land system, is at the bottom of the evil; and the people will themselves have to change the state of things.

THE AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST LEAGUE (Sydney).—This newly-formed organization held their first meeting on August 26, when a debate upon "Socialism" took place. On September 4, Mr. W. H. McNamara opened a debate upon "The Great Political Lie," Freedom of Trade and Protectionism upon "Biology."

THE AUSTRALIAN SECULAR ASSOCIATION (Melbourne).—Mr. W. A. Gregory re-delivered his essay, "An Anarchist Bomb," on August 26. Mr. Lacroix opened, on September 1, upon "The Materialist Theory," in reply to Mr. Andrade's recent lecture upon that subject. Mr. Joseph Symes spoke some "More on the Poverty Question" on September 8. A set debate took place on September 15, between September 8. A set debate took place on September 15, between Mr. D. W. Brookhouse and Mr. W. Trevelyan, upon the proposition that "Land Ownership and all the requirements of Civilization can be carried on without Government." Mr. Joseph Symes instanced, on September 18, his subject being "Is Anarchy a Desirable or Feasible Condition of Society?"—a special address to working people; Mr. James Donovan opened him. We have received criticism of the lecture from Juste au Milieu and another, but cannot find space for them. If necessary, they will appear in next issue.

FORTHCOMING DEBATES.

A set debate will take place on the 19th inst., at the A.R.A. rooms, between Mr. Joseph Symes and Mr. David A. Andrade, upon the question: "Is our Political System a Failure?" and a Anarchist True Solution of the Social Problem?" Mr. Andrade offers; Mr. Symes denies.

DEBATES and lectures are held at the Melbourne Anarchist Club, 9 Alexandra Theatre, every Sunday evening at 7.30, the subjects being advertised in the daily papers. The public are invited to attend them. Admission free; collection.

Honesty

AN OUTSPOKEN ADVOCATE OF SOCIAL REFORM ON THE BASIS OF
JUSTICE, EQUITY, & LIBERTY.

"There is no terror, Cassius, in your threats; for I am arm'd so strong in Honesty, that they pass by me as the idle wind, which I respect not."—SHAKESPEARE.

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"THE STATE IS THE ENEMY."

THE great question of the day is the emancipation of labor. Dissatisfaction is spreading amongst the workers throughout the civilised world, and the plutocrats are beginning to feel uneasy and full of forebodings. Violent outbreaks are constantly occurring in different places, the workers now and then breaking out in open revolt against the conditions which bind them to a life of poverty; and the plutocrats, on the other hand, and their servants, the police, are striving in many cases to drive them to desperation that they may have a handle wherewith to crush them, an excuse upon which to imprison or hang them. It is well to be prepared for the worst, and to study the tendency of events, that in the event of any sudden change befalling our rotten civilisation, we may understand the forces that are operating, and so avert if possible the dangers which threaten us, and avoid the mistakes of the past.

The workers are everywhere besieged with saviors—saviors whose methods of salvation are of the most conflicting kinds possible to conceive. There are priests, parsons, philanthropists, trades-union leaders, professional liberators (God save the mark!) land nationalists, State socialists, social democrats, protectionists, republicans, democrats, charity mongers, and scores of others, all willing to save you if you will only trust in them, and pour open to them your hearts—and your pockets. They have been saving us for centuries, but we are no better off for their benevolence, and are again thrown on our self-reliance. We must ourselves discover the root of our social evils, and learn why it is that in morals we have sunk sometimes lower than the savage.

THAT ROOT OF EVIL IS THE STATE.

The reformer, who seeks to perpetuate the State, is playing the part of a child; his reform is a delusion; his progress is but conservatism whatever he may choose to style it. The State is the denier of liberty; and the cause of the evils for which liberty is the only cure.

It is the State, which makes land monopoly a possibility, and makes the landless slaves to the landlords. It is the State, which dictates who shall possess land now, and who shall pos-

sess it in the future, and who shall be disinherited, homeless, and wretched. It is the State, which prevents the willing, though often idle, worker, from exerting his labor upon the soil that he may provide sustenance for his wife and starving babes. It is the State, which divides us into nations, and sets us at enmity and conflict with each other, although it is to our mutual advantage that we live in peace and good-fellowship man with man. It is the State, which debases man, intensifies any bad trait that may be in his character, and stifles his nobler feelings. It makes the capitalist grind the toiling laborer without remorse. It makes the disinherited poor; and from making him poor, makes him vicious and criminal. It is responsible for nearly all the petty crimes which we all dislike, but which are the inevitable offshoots of the great crimes which itself commits. There is scarcely a crime or a vice that afflicts humanity, that cannot be traced to the action of the State.

And what is the State?

The State is but an organisation, formed amongst mankind in the belief that it would protect their well-being—though never did they commit a greater error. The State is no huge monster to worship and venerate, as do the superstitions. It is neither a god, nor god-given, nor is it in any sense godly, except that it is the concrete embodiment of the god-idea—that idea which has so long blighted humanity. The State is simply a few men, whom we exalt to a position of power and irresponsible privilege, where they please *themselves* on the understanding that we fail to please *ourselves*. They do not keep order in society, but help to disturb the order that reigns naturally. They do not protect us from aggression by our fellows, but exist by aggression. They do not guard our possessions, but prevent the many from possessing anything that the few may possess everything. When we dispense with them, we shall be free; while we support them, we shall remain in slavery. And all the patching-up and tinkering that political experts can do for us will only stave off the day when we shall regain the natural rights that were denied us when we gave birth to that despicable monster, THE STATE.

production easier has been going on to the present day, and we are making giant strides in this direction. But to come back. When an article became easy to produce, it was not worth the while to go to any personal risk to steal it from another, and if there had been no government formed, it would have been quite natural that theft and its accompanying crimes would have died out as improved methods advanced. But long ere this a governing class had sprung up, the stronger preying upon the weak, had compelled the weak to organize to resist, and the strong would unite in their turn to rob the weak; as population grew, families united against families, the kindred of one family against that of another, and long enough before production became easy, one group of people had conquered another group and made slaves of them, and having the slaves once in their power, no longer had an object to work for themselves. Having the slaves, the masters would organize to keep them against any other band of cutthroats that might come around, and in order to keep their organization, they would see that they must respect each other's rights in their slaves, and in the property the slaves would produce for them. GOVERNMENT THIS HAS ITS BIRTH FROM CLASS AND MORALITY HAS ITS BIRTH FROM SELFISHNESS. Government still kept its hold on the people; but as the governing classes grew more enlightened they found that by letting the slave be nominal owner of his own production, that he would produce much more, so much more in fact, that the amount that they would tax the slave would be more than they could get from him when they took everything and provided for the slaves wants out of the plunder; and thus sprang up serfdom, the serf having no rights acknowledged, except that of keeping his own production, after paying a heavy tax. He could accumulate if he was prudent and thrifty, but he was bound body and soul to his master in every other respect.

Through selfishness again, the robber class acknowledges the right of the producer to retain his production, after paying for the privilege; and another link is riveted in the chain of morality, not because their consciences troubled them in the first instance, but because this became to be looked upon as quite the right thing by the villains, as it became customary as decades rolled on, on the one hand, and because the working classes gained power, as they were able to accumulate wealth on the other; and also as they became stronger, they were more apt to assert their rights.

Now, among this serf class two classes sprang up. Those that were thrifty gained wealth, but the shiftless remained poor. In the middle ages the feudal system covered the whole of Europe. But the arts were well advanced, and artisans had collected to a great extent in cities, and formed trade guilds. They had succeeded in becoming semi-independent through their organizations, and a wealthy city class sprang into existence. When the crusades were entered into by the lazar class, this class became exhausted to a great extent; they were glad to get money by the release of their serfs; and they also, as commerce grew, and money became more common, took rent in money, instead of kind, and gradually the serf became the tenant in the country, and the artisan, working for wages, in the city. Now all of these rights were gained simply because the governing classes became weaker, and those governed became stronger. The large tenant in many cases became the owner of the soil by purchase, and finally demanded the right to participate in government, for, from long continuance, government was looked upon as the correct thing, even by those who were governed; and in our own time this right to govern has extended to the producer. Now, instead of one class governing another, it is the majority that governs the minority. If I participated in the swindle I might be with one majority that would rob the Catholic to keep up a school system that he did not want, and at the same time he would be in a majority, to sustain a set of marriage laws, including no chance for divorce, that seem exceedingly repulsive to me.

All laws that are now in existence prevent the worker from cultivating the land, rob him of two-thirds of what he produces, and very often prevent him from working for even the one-third of his production. In fact, the industrial conditions are such that it is often easier to commit crime for a living than to work; and again, it is often the only thing left to do. When a man can get no employment, and it is simply a question of starving, or stealing, or to the risk of murder, I claim that that man would be foolish not to steal, with all its risk, rather than die, for many a man's life is worth more to him than that of any other. Well, we will have a criminal, where we would have had an honest man; and his children

might gain the same taint from him.

D. W. BROOKHOVER.

VOLUNTARY COMMUNISM.

MR. EDITOR.—I thank you for the desire to do me justice, expressed in the footnote attached to my paper in last issue of HONESTY; but I must inform you that no great change has yet taken place in my ideas; though I must confess I have learnt to love liberty more since I began to study Anarchy. (To my mind, there is a vast amount of word-juggling going on now between the reformers; it may be necessary, but I cannot help thinking it is a pity that it should be so; and I do not wish to engage in such an unprofitable pastime.) I fail to see any vital difference between voluntary co-operation and voluntary communism. In a factory, run on true co-operative principles, the building and plant would be, I presume, common property; surely the same principles could be applied to land; and payment by hours value is, I imagine, a fair basis for remuneration. Many people seem to think that willing to spoon-feed, should be desirable, every individual who confesses that there is so much of the loafer in his composition as to render him totally unfit for labor. This is, to say the least of it, a huge mistake; communists wish to get rid of loafers. In a purely industrial community, public opinion would be a powerful influence for the loafing element to contend against; any, who doubt its power, need only look around them and see its effect in an opposite direction in our present grab system. Wealth now—a-days gains respect—public opinion bows down to it; consequently, men, knowing that industry unadulterated by exploitation can never gain them great riches, engage in occupations that honest men should shrink from, and scramble for laurels that a true natural man would spurn with contempt; labor has been rendered so degrading, by the manipulations of thimble-rigging financiers, land sharks, sky-pilots, etc., etc., that most men abhor it; and some will descend to the lowest depths of depravity in preference to becoming a mere beast of burden.

I favor the land settlement community, because I think it has the best chance of being a permanent success, since the members would soon be in a position to produce almost all they required, and they could start industries as their wants increased. Of course, government would hamper them, as it does every thing that aims a blow at privilege, but their chance of resisting aggression successfully would be strengthened wonderfully by their power of co-operation. The power possessed by the wealthy classes is so great that the workers will be forced to co-operate in some form or other; and lately, I sometimes think it will be necessary to use force to destroy the aggressive power of money monopoly and landlordism. I have no desire to lay down rules and regulations for the guidance of a community, nor do I wish to be ruled. A leader is not necessarily a ruler; you might just as well assert that the secretary of the Anarchists' Club was its ruler, as to say that all communistic societies must be ruled. In the hurly-burly life I have led hitherto, I have belonged to several temporary industrial communities (varying in numbers from three to twelve) engaged in gold-digging, wood-cutting, saw-work, and other pioneering work; and although we have almost invariably chosen a leader, in no case would we acknowledge a ruler. Indeed I see no necessity for rules. The Social Freedom Community, which Hind speaks of, had neither rules, regulations, constitution, nor bye-laws; their only officer was a secretary, if indeed he could be called such. In fact I have found rules to be a bone of contention and an unmitigated nuisance.

Modern Paganism is a great obstacle in the road to progress. Men worship men. Men, who mean sincerely sectarian bunkum or progressive twaddle, and write sarcastic tomfoolery, are allowed to attach an amount of importance to themselves, that would not be tolerated in an industrial community. It seems very strange to me, that men should worship mere paid wind-lags; and it weakens my hopes considerably when I see so-called reformers, in the garb of a masquerade, embellished with jewellery, or putting up for parliament. What we want is more practical work and less wind.

Note.—Although I quoted largely from Hind and Nordhoff, I merely did so to show that financially communism could be made a success; I did not mean to set them up as models.

[We have noticed Mr. Beattie's remarks in our "On the Look-Out" column.—ED. HONESTY.]

ROBERT BEATTIE.

ANARCHY, AND HOW TO REALISE IT.

Our present civilisation is but a transitory stage in social development. This is a fact which is gradually forcing its way into general recognition; and nearly every student of social science is anxious to take it into account in his calculations. True, there are still to be found those who view existing institutions as eternal, who think what is must ever be, and dread change as a disastrous catastrophe; but these are of small account. They are not the people who will direct humanity's future; they are unlike those who moulded the present. They have neither the courage to take part in social revolutions, nor the intelligence to comprehend them. They are merely social insects: cold, indifferent, and apathetic, and conservative—they prefer to anchor within their frigid zone of fossilized opinion, lest the tropical heat of reason and rebellion dissolve them. They are simply landmarks of social evolution, which the progressive reformer will have no difficulty in labelling as lamentable failures, and upon which he will not waste his energies in appealing for co-operation. But there is another class of people of the very reverse disposition—the direct negation of the crystallised institution and rebellion. They do not believe with the theologians that this is the best of all possible worlds, nor with the poet that whatever is, is best; nor do they kindly swallow the politician's prescription which instructs them to grin and bear it. They go through the world with their eyes open, and they use their brains to reflect over that which their eyes and other senses have made them conscious of. They see that everywhere wrong and misery is rampant; they see, too, that human effort is responsible for the greater part of this evil; and they see also, that human effort is capable of removing that which it has produced, provided that it sets about it in the right way. It is of such material as this that the Anarchist is made, and it is to those of like material that he appeals for sympathy and assistance. And here arises the question, What method of action shall this assistance consist of?

Before answering that question, it is necessary to note one important fact—so important indeed, that the whole of the argument rests upon it. The fact is this: *The methods must resemble the object sought to be attained.* This is the point upon which Anarchists and Anarchists separate at the very outset. Each desires equality; each desires liberty; and yet each adopts opposing methods of achieving the same end. The Anarchist seeks to bring about equality, by putting men into unequal positions to each other, creating the inequality which distinguishes the ruler from the ruled, and the proprietor from the proletariat; and he seeks to become free by erecting artificial barriers to human industry, imposing restrictions on human interchange, and enslaving a great number that the rest may rule and rob them for their bodily and spiritual welfare. The Anarchist repudiates such methods as these: he realises their disastrous results in the past, their equally disastrous results in the present, and their inevitably disastrous results in the future if they continue to be adopted. The Anarchist is a Jesuit: he believes that the end justifies the means; but the Anarchist is a scientist: he knows that the means make the end. Give us freedom when we are wise and good, say the Anarchists. Give us freedom now that we may become wise and good, say the Anarchists. Anarchy, then, unlike autocracy, democracy and republicanism, is anti-Jesuitism.

But the impatient Anarchist will say, We don't want to hear your Anarchist principles; we want to know how you are going to realise them. To which I will reply at once: We propose to realise our objects by clearly understanding our principles. While the monarchist, the democrat, or what not, is madly running about voting for he knows not who, to do he knows not what, and all because he knows not why, the Anarchist, on the other hand, has a clear conception of what he wants, why he wants it, and how to obtain it. What is it then that the Anarchist wants?

The want of the Anarchist may be summed up in one word; LIBERTY.

The Anarchist is the only person who wants liberty. Many others glibly cry out for it; but show them a chance of obtaining it, and they recoil back in horror. The average citizen does not want liberty, although he says so; the truth is, he dislikes tyranny—that is all. Tyranny has shown itself, he dislikes it; and the slave dislikes enduring the master's land-master, and the slave dislikes enduring the master's harshness; but superstition has made him so submissive that he fears to be entirely freed from his bondage, and he applauds the parrot of popular prejudices, who demands a halt

half way—half way between liberty and tyranny. The monarchist asks for the "liberty" of making others that he may tax their wealth from them; the aristocrat asks for the "liberty" of sharing in the plunder, and appeals to the State to keep guard over his monopoly that he may do so effectually; the democrat asks for the "liberty" of robbing industry in the name of the majority, and appeals to despotic authority to assist him in so doing. No matter whether the aspirant for power and plunder call himself monarchist, aristocrat, republican, democrat, aristocrat, oligarch, whig, tory, conservative, liberal, radical, or secularist,—the Anarchist is still an Anarchist, and his political coat of many colors does not serve to hide his identity.

And now for the Anarchist's belief:

The Anarchist believes in liberty—equal liberty—liberty, not for a few only, but for all—liberty, not limited by artificial restrictions and privileges, but unlimited liberty, where each may do as he pleases, and none shall seek to check that liberty except at his own individual cost.

Our social system is based on wrong; and whoever understands the nature of that system is familiar with the methods which must be adopted to renovate society. It is simply a reversal of the order—an undoing of wrongs already done—a return from artificial arrangements to natural conditions—a sweeping away by intelligence of the obstructions which have been erected by craft.

So far theory; now for a little practice:—

Our social system is based on the idea of Arelty—the ancient barbarian doctrine that humanity must be divided into rulers and ruled for the sake of national prosperity. The carrying of this idea into practice has given us kings, queens, parliaments, presidents, and all the armies of law-makers, law-interpretors and law-executors. And in order that the ruling body, whether individual or collective, be successful in its object, it must be powerful and its subjects weak, otherwise it would cease to fulfil its assigned functions: it would cease to coerce, it would cease to govern, it would cease to be a government. So it becomes necessary that a number of the ruled be selected to subject the rest on behalf of the rulers; they must be drilled into armies and navies, taught inhumanity towards their fellow subjects and loyalty towards their rulers, taught that the more groans and lamentations they produce on earth the more halliciauls will they sing in "the sweet by and by" at the throne of the Archivist of Archivists. Police, spies, detectives, deacons and parasites *ad infinitum* must be appointed to perfect the subjection of those who have the misfortune to be ruled. But more than this—the rulers must remain unproductive: they are not appointed to produce, but to govern; and steps must be taken to keep them in a state of comfortable indolence. Hence the material upon which all laborers expend their efforts, the ultimate instrument of the worker, and habituation, must be monopolised by the governing powers. This is no difficult task, for they have already a powerful organisation of willing dupes who have enlisted themselves as police, armies, etc., for the purpose. Having thus monopolised the soil, it is the easiest thing imaginable to extort rents for its use—that is, to rob the laborer of the greater portion of the fruits of his labor as a recompense for his being allowed the privilege of using it. The next step is to intermeddle between the producers when they are exchanging their commodities with each other, so as to fetch from them a great part of their exchanges; this is readily contrived, by adopting a fixed medium of exchange, making it legal tender and all other tender illegal, accepting no other instrument for access to that which has been monopolised, and lending it out at high rates of interest, or what amounts to the same thing for them; this is a privileged few to do the political thief of human exchange, born interest, or usury, the political thief of human exchange. The land thus being monopolised, and the medium of exchange facilitating the exploitation of the laborer, it is no difficult matter for the fortunate few who become possessed of land and money to draw the fruits of labor from the disinherited, starving proletariat, by means of profits. Poor is the State's existing, as your name implies, for if those you elect to rule slave—the officially-recognised slave of the State—the State's interest, or what amounts to the same thing for them? To pay all the thefts which have just been enumerated. The profits wrong out of the employe, go to feed the idle employe, to pay the whole of his rents, to pay all the interest on the money he borrows, to support the banking monopolists in their luxurious idleness, and to pay the whole of the taxes which the rulers levy on banker, landlord, and proletariat alike.

That is the tidy little bill which the working people have to

pay, simply because they are so ignorant and superstitious that they desire to be governed, and swallow the sophistry of their exploiters who succeed in persuading them it is for their own good!

And now, how is this to be remedied? How is the Anarchist proletariat to be emancipated from his bondage? and how is he to be prevented from holding in subjection the Anarchist proletariat who has learnt how to free himself but awaits the Anarchist co-operation in doing so?

In the first place, sound ideas must be inculcated, in place of present-day superstitions. Every laborer must learn how he is robbed, by whom he is robbed, and why he is robbed. He must cease voting his fellow-man into a place of power and privilege; and he must abstain from voting for legislators altogether. He must cease allowing them to lead him by the nose. He must be a sovereign over his own individuality, instead of a self-elected slave to a member of parliament, a freethinker instead of an unthinking infatuated worshipper of a "freethought" lecturer; a rational co-operator, instead of the servant of a minor political organization like a trade-union, ruled by a self-seeking individual or a committee—in short, he must be a man instead of a slave. Let Self-reliance show itself and then Self-help will quickly follow. When he has confidence in himself, he is ready to work for his emancipation—not trusting it to others—yes, not even leaving it to his fellow-Anarchists to do for him, and although working with them shoulder to shoulder, yet working as continuously and laboriously as though no such assistance was afforded him, but as if it rested entirely upon his own shoulders to sweep away for ever the terrible iniquities which make his life an eternal hell. When he has gained that position, he will be able to adopt a course somewhat like what I shall now outline, and which I seriously recommend as the most effective methods which can be adopted for the fullest possible realization of Anarchy:

First.—Understand the true situation. Learn that Anarchy means, without government, and that that is the form of society we aspire to—a form of society where each one shall do as he pleases, where the individual shall be supreme, and where voluntarism shall regulate mutual intercourse—a form of society in which centralisation shall be avoided, monopoly shall not exist, but all shall have free access to natural resources—a form of society in which slavery shall have no place, and man shall rest satisfied with exploiting the inanimate earth instead of exploiting his fellow-creatures who live and move upon it. Learn that political aggression has produced the present evil system, and that to restore harmony and equity all these evils must be undone. And learn too, that the means must resemble the desired end. Having progressed so far, and endeavored by voice and pen and the distribution of our literature to induce others to sympathise with your opinions, hasten to make your actions conform with your beliefs.

Join only those combinations which afford greater freedom and which favor your own interests; and boycott all institutions which are adverse to your well-being, and with which you have no sympathy.

Offer passive resistance to every evil, whenever practicable, and employ force only in resisting force. Destroy the profit system, by combining together to buy and sell on the co-operative principle, that is to exchange equivalent for equivalent, to practice equitable commerce. Save a portion of your earnings from ordinary expenditure, and invest it in shares in co-operative stores conducted on this basis. For a capital, from your wages, towards the formation of these stores, where you can collectively buy your requirements wholesale, and distribute them amongst yourselves at the price they cost you, allowing of course, for the working expenses, which need not be heavy. Engage unemployed and other willing workmen to produce your articles at a reasonable rate of remuneration, sell them to the public at the price they cost you, and run the profit-making capitalist class out of the market, unless they desire to co-operate with you and sell on the same system. Continue this course, and destroy for ever the profit system.

Meanwhile, continue to be as active in other directions. Destroy the usury system. Boycott the banks, by ceasing to borrow from them. Issue your own mutual bank notes, labor notes, or circulating bills of exchange. Make them of paper, and issue them without interest, lasting them on labor and personal responsibility instead of on scarce articles such as gold and silver. Circulate them amongst all those who are sensible enough to accept them. "Good wine needs no

bush," and an equitable currency would not take long to find its way into circulation. As it becomes popular, the monopoly system collapsed altogether.

Along with these methods of passive resistance to political aggression, attend to the land question. Boycott landowners. Pay no rents to State or landlords. That is the solution of the land question, and there is no other. Respect the rights of all now in possession to the land they are using, but ignore the claim of any usurping government or individual to land which they are not occupying for purposes of dwelling or progress. Jump the lands that are now held in an enforced idleness under no other title than that of usurpation. Respect the right of individual free possession, but ignore the claims of law-created political property, and the land question will soon be answered to the satisfaction of all.

Add to the foregoing a vigorous propaganda against our barbarous governmental system, a healthy hatred of that monopoly of monopolies—curse of curses, the State. Show to your exploited fellow-creatures, the nature of that robbery, Taxation. Resist that infamous evil. Boycott the State, by refusing to pay taxes to it. Cease to render tribute to it. Leave it to languish for want of supplies. Starve it out as it now starves you. Leave it to thrive on the voluntary contributions of a free and enlightened people; and it won't live five minutes longer. It will not even be necessary to go through the formality of electing your Anarchist representatives to parliament that they may move the adjournment of the House for all eternity. Pay no taxes, and the State ceases to exist.

Attend to all the minor details at the same time. Don't join the army; but proselytise those who already belong to it. Don't send your child to be educated if you wish to educate it yourself. Don't have it vaccinated if you know vaccination to be not only useless but a dangerous poison. Deal of those who have pluck enough to evade the villainous customs toll which the rulers attempt to extort from them by brutal threats. And make it a general rule to encourage individual effort rather than State enterprise, to respect merit and detest authority, to respect individual rights, and to seek for equity and liberty for all, and we shall soon enjoy the blessings of Anarchy.

DAVID A. ANDREWS.

TRISTAN D'ACUNAH.

TRISTAN D'Acunah and Gough Island are the principal of a group of islands lying in lat. 37 deg. 6 min. S. and long. 12 deg. 2 min. W. It was taken possession of by a military force during the residence of Napoleon at St. Helena. Upon his death the garrison was withdrawn, with the exception of three men, who, with certain shipwrecked sailors, became the founders of the present settlement. For a long time only one of the settlers had a wife, but subsequently the others contracted with a sea captain to bring them wives from St. Helena. The population has since increased to about a hundred, and remains practically stationary, as the younger and more ambitious settlers migrate in batches to the Cape. The inhabitants practically enjoy their possessions in common, and there is no strong drink on the island, and no crime. It was at one time proposed to give them laws and a regular government, but this was found unnecessary for the above reasons, and they remain under the moral rule of their oldest inhabitant, Governor Green, successor to Governor Glass, corporal in the Royal Artillery, and founder of the settlement. The inhabitants are spoken of as long-lived, healthy, moral, religious, and hospitable to strangers. A supply of stores and provisions was provided out of a grant voted by parliament, and sent out by a man-of-war in 1856, nearly all the able-bodied men having been drowned while attempting to board a vessel in December, 1855. There are 300 cattle and 200 sheep on the islands, and crops of potatoes are raised.—*Colonial Office List.*

THE HUMBLE MILLIONAIRE.

Oh, some may choose to cast their lot
Among proud working men
Who work for bread—and eat it up,
And then go work again.
Uncertain in their weekly wage,
Their pride I would not share—
Contented I would live and die
A humble millionaire.

Weekly Dispatch.

"HONESTY,"

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MELBOURNE: NOVEMBER, 1887.

"Whenever we depart from the great principles of truth and honesty, of equal freedom and justice to all men, whether in our relations with other states, or in our dealings with our fellowmen, the evil that we do surely comes back to us, and the suffering and poverty and crime of which we are the direct or indirect causes, help to impoverish ourselves."—ALFRED RUSSELL WALLACE.

ON THE LOOK-OUT.

A COMRADE in London writes us as follows: "From HONESTY I gather that you in Melbourne are rather 'mutualists' or 'individualists' of the school of Tucker than Communists like us of *Freedom and Le Revolte*. Broadly speaking, our idea of the necessity for the destruction of economic and every other domination of man by man are alike; and also our view of the reconstruction of the freed society, by means of voluntary associations; but we differ,—do we not?—as to the economic basis on which these voluntary associations shall be formed; you seek an organisation, which shall secure to every individual the exact equivalent for his labor; and we seek an organisation in which the supply of the needs of all shall be the paramount consideration, and the rewarding of each according to his deserts shall be left to the free play of natural forces, including the sentiments of his neighbors towards him. Well, when the day is won for freedom, we shall at all events be agreed not to coerce one another; and your mutualist-considerately unity, on a footing of free discussion and unanimity where common interests are concerned; whereas we may both find peaceful relations more difficult with the authoritative central council of a collectivist community. Yet the moral basis of your *economics* is nearer to the collectivist's after all, for they too say, 'to each according to his deserts.' Our comrade appears to us to state the distinction between the two schools very fairly indeed; although, to our mind, the self-contradictory Communist-Anarchism is itself scarcely distinguishable. However, we are agreed with our correspondents that the difference is one of economics. The Anarchist holds that the laborer is entitled to the full fruits of his labor; and the Communist and Communist-Anarchist hold that he is entitled to the full satisfaction of his requirements. But if the laborer is not entitled to his full labor fruits, who is entitled to the portions denied him?—surely not the idler. And yet that is the practical admission of the Communist, for there is no one else to receive them. If at the outset, we endorse the motto, "To each according to his needs," we deny equity in remunerating labor, for we offer equal satisfaction irrespective of works, we hold out the strong by the weak, and facilitate the exploitation of the strong by the weak. It is useless to affirm that this approaches the moral basis of the collectivist, as they say "to each according to his deserts"; for no political school recognises that principle at all, however they may pretend to do so. The orthodox political economy is in reality based upon the principle, "to each according to the deserts of his slaves." And this it is that the Communist rightly revolts against. But the denial of the strong to rob the weak, carries with it no justification for the robbery of the weak by the strong; each is a violation of equity—each is a denial of the rights of the laborer—and one is no more a solution of the economical problem than the other. As our comrade says, when the day is won for freedom, we shall each employ our methods in peace; but the day for freedom will never be won until we adopt the right method of freeing the laborer from his slavery; and how can we hope to do that until he is free to consume the whole of his products, and is neither exploited by State nor Commune? If the laborer will be free, he must reject alike the motto of the economist, "Let him take who hath the power, let him keep who can,"

and the motto of the Communist, "From each according to his works, to each according to his needs"; and he must accept the only motto which satisfies equity and justice,—"To each according to his works."

To our warm-hearted comrade Beattie, we also commend the foregoing remarks; and desire to add a few remarks to them. The difference between voluntary co-operation and voluntary communism, which he fails to discern, is an important one. In a co-operative enterprise, such as Anarchists advocate, those, and only those, in a community who desired to participate would be called upon to do so, instead of it being incumbent on all to take part in it; individual requirements would guide the selection of fellow-workers, instead of geographical boundaries; co-operators would find a definite amount of labor and material, and receive a definite remuneration proportionate to their accomplishments, instead of having award measured by their necessities. There is no doubt that Communists, who are amongst the best-intentioned of men, "wish to get rid of losers"; but the only way to succeed in that object is to see that "if a man does not work neither shall he eat," by preventing the idler from robbing the consumer. The Communists, in their reaction against commercialism, appear to lose sight of the fact that some do not deserve to eat—the unproductive, idle lankers and land-lords, for example. And if, in a community, all are workers, there is no occasion to commence taxing anyone, for each is in possession of that which he has produced. As to the land settlement community, there are many difficulties connected with such an undertaking which may not be apparent at the first glance. It is useless attempting to flee from the political society, with its terrible evil, only to find the same evils developing in the new society; if we are too ignorant of their nature to eliminate them now, it is not very likely that we could do any better then; besides, as comrade Beattie has suggested, a successful experiment would naturally be stamped out by an organised government which "owned" the particular locality—it would necessarily do this for self-preservation. The most incompetent persons, too, would be the readiest to colonise; while, on the other hand, the most energetic and industrious would be the first to desert, as experience has shown over and over again. Finally, if comrade Beattie considers it "no great change" to "love liberty more," he places a very small estimate on that principle which we cherish above all others, and of which all the evils we now suffer are the legitimate fruits of its violation.

BEFORE leaving the subject of communism, it is necessary to note a paragraph in the Manifesto of the Australian Socialist League. The document [see page 71] on the whole, is an admirable one; but it is marred by one grave inconsistency; It submits a programme, satisfying all the requirements of individual liberty, but for the following paragraph, which strongly savors of State-socialism: "The land, capital, machinery, factories, workshops, stores, means of transport, mines, banking, all means of production and distribution of wealth must be declared and treated as the common property of all." This is strangely out of place in a manifesto which says that each shall receive "the full value of his labor." To be consistent, the manifesto should affirm that all the means enumerated must be declared and treated as the property of those who work them. We should like our friends to inform us how they can possibly find a place for the authoritarian institution which must necessarily measure out each one's share in the common property, in a community which has managed to "achieve the abolition of all monopolies, imposed authority, and despotisms which destroy the freedom of the individual, and which thereby check social progress and happiness." The and which thereby *opportunity* which they demand would embrace all *equality of opportunity* which would leave every individual natural resources, and *equal liberty* would leave every individual free to utilise them for his sustenance and welfare, and free to consume the result of his labors; but to treat manufactured capital as common property is to violate the liberty of the producers in the interest of the non-producers. It is not individual capital, which is the cause of the present distress, but the denial of equality of opportunity and of the right to one's labor fruits. Our Sydney friends should carefully note the distinction.

THE Hamilton *Radical* advertises itself as "the only Australian advocate of true Socialism." Will it please explain what it means by "true Socialism"?

JAMES MIBANS told the Williamstown electors the other day, that he would compel men to vote. It is more than he and all the rest of the rubber-rulers will ever succeed in doing.

THE revolutionary press are rejoicing over the death of Michael Katchoff, one of the bitterest foes of human liberty and the most able supporter of the Russian despotism. "During the twenty-four years of the birth-throes of Russian freedom (says *Freedom*) he has diligently set himself to blacken and destroy every man or woman, every action, every movement, whether literary, scientific, educational, social, or political, that was displeasing to the Autocrat of All the Russias." He was the bitter foe of universal thought and liberal education. Above all he was the fierce and unscrupulous adversary, not only of the Revolutionary movement, but of every attempt at honest reform. Nay, more, he was the friend and advocate of every form of vicious abuse and vested interest, boldly flinging the shield of his eloquence over all that is vilest in the institutions of his country."

A LABORING man in Chicago has been imprisoned for saying that the seven condemned Anarchists are innocent, and that if the verdict is carried out the jury ought to be hanged. Another instance of THE STARRING UNEMPLOYED of London have again been holding mass meetings, and have come into serious conflict with the police. It is said to see men injuring each other, not because they have reason for enmity between themselves, but simply and solely because it suits the interests of the few whom they have appointed here to see that they are systematically ruled and ruled according to law.

"THE Home Secretary, (says *Freedom*) whose private judgment, or the lack of it, is arbiter of life or death for accused Englishmen, has triumphantly vindicated the majesty of the law by causing a Jewish lad to be publicly murdered. The unhappy youth had fled from the horrors of Russian conscription to the worse misery of an exile's life of semi-starvation in London. His brain reeled amidst the wretchedness of his lot; he meditated suicide; reckless despite he is said to have killed a poor woman who had loaned him his desperate search for a few shillings. Victims both of the horrible injustice of society, of the inhuman despotism of the Czar and the equally inhuman greed of English monopolists of wealth; of the man who sacrifices the lives of others to maintain his power, and the men who by excluding their fellows from the means of production, prevent them from working that they may live. Yet our enlightened English society can find no other remedy than the ancient barbarism of 'the wrong that amends wrong.' Miriam Angel has been murdered, Liljeholm must be murdered also, just that our present social system may be preserved, that the Czar may continue secure in his tyranny, and the English landlord and capitalist continue to grind a profit from starving wage-slaves: a law of fiends, framed to safeguard hell. No week passes but we hear of some deed of violence, the direct outcome of private property in the hands of a few, and the isolation of the masses from the control of the wealth their labor produces. . . . As a matter of fact, the English people do not yet realize the horrible cruelty of criminal law. They do not realize that not only may judges sentence men to be flogged, as five men were after the last assizes at Liverpool, but that any ill-tempered country justice may have any person beaten whom he chooses to consider as a vagrant, twice convicted. They do not realize that children are continually fogged by brutal policemen, who pride themselves on 'fetching blood out of the young devils.'

"THE New York *Truth Seeker* notices us as follows: "There are quite a number of Anarchists in Melbourne, Australia, of the philosophical sort, and they publish a twelve-page monthly called *HONESTY*. There is no dynamite in it, but much forcible writing. Its contributors are principally Freethinkers, who have turned their attention to social subjects, and become converts to the extreme individualist views of Michael Bakounine and Herbert Spencer. They are honestly wrong, like our loved friend Tucker; but they are able, and we read them with interest." The Tucker referred to is the editor of *Liberty*, one of the best, if not the best Anarchist journal published.

Our *Commonwealth* (South Australia) says: "HONESTY is the title of a new monthly, published in Melbourne; it is well got up and contains some good sound radical doctrines. . . . We wish our contemporary every success, and we trust that every number will point out the great distinctions between land nationalists, socialists, and anarchists."

A VICTORIAN REBEL.

THE recent resignation of Mr. Lalor from the Speakership of the Victorian Legislative Assembly, has brought up the following reminiscences of his early days, which we clip from a contemporary sheet: Attracted by the news of the gold discoveries in Victoria, he resolved to try his fortune in Australia. He arrived in Melbourne in 1852, being then a very powerfully built young man of 25. After a short stay in the city he went to the Great goldfield with some of his shipmates, and from thence to P'illart, arriving in the latter place in February, 1853. He and his partners took up claims on the Kureka Lead and Gravel Pit, and looked upon themselves as being in a fair way to amass a rapid fortune, when an unhappy conflict between the Ballarat miners and the authorities raiely shattered their plans. No confidence was felt in the local authorities. There had been a miscarriage of justice in connection with the murder of a miner at Dentley's Hotel, and the infuriated diggers burned down the hotel. The prosecution of some of the leaders in this riot made matters worse. For a long time the diggers had been grossly oppressed by the licence-hunting raids of the police. A mass meeting

was held on Bakery Hill on the 29th November, 1854, at which it was determined to take out no more mining licences, and the diggers publicly burned the licences they held. The government, instead of trying into the grievances that were justly complained of, insisted that the letter of the law should be fulfilled. The police, with arms, then broke the patience of the diggers. They resolved to put down the tyranny by force of arms. Meetings were held, at which it was vaguely proposed to overthrow the government. Mr. Lalor, gun in hand, addressed some of the meetings, urged the miners to insurrection and contended those who had not got firearms to manufacture pikes, and swore in adherents under a flag which bore the South-eastern Cross. The oath administered was in the following form:—"We swear by the Southern Cross to stand true by each other, and fight to defend our rights and liberties." Nearly a thousand men armed themselves and formed into squads for drill. A stockade, chiefly composed of ropes, slabs and overturned carts, was also hurriedly thrown up on the Kureka Lead for the protection of the insurgents. The government authorities, with the police and a detachment of soldiers sent up from Melbourne, occupied a fortified camp on the western plateau, the insurgents facing them on the eastern grounds. Mr. Lalor, a chosen commander of the insurgent forces, appointed a Minister of War and issued warrants and manifestoes. The insurgents contemplated taking the initiative and attacking the camp, led by Captain Thomas, of the 40th regiment, who commanded the government forces, too; then by surprise. On the night of Saturday, the 2nd December, Mr. Lalor posted sentries in the stockade, and gave "Vinegar Hill" as the night-pass-word; but neither he nor his adherents anticipated an attack. Many of his followers had left him, having little confidence in the success of the movement. Others were temporarily absent, and there were a few in the lines who would not have been there had they known that an attack was imminent. It so happened that when the conflict came the diggers had only about 200 men under arms, for there were some working on their claims within the stockade who had no thought of fighting. Before daylight, on the morning of Sunday, the 3rd December, the government force, consisting of 276 men of all arms, including a strong body of cavalry, left camp for the purpose of attacking the stockade. As early dawn the advanced files being decaried by the stockade sentries were fired upon. Captain Thomas then led on his men rapidly to the attack. The stockade was stormed, and after several volleys had been fired on both sides the stronghold of the insurgents was carried, the greater part of the defenders being driven out into the shallow holes of the neighborhood, where many of them were shot or lay on their faces. The first volley from the batteries, and one of their number secured the rebel flag under a heavy fire. The whole affair did not last more than twenty minutes. After burning all the tents within the enclosure and in the immediate vicinity, the troops returned to camp with 125 prisoners, and carts were sent out for the dead and wounded. The number of insurgents killed is estimated at from 35 to 40, and many of those brought in wounded afterwards died. Of the troops, three privates were killed and several wounded, one of whom died. Two officers were wounded, one, captain Vise, died. He was shot while leading on the scouts at the beginning of the action. Among the arms taken in the fight were pikes of a rude construction, made on the spot, and furnished with a sort of hooked knife, to cut the bridles of the cavalry. The dead were buried the same day in the cemetery. A few days afterwards Sir Robert Nickle arrived from Melbourne with 800 troops, and the district was placed under martial law. There was no further trouble, however, the single action having been decisive. Meanwhile, public meetings were held in Melbourne, at which sympathy was expressed with the diggers. Mr. Foster, the Chief Secretary, was compelled to resign, and the view taken of the matter by the public was fully shown some weeks later in the acquittal of the rioters made prisoners, who were tried in Melbourne for sedition. It is on record that Mr. Lalor and the other rebel leaders brought forward their deficiencies in military strategy might have been, they showed no lack of courage. In the early part of the engagement, Mr. Lalor received a ball in the shoulder and fell. He was covered with slabs by a friendly pikeman and lay apparently in the agonies of death, with a stream of blood flowing from his wound, while the military were searching for prisoners. After the soldiers and police had withdrawn, Mr. Lalor made his way to a hut on the ranges. On the following night, he was conveyed to Mr. Faber Smyth's house, where his arm was amputated by Dr. Doyle. It was said that Lalor's betrothed in Geelong, whom he married in December, just when he was wounded, wounded and bleeding before her. Lalor was secretly moved from place to place to escape arrest, for the government had offered a reward of £200 for his apprehension, and he had many narrow escapes. Finally, he reached Geelong, where he underwent further surgical operations and made a good recovery. Ross, the second leader, died of his wounds; and Vern, the third leader, remained in hiding until after the acquittal of the state prisoners, when all the members of the insurgent party were relieved from any further apprehension.

Governments are the foes to freedom; Privilege and Authority are their support; they exist by the exploitation of labor, and by the creation of monopolies which facilitate exploitation; they are the fountains of prosperity and the goodly and the destroyers of social progress, and all would works ascribed to them are done outside of them, and would be better done did they not exist; the combined knavery and ignorance of barbarians created them; the combined intelligence and determination of the civilized shall destroy them. The political system of tyranny and robbery shall give place to the Anarchist system of liberty and honesty. Friend of freedom, hasten its advent!

MONEY.

Some observations in the last number of HONESTY on the topic of money have given point to and assisted the expression of a view which I have some time held as to money altogether. When a person performs some service to another and receives an acknowledgment, it is to be expected that he can look for an adequate return, either from that person or from another to whom that person has done service, in satisfaction of all obligations, and public opinion would support him. When in lieu of the acknowledgment of the actual benefit given, however, he is constrained to accept an arbitrary standard of value that conceals the importance of what has been done, it opens the way for compelling the needy to accept less value than they give, just because comparison is blinded. There can be no doubt that the original intention of money (which, by the way, was first of all private) was that of a seal or deed in token that the party had rendered certain specified services; but as soon as it passed from this to a mere measure of purchasing power with a fixed value of its own, then selfishness began to say, not "To what extent am I obliged?" but "For how little return can I get so-and-so done?" and the amount tendered was not an equivalent for the services obtained, but an indication of the lesser services which the other was compelled (by ignorance, want, or, most of all, the fear of military power) to accept in exchange for his greater services. In plain words, money in the ordinary sense is, and has been since it acquired that sense, a token of military slavery. It has exactly that force to-day, although in a slightly disguised form. And until we abolish money by some system of genuine exchange and co-operation, it is impossible to complete the work of social reform.

JASHEEN DEWAR NORTH.

ANTI-CHINESE MEETING AT RICHMOND.

AN anti-Chinese meeting was held a few weeks ago at the Richmond Town Hall. Mr. Montague Millar moved on amendment and made a speech. He, like many other tradesmen men, appears to be afflicted with *Chinaman on the brain*. He is alarmed at the probable influx of Chinese; he wants the government to give them more poll-tax, and he is afraid the colony will be overrun with Chinks, which he thinks will mean absolute ruin to intercolonial workmen. Poor man, how I pity him! Afraid of 3,000 Chinese gardeners, who want to grow cheap cabbages for us men who produce much and consume little? Afraid of 4,000 Chinese miners finding gold in our territory and taking it away to China. What is gold good for? Men cannot eat it. I should imagine what the colonial workman wants is shelter, food, and clothing—not gold. That trinity of wants he can only obtain by expending his labor to the soil which he is allowed to be monopolized by the landowner, a man who consumes much and produces nothing. The landowner compels the worker to pay tribute in the form of rent, which means taking so much off the product of his labor. I should imagine the working-man wants intelligence to see that his real want is equal use and free occupancy of the land, so that he can till the earth and reap the whole production; there would then be free competition with equality of opportunity.

The legislators are the sole cause of the evils that the workers suffer from. Our mis-representatives sold in the early times what did not belong to themselves or the electors who sent them to parliament, viz. the right of future generations to the use of the land, and then made the landlords' property valuable by railroads and irrigation schemes at the tax-payers' expense, who have to pay the increased value in the shape of rent when they want to grow food. Mr. Joshi helped to pull this new patent Chinese oil, this quick medicine which is to cure the rheumatism in the unemployed workman's stomach. The reason the working-man fears the Chinese artisan is because Chinky takes close the herring in a barrel, and thus refuses to a manumitted tent, which is one of the factors in producing the severe competition the wage-slave dreads so much.

Mr. Millar, with his mighty intellect, says that the Chinese question should be the sole creed of the working-man, and the lawless to do the trick query—will they then choose ballot-box to be act of parliament? He says which that shall not them by act of parliament? He says men should be returned to parliament who would be pledged to keep the Chinaman out of the country. More friends of the working-man wanted to pocket £500 to £150 a year of the

tax-payers' money. Are Mr. Millar, Mr. Trenwith, and Mr. Murphy to be the men to accomplish this new salvation? I am not a friend of the working-man; the aroma of stale beer, black pipe and blasphemy is too terrible in some; to the rest I offer the right hand of fraternity and this advice, "Beware of legislators!"

Sir Digberry Blyghter propounded his nostrum protection. The unemployed doubtless tested its efficacy this winter. I always admire Dulcamaria, he can assess the working-man at his true value, a fool; he can flatter a fool's vanity; he can use him as a tool to dig into the tax-payer's pocket; and he can even well line his own out of the public exchequer. I suppose Sir Digberry wired out a large sum for distribution in the hour of need when he heard of the distress and starvation of his old supporters—the unemployed. Beware of legislators! Workers, your salvation must come from yourselves; try and find it in boycotting usury and land monopoly; try the labor-note, and exchange among yourselves on the cost principle, by means of a system of mutual voluntary co-operation, not the sham capitalistic ones we have in Melbourne. Move out from the congested centres and thereby destroy the land boom of the usurer. When you have wrested from the predatory classes the control of the business organisation, you will then be able to establish a labor boom.

Mr. Millar informed his hearers that by legitimate possessors of industry he meant those, and the offspring of those, who built up the magnificent city of Melbourne and founded the prosperity of the colony. What prosperity does he mean?—the prosperity this winter of the starving colonial workman of tramping Victoria for a job, or who has seen the prosperity of the monopolistic exploiters who, by means of legislative enactments, have annexed the soil and all the means and materials of wealth?

Who are the legitimate possessors of industry who have built up the magnificent city of Melbourne? I suppose he means the wage-slave who, to save himself from starvation, has in exchange for just sufficient shelter, food and clothing, built the houses and improved the value of the property of the landlord and landowner. The working-man has just built a magnificent house for Sir W. J. Clarke, and now he has spent his wages, I hope virtue will be its own reward; and the consciousness of having been industrious will be sufficient recompense, for he may let his bottom dollar he will never be invited inside to any of the spreads the titled gentleman will give.

And in conclusion, I would like to ask, Who ought the working-man get rid of, the worker who produces much and consumes little, or the drone who produces nothing and consumes much? ARTHUR AN MITCHELL.

MALTHUSIANISM.

Now, it may seem presumptions on my part, but I am of opinion that too much importance is attached to Malthusianism (as applied to human life) and deductions drawn therefrom that cannot be justified. I cannot go into the subject fully at present, because I have already made this paper rather long. I will therefore leave what I have to say on this point till some future occasion. But I cannot refrain from touching on one or two points. In regard to the struggle for existence, and the argument founded thereon, Darwin, applying that law in his own way, has been strongly against prudential checks to the population; teaching that unless the struggle went on in the old way progress would be stopped. There are always plenty of natural checks to prevent a growth of population as Malthus predicted. I do not say that such checks should not be adopted; but, I maintain that in a proper condition of society, such as Socialists are fighting for, artificial checks to conception would be unnecessary. I do not think that it is ever possible that the population could increase till there is not room on the earth's surface for it. It is a well authenticated fact that in our "civilized" society, the people living in slums and garrets, wallowing in filth and ignorance, and deprived of luxuries, propagate and add to a greater extent than those who are better situated and follow higher intellectual pursuits. In a Socialist state, every one would have the opportunity to improve themselves intellectually—for the necessary work of the world would be done about two or three hours for each adult person. The following of intellectual studies (accompanied by diminished physical exertion) keeps down the procreative energy. Intellectual people are not as lustful as those who live in dissipation, poverty, ignorance and physical slavery.—W. H. McNamee in *The Liberator*.

Honesty

AN OUTSPOKEN ADVOCATE OF SOCIAL REFORM ON THE BASIS OF
JUSTICE, EQUITY, & LIBERTY.

"There is no terror, Cassius, in your threats; for I am arm'd so strong to Honesty, that they pass by me as the idle wind, which I respect not."—SHAKESPEARE.

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POVERTY AND ELBOWROOM.

Never is there a wrong committed in society, never is there an exhibition of the sufferings and miseries which our artificial civilization produces, than some are always found ready to come forward in their defence. In the days of theological ascendancy, earthquakes, tornados, and other wholesale natural devastations, were ascribed to the wrath of an offended god. Or were they stricken with famine, invaded and conquered by barbarians, the explanation was still the same. Whether their calamities were of human or non-human origin, the same reasons were assigned. Each was natural—inevitable—necessary. And even in this scientific age, when gods are being set aside and forgotten, the same interpretation is being given of the calamities which befall humanity, by the modern priesthood. Is there a war-cloud hanging over Europe? we are then told that war is a necessary evil of social life. Is there poverty stalking through every civilized land? we are told that it is a necessary evil—inevitable—the eternal decree of the god, Nature. "The poor ye have always with ye," taught the priests of old. "And they shall ever remain with us," teach the Malthusian priests of today. Not long ago, when the cry of the suffering poor of England got so shrill that it alarmed the ears of the human parasites who thrive upon them, the cry arose for elbow-room. "Emigrate!" was on every exploiter's tongue; and the sunny lands of Australia were pointed out as a fitting transportation ground for the starving toilers. Nor did the cry stop there. The cruel fiction that poverty was the result of increased population, was transplanted to these shores by the priests from the Old World. Last winter, when the cities of our fruitful lands were crowded with thousands of able-bodied, willing workers, seeking vainly for employment, the cry arose: "Stop immigration! The assisted immigration is the cause of our poverty; forbid more mouths to enter till we have more bread." The priesthood of the new orthodoxy delivered sermons recommending their congregations to keep their families small. And only the other day one of our leading daily papers caught up the cry and quoted with gusto the remarks of a

popular living scientist who had given his support to it.

But what a farce is this crowding-out agitation! What a transparent sham! Look at the facts:

Here is Australasia, possessing a rich territory, and but few occupants. Of its nineteen hundred million acres, but seven million are under cultivation. A small part of the remainder may be unsuitable; but the greater part lies idle in order that the sacred privilege of political property may be respected. It is tightly locked up in the grip of the several organized States which have usurped possession of it; and the unemployed are told to purchase it with the money which it renders impossible for them to acquire. They must stand off it or be held amenable to the so-called crime of "unlawful trespassing." They may petition the local governments to free the land, but they durst not go beyond the unanswered petitions. It is their duty to weep and bear it. If they dare to look behind the veil of the political machinery—if they dare to trace the causes of their suffering and publicly explain them to their fellow sufferers, they will probably be hanged for ANARCHY, as four of their noble-hearted comrades recently were in Chicago. Yes, reader, *hanged for Anarchy!* for that was admitted by the prosecution to be the only "crime" of which the murdered men were guilty. They dared to think that the world was wide enough for every worker, and to say so; and for voicing this irrefutable truth they were hanged—hanged because they dared to explain to the sixteen million disinherited slaves of the United States of America, the nature of the political system which is dragging them to destitution, vice and crime.

America is fruitful, and produces a superabundance of provisions, so much so that the merchants are perpetually complaining of the workers' "overproduction," and closing their establishments till their goods are sold, their employees meanwhile being left to starve. Europe is producing commodities in excess, and improvements in machinery and processes are increasing the productivity every year; and there too is starvation. Australasia, with its seven million acres alone under cultivation, is

capable of supporting thirty million persons at the lowest estimate, and yet only three million are supported, most of whom always suffer "hard times," and many of whom are starving.

It will be time for the Malthusian to preach his fictitious and barbarous doctrine when facts support. Meanwhile, it behoves every honest working man to shatter this dangerous delusion if he would see us grow in knowledge and enlightenment.

THE CHICAGO ANARCHISTS: A CHAPTER IN HISTORY.

On Friday the 11th. of November 1887, was committed one of the foulest crimes that ever stained the bloodiest pages of American history. Four of humanity's truest friends were hanged to satisfy the vengeance of the merciless usurers who tyrannize over the American people,—four of the saviors of the proletariat were crucified by the pharisees of the 19th. Century.

In the early part of 1886, the United States of America were showing evident symptoms of a violent collision between the disinherited exploited workers and the idle parasites who subsist upon them. Laborers were striking everywhere against the extortions of their employers, hundreds of thousands were wandering about seeking in vain for employment and food; and the paid assassins, the hired murderers in the employ of the plutocrats, were shooting down in cold blood the unoffending unarmed supplicants for work and bread. When they brought their grievances before the courts of so-called justice, the magistrates refused to convict their murderers. The hiring press called upon the executors of the law to suppress the labor movement, which, like a mighty avalanche, was daily growing in dimensions and power, and threatened to sweep away the capitalistic edifice; that prostitute press recommended that the starving strikers be given "the rifle diet" for a few days, and that arsenic be put on the butter of the bread given to the homeless tramps. The pimps of the law promptly responded to the call of their plutocratic employers; and by working into the secrets of the labor organizations succeeded in having a meeting called for the memorable 4th. of May 1886 in the despot city of Chicago. On the day before, a strike had occurred at McCormick's factory in that city, owing to the wages having been reduced below starvation point; and the police had as usual shot down the strikers in a most unwarrentable and bloodthirsty manner. This atrocity on the part of the police, together with a general consideration of the labor movement, was the business which called the meeting together on the 4th. The meeting was duly held, the mayor who had sanctioned it being present. It was conducted in an orderly and peaceable manner; the speakers, who were kind-hearted humanitarians pleading for the oppressed, neither advocating nor anticipating violence; and was nearing its close, when Captain Bonfield suddenly appeared on the scene, followed by 200 armed police, and commanded the people to disperse. This they refused to do until their business was terminated, whereupon Bonfield told his men to "Shoot the sons of bitches." The police charged upon the assemblage, and a pistol shot was heard; and the next moment a bomb exploded in the midst of the astonished multitude, killing one policeman and wounding several persons, some of whom afterwards died. Who threw the bomb is unknown; although the evidence tends to show that it was the work of the Pinkerton Detective Agency, whose principal business it is to create consternation in the labor ranks and destroy their organizations. The speakers were arrested; and Parsons, who had escaped, subsequently gave himself up to share the fate of his comrades. A reign of

terror followed; houses were ransacked by the police without search warrants; newspapers placed under censorship and suppressed; red flags and socialistic literature confiscated; arms taken from the discontented; meetings forbidden to express sympathy with the accused. The speakers at the meeting were charged with murder, their case coming on for hearing before judge Gary, a villain whom posterity will rank with the notorious judge Jeffries. The trial, from beginning to end, was a mockery of justice. The perjured evidence of paid liars was received for the prosecution, and witnesses for the defence were refused a hearing—one of them, Legner, having refused a bribe of 500 dollars from the detectives, being forcibly kidnapped by them. The jury were carefully packed and heavily bribed, the accused being denied the right to challenge those who proclaimed themselves their foes. They were charged with murder, but tried for Anarchy; Grinnell, the State's Prosecutor, affirming that such was the case: "These men," he said, "are no more guilty than the thousands who follow them. Hang them, and save our institutions. Anarchy, Anarchy is on trial!" They learnt that their defence against the charge of murder was really wasted effort. This ruse was deliberately adopted by the prosecution to secure the certain murder of their victims. Captain Schaak, the villain who got up the case, admitted that he had suppressed evidence in order to secure a conviction, and that had they anticipated the nature of the evidence they could have refuted it and secured their release: "Do you think," said he, "that if I had told the newspapers what I was doing while the Anarchist trial was going on, that the jury would have brought in the verdict of yesterday? No, sir; a thousand times no. The prisoners would have gone free. . . . If I had told all I knew as fast as I got points, the defence would have known what evidence was to be brought against them, and have been prepared to meet it." Judge Gary admitted they had committed no crime—"Somebody not known did throw the bomb," said he, in passing sentence—but he condemned them to death for murder! It was held that they were guilty by conspiracy—said "conspiracy" consisting in some of the accused having, on previous occasions, counselled the people to arm themselves for their defence against the military, who had been drilling in the streets for the object of suppressing labor demonstrations. The verdict being unconstitutional, an act was after their sentence placed upon the Statute Book to legalize it, and reads thus: "When two or more persons conspire to do an unlawful or lawful thing; or when any person by speech or print advises any unlawful course to accomplish a lawful or unlawful object, such person or persons shall be held responsible for all consequences; and if life is lost they shall be guilty of murder, and it shall not be necessary to prove that the person committing the crime was a member of the conspiracy, or even heard the speech or read the print." Meetings of sympathy and indignation were held the world over.

Appeal was made to the higher court, and thousands of pounds of the workers' hard-acquired earnings were spent on legal assistance, but in vain. Money had the power to involve these men in a conspiracy which they had no part in, and money had the power to hang them for no crime committed. Eight victims were to be sacrificed to Manuon. Oscar W. Neebe, a good-natured eight-hours agitator, was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment. Seven others—August Spies, Albert R. Parsons, George Engel, Louis Lingg, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden, and Adolph Fischer were condemned to death. Petitions for commutation of the sentences were sent to the governor of Illinois, but in vain, except in the cases of Schwab and Fielden, who are to be imprisoned for life. The brave Louis Lingg was mysteriously done away with while in the jail awaiting his fate,—the authorities putting forth the highly improbable story that he had blown off his head with a bomb.

(CONCLUDED ON PAGE 79.)

THOMAS PAINE AND ANARCHY.

There are some weak-kneed "Freedomlovers," who view a social Revolutionist with the same pious horror as is exhibited by a religious bigot when he meets a cold-blooded Atheist. "We are happy as we are," say they, "and we don't want you State." They would protest manfully against the murder of a Banno, or the persecution of a Synes or a Bradlaugh on charges of theological heresy. As long as the victim has been only guilty of poking fun at other people's gods, they are on his side. Let some rebel, however, call into question the omnipotence of *their* deity—let him say that parliamentary government is a swindle, which should be abolished by act of common-sense—and their blood boils with indignation. "Down with all enemies to the constitution!" is the cry; and a shriek of exultation goes up from these heterodox fanatics, as the cable brings the news of the cowardly murder of some who have dared to utter treason against the tyranny of a democratic government. "We believe in free speech, but we can't stand revolutionary sentiments," is their creed, and they gloat over the assassination of the Chicago heretics with grim satisfaction. To such "Freedomlovers"—who, fortunately for the name of Freedom, only represent a small section, and one which grows smaller daily—I comment the words of one whom they rightly honor as among the noblest of their workers and the freest of free-thinkers, Thomas Paine. In the second part of his *Rights of Man*, he fearlessly applies the axe of reason to the worst of dogmas, the beneficence of government *per se*. He says:—

"Great part of that order which reigns among mankind is not the effect of government. It has its origin in the principles of society and the natural constitution of man. It existed prior to government, and would exist if the formality of government was abolished. Mutual dependence and reciprocal interest which man has upon man, and all the parts of civilized community upon each other, create that great chain of connection which holds it together. The landlord, the farmer, the manufacturer, the merchant, the tradesman, and every other occupation, prosper by the aid which each receives from the other, and from the whole. Common interest regulates their concerns, and forms their laws; and the laws which common usage ordains, have a greater influence than the laws of government. In fine, society performs for itself almost everything which is ascribed to government. . . . Government is no further necessary than to supply the few cases to which society and civilization are not conveniently competent; and instances are not wanting to show that everything which government can usefully add thereto, has been performed by the common consent of society, without government." Paine then cites the American States during the great wars as an example of a country existing for upwards of two years without a government. "There is," he continues, "a natural aptness in man, and more so in society, because it embraces a greater variety of abilities and resources, to accommodate itself to whatever situation it is in. The instant formal government is abolished, society begins to act: a general association takes place, and common interests produce common security."

"So far from it being true, as has been pretended, that the abolition of any formal government is the dissolution of society, that it acts by a contrary impulse, and brings the latter the closer together."

But I might quote the whole chapter, which is to the same effect, and which is well worthy the perusal of those who have become habituated to worshipping Paine the Iconoclast and overlooking altogether the existence of Paine the Revolutionist. I will, however, cite one more paragraph, illustrative of the positively evil nature of Government:—

"But how often is the natural prosperity to society disturbed or destroyed by the operations of government! When the latter, instead of the operations of the former, assumes to exist for itself, and acts by partialities of favor and oppression, it becomes the cause of the mischiefs it ought to prevent. If we look back on the riots and tumults which at various times have happened in England, we shall find that they do not proceed from the want of a government, but that government was itself the generating cause; instead of consolidating society, it divided it; it deprived it of its natural cohesion, and engendered dissensions and disorders which men promiscuously existed. In those associations which men promiscuously form for the purpose of trade, or of any other concern in which such government is totally out of the question, and in which

they act merely on the principles of society, we see how naturally the parties unite; and this shows, by comparison, of order, are often the destruction of it."

While quoting Paine's general condemnation of government, I am at the same time fully aware that he was an ardent supporter of the American constitution. How, then, do I reconcile this fact with the apparently antagonistic arguments contained in his political writings? The explanation lies in certain reservation against monarchy and despotism was welcomed that ought to be credited. To Paine, the system appeared to be the nearest embodiment of his "no government" ideal realisable. Lacking experience of representative government, for which we in the 19th Century pay so dearly, he fondly imagined that popular rule would be equivalent to a council delegated by society to carry into effect the joint wishes of the whole—not a portion, merely—of the community. In a word, he fancied the State would be everybody's servant. And he lived in these degenerate days, when popular government, the people's servant, forbids (when possible) the people to read or hear discourses upon his own writings; when that same American government, which he assisted to build up, has stepped its hands in the blood of those who opposed its tyranny; and when it insists on dictating what the public shall do in the most trivial matters as well as in the most important, his support to such a gigantic despotism would never have been given. Could Thomas Paine have foreseen that that apparently innocent thing, the State, would, like the mythical monster created by Frankenstein for his own amusement, prove a terrible enemy, he would have made his plans for the *res-publica* harmonize with his abstract theories. Strikes, labor-riots, the joint progress of poverty and wealth, the wholesale monopolies of land, money, and profit, the rogues of "representatives"—these are all the fruits of the glorious American constitution, but to Thomas Paine they were undreamed of.

W. C. ASBRADE.

HENRY GEORGE'S LAND SCHEME.

Is trying to answer the argument that land is practically useless to labor unprovided with capital, Henry George declares that "labor and land, even in the absence of secondary factors obtained from their produce, have in their union today, as they had in the beginning the potentiality of all that man ever has brought, or ever can bring, into being."

This is perfectly true; in fact, none know it better than the men whom Mr. George thus attempts to meet.

But, as Cap'n Cattle was in the habit of remarking, "the bearing of this 'ere horse-lavation lies in the application on't," and in its application it has no force whatever. Mr. George uses it to prove that, if land were free, labor would settle on it, thus raising wages by relieving the labor market.

But labor would do no such thing.

The fact that a laborer, given a piece of land, can build a hut of mud, strike fire with flint and steel, scratch a living with his finger-nails, and thus begin life as a barbarian, even with the hope that in the course of a lifetime he may slightly improve his condition in consequence of having fashioned a few of the rudiments of these implements which Mr. George styles "secondary factors" (and he could do no more than this without producing for exchange, which implies, not only better machinery, but an entrance into that capitalist-machinery world, which would sooner or later swallow him up).—This fact, I say, which would sooner or later swallow him up)—the operative of the city, who will never prove a temptation to the no-operative of the city, who despite his wretchedness, knows something of the advantages of civilization and to some extent inevitably shares them. . . .

Mr. George may as well understand first as last that labor will refuse to begin this world anew. It never will abandon its present meagre equipment of the wealth and the means of wealth which have grown out of its ages of sorrow, suffering, and slavery. If Mr. George offers it land alone, it will turn its back upon him. It insists upon both land and tools. These it will get, either by the State Socialistic method of concentrating the titles to them in the hands of one vast monopoly, or by the Anarchistic method of abolishing all monopolies through distributing these titles gradually among laborers through the natural channels of free production and exchange.—BESA.

R. TUCKER in Liberty.

THE EXHIBITION FRAUD: AN ILLUSTRATIVE ANALYTICAL EXPOSURE OF THE ABSOLUTE IMMORALITY OF ARCHY.

International Exhibition! Yes! to promote trade and consequently national welfare. So we are told. We will not assume the position of utter sceptics upon the point; we will not allege that the sole object in view is the glorification, for either private or political ends, of the originators. Neither shall we deny the likelihood of the assumed effects following from the gigantic undertaking. The question is not as to the utility of exhibitions for increasing commerce; that may be safely left for commercial men to decide; it is on the other hand one that strikes at the very root and being of all government. With the general effects we have little to do; except to say that precisely in proportion as those efforts to be intended actually follow, the hideous dishonesty of the means by which they are attained becomes increasingly obvious.

The methods by which it is anticipated that an Exhibition will act are three. The least important is that manufacturers and producers at home and abroad will acquire enlarged ideas as to the nature of the requirements which their business essays to meet, both as regards local consumption and as regards export. The second, that the consumer will acquire fuller information concerning the available supply. The third and practically the only consideration, inasmuch as it influences the exhibitor to allow or cause his goods to be displayed, is that the superiority of individual exhibits will attract custom to the firm displaying them—in other words, the successful exhibitor will reap an advantage in increased trade and the consumer will be served more economically by either paying less for an article of a certain class, or receiving better value for his money. And of course it is by this process alone by which our immediate noteworthy effect can be produced upon the commerce of the country.

Very well. Then there are firms and firms. There are local manufacturers, and there are importing agencies, and innumerable varieties in each class. To what extent (leaving out of the question for the time being the morality of applying a man's money even to enlarge his business without his specific consent) to what extent will the Exhibition perform similar functions towards these wholly dissimilar classes? It is evident, on the other hand, that a stimulus can not be given to the importer without a certain amount of detriment to the local producer, nor yet can the latter be advanced in his operations without proportionately curtailing the business of the importer.

Nevertheless, say you, it is for the good of the country that the purchaser should be afforded an opportunity of buying in a more satisfactory market. That is free trade. Is it? I trem not.

Free trade is what its name implies, and admits of no State encouragement to particular industries or classes or qualities of industries. That is protection. Only the ordinary political "protection" signifies the artificial encouragement of what is as yet too weak to bear open competition, whilst the policy of State Exhibitions is to artificially encourage what is by its own merits capable of making its way without any meddling process whatever.

Now it does not matter for the purposes of this argument whether the local manufacturers or the importers will be the class benefited, or whether some importers will gain at the expense of some manufacturers, and also some manufacturers at the expense of some importers. To avoid repetition of alternative terms, we will therefore call the person, in each case, whose business is added to, *Crescendus*, and the person whose business is diminished or taken away *Minnendus*; without reference to the kind of business followed by either.

If then the *Crescendi*—those who believe that their trade would be improved by an exhibition—assumed the necessary expenditure likely to be covered by the extent of the ensuing improved business, they would combine, as they have already combined for other purposes, and hold such an exhibition on their own account; indeed some of them have already done so. Now this would be perfectly fair competition. But it is uncertain whether the expense attaching to a project of such magnitude as a State Exhibition would be recompensed commercially. They have however no objection to participate in a State Exhibition, because the expense is borne not by them alone, but also by the *Minnendi* and the general public.

If instead of taxation the cost of establishing an exhibition were raised by voluntary contribution amongst possible exhibitors and others interested, we should find many persons refusing to subscribe on the ground that they would be introducing elements to deprive them of their trade. In some cases an importer might declare that he had no wish to advertise the his market; in others there might be found a largely destroyed manufacturer declaring that he would not be a party to the introduction and Germany to stop the demand for his wares just as he was on the point of being able to establish himself on a firm basis.

Now, placing the matter in this light, what right has anyone to say that a man shall be compelled to subscribe money to a project which may possibly result in taking his business out of his hands? That is, where the issue is merely doubtful. Given a State lottery in which some may gain and others lose fortunes, would you compel any man to invest therein? Yet that is at least what is done to men of business by taxing them to establish a State Exhibition.

And when there is any degree of certainty about the losers and the winners, the matter is still worse. It is bad enough for *Minnendus* to lose his means of subsistence even in open competition, although that is a perfectly fair risk; but it must be rather more obnoxious to his feelings to be compelled to reflect that he has been compelled to pay part of his rival's advertising expenses—in fact, that the money required for clearing him out of the market has been extracted by Government from his own pocket, it may be in much larger proportion than from the pocket of *Crescendus*, who should as a mere matter of business have defrayed the whole.

Minnendus therefore may be excused for grumbling against the action of the Government, whatever the constitution of that Government may be; it is hard enough for him to suffer a third party, whether king or working man, to delve into his pocket and hand the proceeds over to *Crescendus*; but if the Government be one in which *Crescendus* himself has the power of a majority, as may well be the case, it strikes one as well the action of *Crescendus* in the matter is decidedly mean as well as immoral. For since he was able to conquer by virtue of "his superior merit" (a common if sarcastic method of expressing the superior merit of the mindless and conscienceless articles which he offers to vend) he might surely have contented himself with a really glorious victory, instead of playing the Red Indian and adopting the petty (however dexterous) device of extracting from his nuncy enemy's own cartridge case the powder and bullet wherewith to shoot him dead.

In the name of common honesty, then (which, by the way, like common sense, is by no means so communistically distributed as the name deceptively implies) let those who are interested in displaying or seeing displayed any more than what can be shown and seen in show-rooms and shop windows, take their own measures to combine and hold an exhibition upon any desired scale, but don't levy blackmail upon anyone else to augment your funds. If you do, as by every government exhibition has been done, it is worse than blackmailing. The blackmailer makes you pay, perhaps, for your safety, but you go further and make your rival pay for his danger. You pay (if you are so unlucky) to preserve yourself, but you make your victim pay for the express purpose that he may be destroyed. If you were under the Anarchic system of the Comity of Nations, and used another nation in this manner, you would be boycotted, exterminated, and all the world would cry out against you. But since you are merely thus oppressing your fellow-countrymen, by virtue of the just, pious, and moral laws of the country, you have nothing to fear; it is only your victim who is a rogue for crying out! So consider the matter from your own point of view—self-protection it may be, gain it may be, honesty it may be.

Likewise of all government systems—public undertakings of every kind, even to the administration of justice. Let those who can supply, proffer their services for their goods, for what they will fetch, and let those who require them pay in proportion to their demands. Do not compel those who need not or wish not to consume to pay for what they do not receive, nor yet establish a monopoly of these particular services any more than a monopoly of commercial services—if you do it is blackmail and treason against the aggregate of individuals.

The lesson to be drawn from the question of State Exhibitions can thus be applied to all things else upon which the State can possibly touch. Regarding each separately and State can possibly touch. Regarding each separately and State can possibly touch. Regarding each separately and State can possibly touch, once more, your only course can be—take into

considered self protection, and the limits of honest gain, and the extent of possible gain by exploiting your rivals, and the all these things, give your deliberate decision in favor of a principle—the principle of Right or Wrong!

JASURUS DEWAR NORTH.

USURY.

The argument is that if a man parts with his principal temporarily to another for that other's benefit, he is entitled to reclaim a portion of the returns obtained, over and above the replacement of what he may have lost by the said parting.

This I deny. I hold, on the contrary, that the borrower may make a million per cent, if it be honestly possible, by the use of what he has borrowed, and still the lender is not entitled to any more than will compensate him for his actual loss while out of possession, or on account of so being.

If I hold a hundred horses and sell them outright, the fair equivalent is compensation for my loss of their services, and for the loss of their increase, minus my gain in not having to feed and attend to them, and to feed, attend to, and train up their increase.

If I lend instead of selling the same rule should hold good, if the borrower is to hold the increase. If I am to hold it, the loss of their services, minus the gain of not having to feed and attend to them, for the time of loaning, is my just claim.

It does not matter what the gain to the borrower may be; I am not entitled to share in it at all.

Suppose that with these horses I can produce ten thousand bushels of wheat, and owing to better land or other external circumstances the borrower can, by having them, produce twenty thousand bushels, it is true that I can decline to lend unless he both compensates me for the horses, and gives me five thousand bushels of his surplus yield. It is no less true, however, that in so doing I am taking advantage of his necessity, to levy blackmail on him, and take something from him for which I never gave an equivalent.

Suppose that I and you are wrecked on an island, and I see a boat drifting past. It is your only chance of escape. Suppose I don't want to leave, and get this boat purely and simply for your convenience. By having the boat you may get away and become a millionaire. Have I any right to say to you: "You could not get the boat for yourself, but I have got it for you; now you shall not have it unless you give me half the millions you will receive when you get to land"—have I anything but an infamous power to rob—to demand "your money or your life" in saying it? All I can justly ask is, that you shall bestow on me some service equal to my labor and attention in reaching the boat for you. If I wanted the millions for myself, I should have got the boat for myself and rowed over to earn them; or if I wanted to share them, I should have also shared your work and risk in rowing across and earning them with you.

This will be more clear by another example. I employ you for a week in chipping an iceberg into fancy shapes, and when it is done it is worth nothing to me. Am I therefore to recompense you nothing? On the contrary, I should give you the fair equivalent of the week's labor which you might have applied for your own sole advantage, had I not employed you on my foolishery. You will say that the value of your labor to me has here nothing to do with the question of recompense; it is its value to yourself that has to be considered.

Well, if the iceberg so adorned should be worth a million to me, how do you make any difference? If you could and would have been making a million for yourself I should compensate you to that extent, or if twenty millions, to twenty millions, but if you would only have made twenty thousand, millions, that is all you can rightly claim. In what respect am I liable to give you more than you are worth to yourself?

Similarly if I lend you money. If I am doing so when I could and would be applying it to better purpose myself, but for my kindness in complying with your request, then it is your duty to compensate me fully; but if I should not be so doing, I have no claim upon you in respect of it. If I cannot use the money to spend upon my own requirements, it is of no value to me whatever, and I am like the wrecked man who picks up two boats, and refuses one of them to his fellow sufferer without payment for the privilege of escaping in it.

All that I get by my labor I can charge for to the extent of labor bestowed on it, minus the labor which I would otherwise have to expend in keeping it serviceable, during the time you simply the labor necessary to keep it in the same condition, and not that required for any subsequent or further development. Thus, if the trouble of maintaining anything in order until I have a use for it, is as much as that of preparing a new one when the time arrives, "all told," it is of no value to me, and time I gain as much of my labor as I lose in so short to charge the wear and tear, and I do not see that I am morally justified in making any charge for the use of it—I am short to charge you for saving my labor for me. I do not even see that I can rightly charge for transferring it altogether, unless I have expended some labor in maintaining it up to date, since the labor of making it will be lost by that of maintaining it till I need it. Of course you have no business to take it from me without my consent, as I am entitled to waste as much work on it as I choose. But if I do consent, the argument operates, and if I charge you more than the net balance for past maintenance, or if any, I am taking what I did not and could not earn.

Similarly, if I have produce of any sort, or money, and either cannot or will not go to the trouble of utilizing it myself, it increases in value to me to the extent of the natural wild increment of the produce I have, or which the money represents, if that produce has any natural wild increment at all; but simultaneously diminishes by the extent of the failure of prospective cultivated increment, and of the extraction of existing cultivation, and I have no business to charge more than the remainder, if any, of my labor after balancing accounts between the increase and the diminution after I cease to work.

Therefore it is only if I withdraw money from my own spending, and thereby stint myself, or incur further labor for your convenience, that I have any right to claim the payment of compensation beyond the original sum, and in this case the so called interest is really wages paid for my services indirectly given to you. If I do not withdraw the money from my own spending, the case is this: that inasmuch as the produce which that money represents would probably deteriorate more by my idleness than it would increase by wild nature, the money also should diminish instead of increasing as time goes on, and I should therefore receive back less than the principal; and if I do not want to use the principal for a very long time, but still demand that you should be ready to repay it at any moment I should pay you interest as wages for maintaining it, which might amount up to more than the sum lent. Or if I require a complete or partial remuneration, as the case may be, according to whether, if I left the produce laid or represented, it would require to be renewed or merely repaired at the end of the period, to bring it back to the same condition. In any case, if I do not deprive myself of the enjoyment of what is lent, I should (whether I get at the result by demanding a full return and crediting you per contra with maintenance or fall renewal, or whether by demanding the remaining value of what renewal, or whether by demanding (deterioration) receive less, instead of more, than I bestowed.

It may also happen that a certain amount of deterioration has accrued before I lent the money to you. If I lent produce it would go as it stood, but the money represents the produce before the deterioration took place. In this case I am really giving you an order on somebody else for value the equivalent of which I do not now possess. Look at it in this way, I have a loaf of bread, I keep it twenty years, then I hand it to you as exchange for a cake. Will you take it? Would it be right for me to palm it off on someone else for a new loaf right for me to palm it off on someone else for a new loaf

(CONCLUDED ON PAGE 88) 7

Governments are the foes to freedom: Privilege and Authority are their support; they exist by the exploitation of labor, and by the creation of monopoly which facilitates that exploitation; they are the fountains of social inequality and the destroyers of social progress; all the good works ascribed to them are done outside of them, and would be better done did they not exist; the combined knavery and ignorance of barbarians created them; the combined intelligence and determination of the civilized shall destroy them. The political system of tyranny and robbery shall give place to the Anarchist system of liberty and honesty. Friends of freedom, hasten to advent!

"HONESTY,"

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MELBOURNE : FEBRUARY, 1888.

"Whenever we depart from the great principles of truth and honesty, of equal freedom and justice to all men, whether in our relations with other states, or in our dealings with our fellow-men, the evil that we do surely comes back to us, and the suffering and poverty and crime of which we are the direct or indirect causes, help to impoverish ourselves."—ALFRED RUSSELL WALLACE.

ON THE LOOK-OUT.

Twice in its brief career has HONESTY appeared at an interval of three months between the successive issues, and our readers do not doubt beginning to feel a little uneasy as to our fate. Some thought we were dead; many wished we were—especially one sectarian rag, with an unenviable notoriety for lying, which only the other day coolly told its readers that it is "the only honest paper published in the city." However, our foes can withhold their obituary notices a little longer; for we are still alive, and as fresh as ever. We have had to encounter difficulties, inevitable to a paper of so advanced a character as our own (the present issue having been entirely set up and printed by our comrades, who are novices at the work, during their spare time), and we are happy to say that one after another has been surmounted, and our influence and popularity is extending daily. But still we have not succeeded as fully as we should desire. Our subscription list is steadily on the increase; but as we receive no paid advertisements, and supply the paper considerably under the cost of production, it needs a circulation of several thousands to make it self-supporting, a sales meanwhile being at a loss. This burden has been borne by a few of our comrades, but owing to renewals and lack of employment some have fallen off, and increased financial responsibility has fallen on the remainder. Rather than publish less frequently or temporarily decrease the number of pages, the Co-operative Publishing Company have decided to fill the gap caused by the withdrawals, by adopting the plan of similar journals published elsewhere, and establishing a publishing fund to which all comrades and sympathizers who desire to cooperate with us will be welcomed to contribute. If sufficient encouragement is given, we shall publish more frequently or increase the size of our paper. Amounts received will be duly acknowledged by the secretary, and will be further acknowledged in these columns if desired.

Our Parisian contemporary, *La Révolte*, recently stated in reply to a correspondent: "Here is a list of the Anarchistic journals published in the English language which we know,—*Freedom*, the *Anarchist*, *Honesty*, and the *Alarm*." Our Boston comrade, Benj. R. Tucker, is aggrieved because they omitted his paper, *Liberty*, while recommending *Honesty*, and desires us to state explicitly whether we do not stand on the same footing in every essential of Anarchism. Reference to our remarks on page 65 of our last issue will no doubt satisfy our comrades that he is right regarding our platform, which, like his own, is purely individualistic. Perhaps, however, the exception was made owing to the marked hostility which comrade Tucker shows to the Communist-Anarchist papers, and which we fail to see good cause for. *Freedom* has a strong Communist tendency, it is true, but its Communism is more than counter-balanced by its vigorous and unremitting protests on behalf of individual liberty. Does not the "preamble" show room for voluntary Communism, which is after all only an experimental compromise between the Anarchist's ideal and the present political system? and are not their exposures of the political tyrannies and exploitations as Anarchistic as our own? Their position, to our thinking, is a far more Anarchistic one than that of the *Free School*, which pretends to advocate individualism, but really lands dominion and exploitation. And yet *Liberty* can admire the latter while condemning the

former. No doubt this is the reason of the omission on *Revolte's* part; and it is the only reason we can assign, for the principles of *Honesty* and *Liberty* are identical as Mr. Tucker affirms.

The *Hamilton Radical*, which we have already favorably alluded to, continues to show signs of progress in its discussions of Anarchism and other modern movements and its exposure of the charlatans who are helping to keep back the labor movement, while pretending to be its most resolute champions. In a recent issue it asks: "What do we want with the present creation of a national debt, to be interest-bearing for ever and ever, the interest to be paid out of the earnings of labor? These and other things—which are small in themselves—make up a tidy whole, and they must be vigorously dealt with. Our whole governmental system must be revolutionized," and it well asks "whether government is not the greatest aggressor upon the people's rights." The *Radical* can be procured at this office.

A new edition of *Chambers' Encyclopaedia* is to appear shortly, the first volume of which will contain an article on "Anarchism" by Thomas Kirkup.

Different individuals having been accredited, by our contemporaries, with the editing of this paper, we desire to state that such announcements are unauthorized by us; and we disclaim responsibility for them, and shall neither endorse nor refute them. We desire to preserve anonymity for many reasons.

The usual reports of meetings, and general news items, are crowded out this issue owing to the severe pressure upon our space.

Our Chicago comrades were hanged in November last. We intended to reproduce their latest systems written prior to their execution, to show our readers the true character of these noble and much-misjudged men; but unfortunately we cannot afford the space.

Portraits of the Chicago Anarchist martyrs appeared in *Frank Leslie's Paper* of November 12th., 1887.

The *Alarm*, which was formerly edited by the late Albert R. Parsons, and which the Chicago authorities suppressed when they arrested him for "murder," has been revived by Dyer D. Lund. The first number, which appeared on the day of Parson's execution, contained an article from the pen of the murdered man, and numbers of copies were confiscated in the post. The paper is an excellent one, containing four large pages of good readable matter, closely and clearly printed, and appearing fortnightly. Its principles are defined thus:—

EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL.—Hence, extinction of privilege and restriction, protection and oppression, chartered rights and vested wrongs.

FREE LAND, MUTUAL CREDIT, AND EQUITABLE COMMERCE.—Hence, abolition of rent, interest, and profits.

SOVEREIGNTY OF THE INDIVIDUAL.—Hence, liberty, the cessation of authority, or industrial emancipation and social co-operation.

Success to the *Alarm* and those who sound it!

An Anarchist's Club has been recently started at Boston (U. S. A.), and has proved very successful.

Mr. D. H. Biggs, a prominent labor reformer and State organizer of the Henry George party for Eastern Massachusetts, has lately created some consternation in that body, by tendering his resignation from that party and the Central Labor Union of which he was president, and signing the constitution of the Boston Anarchist's Club of which he had become a member. He had formerly been a State-socialist, but the study of Herbert Spencer's works had converted him from that belief, and prepared his mind for the more matured philosophy of Anarchism.

Proslith's great work, *What is Property?* (English translation) has been recently added to the Melbourne Public Library; and may be seen in the political department, in the gallery.

Owing to the introduction of Anarchism among the subjects discussed at the Melbourne staff, our young friend Fleming, and others, are being prosecuted by the authorities, Labor in vain.

READ
THE RADICAL.

One Penny, Weekly.

This office.

(CONCLUDED FROM PAGE 74.)

On the memorable 11th. of November 1887, the remaining four brave champions of the proletariat met their doom. They died together nobly and bravely. The opportunity of delivering farewell speeches was refused them. The opportunity of delivering the legal butchers made all their preparations, and adjusted the fatal noose, than from beneath the deadly cap which hid the features of August Spies came forth the ominous and thought-stirring words: "There will be a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today." "Hurrah for Anarchy!" cried Fischer; and Engel echoed the cry: "Hurrah for Anarchy!" "This is the happiest moment of my life," added the resolute Fischer. And from the self-sacrificing Parsons came the determined cry: "Will I be allowed to speak, oh Men of America? Let me speak, Sheriff Matson! Let the voice of the people be heard! Oh—" and the next instant the four were being slowly strangled by the law. Villainy had achieved its end. The defenders of human liberty had been destroyed; Mammon asserted his supremacy; and the toadying press howled that "Anarchy is dead." Demonstrations of sympathy have been shown everywhere. Their funeral was attended by over 150,000 persons, 25,000 of whom took part in the exercises.

But is all yet ended? Shall the voice of the people be heard? Yes, departed comrades, it shall be heard, and it shall grate in the ears of every heartless pintoocrat as do the crue. exultations of joy from your murderers now grate in our own. Anarchy is not yet dead, for humanity still lives, and yearns to taste of the glorious fruits of liberty which is now stained with your innocent blood. The time is fast approaching when your silence shall be more powerful than your strangled voices. "Against the enemy, re-ven-dication is eternal," and your comrades shall continue to sow the seeds you have sown, until they blossom into liberty; and your murderers, who have sown the wind of their hatred, shall reap the whirlwind of an oppressed and outraged humanity. The bloody crime of the oppressors shall be revenged in the overthrow of oppression; the tyrant laws which oppress and destroy us shall be trampled under foot; and labor shall be free! The martyrs shall not die in vain!

DAVID A. ANGELO.

USURY.—(Concluded from page 77.)

wherewith to pay you. And if the token, the tally, the money, serves the things for which it stands, what is it afterwards but a forgery? But this more properly pertains to the question of money. Still, if I lend you the golden deeds of an imaginary property at some one else's expense, I conceive that I have still less right to make any charge for so doing than in the former instance, where the expense of recreating it, if you claimed your rights, would fall solely on me. As it generally happens that those who lend money do not require it for any useful purpose (they declining to engage in production so long as they can find any persons to levy a sufficient blackmail on in return for services which cost them nothing), and as it frequently happens that this money has been kept idle so far as they are concerned, in this fashion of lending, for many years, it follows that they are being supported in voluntary idleness at our expense if they receive back merely the principal, let alone any interest.

The reason why they are able to be idle while waiting for the blackmail to be paid is that the money falsely and fraudulently omits to show the deterioration of the substance it represents, if that is kept idle. Thus to strike at the root of the evil it is necessary to abolish money.

When that is done, a man can no longer lend what if he has only ancient mules, nor a farm if he has only a renewed growth of mallee, but must himself join in some kind of productive industry, that is, in the real production of distribution,

or both, of some article of necessity, comfort, pleasure, or advantage. Then he may turn his eyes not directed ingenuously prying upon it.

Combine and facilitate preparation, and then whether he joins it or not, his prey will be able to do so independently of the destruction of money, and this will also com-allowing the usurer to work by his weapon; this method, victims by the ease of their working without him, and nullifying the machine by which he survives, is the real cure for usury as well as every other form of theft.

JASHEX DEWAR NORTH.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

The General Council of Dutch Socialists sent an address to the President of the United States expressive of their indignation at the judicial murder of the Chicago Anarchists.

Public meetings of working men were held at Amsterdam and Groningen to express the same indignation at the manner of these laws.

The *Recht voor Allen* (Justice for All), organ of the Socialist Party, defends bravely the cause of the miserable victims of the plutocrats' hatred.

Our Italian comrades are propagating Anarchist ideas in a most energetic manner among the masses. Notwithstanding the persecutions of the government and the seizures of several journals, the papers are increasing in numbers; the following—*Scritti Anarchici, La Fucina Rossa, La Lotta e l'Humanitas*—have been recently started.

In Single they have torn down the bills and have arrested several members of the Communist-Anarchist circle.

In London, among Trades Unions, the aristocracy of labor, 12 per cent. of the workmen are out of employ.

At Luton, England, the magistrates are quite worn out in trying charges against row, brutal ruffians, who attack the Salvation Army processions. The magistrates there admit that the Army have a right to organize their processions.

In London, the low, brutal policemen, who attack the peaceful Radical processions of honest and industrious workmen, do so by order of Sir Chas. Warren, the despotic tool of the Tory government. Both were peaceful and lawful species of traffic, which should be protected; but in London they have transported a bit of Russia on to the bank of the Thames.

The aristocracy of England are going to improve the breed of carriage horses at the expense of the taxpayers. Mr. Bantock Lewis seems to be the principal agent in the business of showing that it is the duty of government to recognise stallions.

P. J. Frothingham says property is robbery. Mr. Justice Day, at the Liverpool assizes, must think that "property is robbery"; for he gave Catherine Bustin, an old woman of 99, seven years penal servitude for stealing a pair of drawers, and an old man named Dalley five years for fraudulently obtaining a will.

The workers' trade is going ahead bravely. Three millions are owing in England, on loans for building the pretentious Town halls which help to give self importance to the municipal trading snobs.

This extravagant example has been followed by the colonies, where public buildings for public offices have been raised before population large enough to need or pay for them have been settled in the vicinity.

The Corporation of the City of London have just voted £200 for a silver medal to the Imperial Institute to present to one of the Royal family, though thousands of their fellow subjects are dying of want this winter.

The Melbourne City Council instead of reducing the rates to the overburdened rate-payers have just asked about £500 a year to the salaries of their officers. The Town Clerk who received £1000 is to get £1500, and the post-man who received 7s. a day is now to have 8s. I suppose the rate-payers may console themselves by reading a description of the early dress Mrs. Fitz will wear at the next ball.

Herr Most, the German Anarchist, has been arrested again for incendiary speeches; and it is probable he will be convicted and sent to the penitentiary. It is useless to advocate forcible methods to obtain a permanent reform, though, considering the iniquities which obtain as perpetrated by men in authority, it is not surprising many do so. The masses should be educated, and should be able to defend, and truth should be spoken.

There has been an increase of 23,566 ox. in last year's yield of gold; so that gold will be relatively scarcer to the increased population. Gold and land being monopolized, scarcely *valores* are appreciating; and whilst gold, *with its rates*, the products of human industry, are appreciating, and men with fixed salaries will be able to obtain more goods in exchange for their wages than they did before.

JOHN W. MILLER.

MONEY.—We have much to fear from great corporated, moneyed institutions. We are today more in danger from organized money than ever we were from slavery, and the battle of the future is going to be a battle with Mammon.—HENRY WARD BEECHER.

FIT into heaven a despot, and the earth will swarm with despots.—HENRY WARD BEECHER.

WHO PAYS A LAND TAX?

(From *Our Commonwealth*.)

We copy the two following extracts from one and the same page of our contemporary, **HONESTY**:

Protection is a tariff on our exports; land monopoly is a tariff on our production; and money monopoly is a tariff on our exchanges. They are simply one thing under different names, and may all be summed up as a tax on industry.

The last sentence, which we have printed in italics, is the editorial comment on the first sentence. Now, we have never before heard the direct tax upon land values called an indirect tax. We agree with **HONESTY** that land monopoly is a tariff or tax upon production and industry; but a tax upon land values is a tax upon land monopoly, and helps to lessen the tax upon industry. As John Stuart Mill says, "a tax upon rents falls wholly on the landlord. There are no means by which he can shift the burden upon anyone else. It does not affect the value or price of agricultural produce, for this is a tax upon rent, therefore has no other effect than its obvious one." It merely takes so much from the landlord and transfers it to the State.

In new countries it has another effect—it abolishes the speculative holding of land, and by forcing land into use reduces present rates, which are partly speculative, down to the real economic rent.

We can understand that the abominable class legislation, which has prevailed and is prevailing all over the world, has led many people—the editor of **HONESTY** among the number—to inveigh against all forms of government. But government, management, or customs will always exist and regulate matters. When the people once learn that "*L'Etat c'est nous*"—we are the State—then all management or government of the people will be by the people for the people.

Now, it does not matter under what system society exists, land values will always steadily increase with the prosperity and advancement of the people. The thing exists and is natural; therefore it must be dealt with. We can see no fairer way of dealing with them than by taxing them away—or rather appropriating them for the benefit of the whole community that has created them. Now, land monopoly, or rather the unrestricted private ownership of land, is the barrier to all our advance in civilization; it produces the classes; pauperizes and degrades the masses; it is the greatest stumbling-block in the way of progress. It must, and shall be abolished; and it is the moral duty of all earnest men, and advanced thinkers of every shade, to unite in abolishing it. We believe that the editor of **HONESTY** is sincere in his wish for the happiness and freedom of mankind; we do trust, therefore, that, before opposing the views of Henry George, he will first study them. We know that he will find that their adoption would soon break down that tax upon industry indicated by land monopoly. He would also see clearly that all other monopolies are based upon this one monopoly, and will disappear with—or soon after—it.

REJOINDER TO THE FOREGOING.

The above appeared, under the heading of "*Honesty*" and *Consistency*," in *Our Commonwealth* of last month.

No better evidence could be desired, of the weakness of the position of Henry George and his disciples, than the fact that, to support their position, the stupid remark of Mill is endorsed that "a tax upon rents falls wholly on the land-owners." What is a landlord? A capitalist; and the land is his capital. With this landed capital he employs labor; and for the loan of his capital to the laborer—the grazier, agriculturist, &c.—he deducts a portion of that laborer's product. That portion he deducts he calls his rent; the remainder of the product is the wage he pays to labor. If the proprietor pays a tax on his land, he pays it out of that which he has received from the farmer; for he is a non-producer himself, and is entirely dependent upon the laborer. The landlord cannot pay taxes, for he has nothing to pay them with unless he employs a "wage slave" to labor for him, or else labors himself. Should he labor himself, and make his land fruitful, by his own efforts,

he then reaps the increase resulting from his labor, and with his labor pays his taxes. But should he refuse to labor, or to employ labor to work for him, he can produce no valueless to him. It can produce him no rent, for there is no labor being employed from which he can draw the rent. Nothing can be taxed from it, any more than can one tax the desert of Sahara. While the axiom of Henry George that "wages are not drawn from capital" holds good, and it is impossible to assail his denunciation that "labor always precees wages," it does appear remarkable that those who accept it cannot see the logical necessity of the fact that *labor always precees a land tax*. When the Georgians become conscious of that fact, they will have no difficulty in seeing that labor pays all rents, and that the landlord pays none.

The whole confusion in the minds of the disciples of the new land gospel springs from their adopting the Ricardian method of viewing land values as natural instead of artificial. "The thing exists and is natural," says our critic; although in the next breath he speaks of appropriating these rents "for the common benefit of the whole community that has created them." Henry George struck the keynote of the situation when he said "Rent in short, is the price of monopoly, arising from the reduction to individual ownership of natural elements which human exertion can neither produce nor increase. If one man owned all the land accessible to any community, he could, of course demand any price or condition for its use that he saw fit; and, as long as his ownership was acknowledged, the other members of the community would have but death or emigration as the alternative to submission to his terms." That is the true cause of rent—"Rent is the price of monopoly"—and the landlord extorts rent from the proceeds of labor as his price for permitting access to that of which he has a monopoly. The monopoly of the landlord on the one side, and the competition of the expropriated laborers on the other, are the two factors which now determine rent values. Were the Georg on scheme realized, rent values would be fixed by official caprice influenced by the too-familiar corrupting influences of the political machinery. The laborer would still be the slave of the plutocrat, for, owing to the usury system, he could not secure sufficient of the monopolized currency to pay his land tax and purchase his requirements. Financial speculation would flourish as now and produce the same fruits. Labor would still pay all the taxation, but instead of paying it to the monopolist as a landlord, it would pay it to the monopolist as a plutocrat, he sides paying it to the State, which is not the people, but those who rule the people.

Meanwhile it will be well to remember that the Georgian remedy is a purely political one, and while we elect men to parliament to establish it as a new social order, we send them to a place of corruption, where they find it to their interest to become land-owners, and there amass wealth, and help to retard the movement which we elected them to accomplish. They become part and parcel of the State, which is the prime monopolist of all monopolies, and which has granted and made possible every monopoly which now oppresses us. It is this principle of class legislation—and all legislation is class legislation: it is the ruling and possessing class legislating over the enslaved and dispossessed class—which eternally divides us into dissenting factions, and shows intelligent men that the governmental system is itself radically wrong, not that the system is being carried out inefficiently. As Edmund Burke said of it: "In vain you tell me that artificial government is inconsistent with the abuse. The thing I mean is the abuse. The thing I mean is the abuse." Custom, which is not necessarily government, can efficiently regulate all human affairs, and will do it equitably and peacefully if we entrust our interests to freedom instead of to privilege. When men are free to produce and free to consume their product—free from the present political monopolies and exploitations, free from the threatened Georgian tax upon the fruits of industry, and free from every form of governmental or managerial privilege—from all management or government of the people will truly then "all management or government of the people will be ruling all by the people for the people, and no one ruling another; in fact, by each ruling himself, and no one ruling another; in fact, the rule will have ceased." The laborer, who alone pays the entire tax of the community, shall then have ceased to render taxation of the community, shall then have ceased to render his product to idleness, and will, for the first time in civilized history, be truly free.

"The worst thing in this world, next to anarchy, is government."—**HENRY WALL BARKING.**

Dr. Malthus, an economist, an Englishman, once wrote the following words:

"A man who is born into a world already occupied, his family unable to support him, and society not requiring his labor, such a man, I say, has not the least right to claim any nourishment whatever; he is really one too many on the earth. At the great banquet of Nature there is no plate laid for him. Nature commands him to take himself away, and she will not be slow to put her order into execution."

As a consequence of this great principle, Malthus recommends, with the most terrible threats, every man who has away, or at any rate to have no more children. A family,—that is, love,—like bread, is forbidden such a man by Malthus.

Dr. Malthus was, while living, a minister of the Holy Gospel, a mild-mannered philanthropist, a good husband, a good father, a good citizen, believing in God as firmly as any man in France. He died (heaven grant him peace) in 1834. It may be said that he was the first, without doubt, to reduce to absurdity all political economy, and state the great revolutionary question, the question between labor and capital. With whose faith in Providence still lives, in spite of the century's indifference, it is proverbial—and herein consists the difference between the English and ourselves—that "everybody must live." And our people, in saying this, think themselves as truly Christian, as conservative of good morals and the family, as the late Malthus.

Now, what the people say in France, the economists deny; the lawyers and the *littérateurs* deny; the Church, which pretends to be Christian, and also Gallican, denies; the Press denies; the large proprietors deny; the government, which endeavors to represent them, denies.

The Press, the government, the Church, literature, economy, wealth,—everything in France has become English; everything is Malthusian. It is in the name of God and his holy providence, in the name of morality, in the name of the sacred interests of the family, that they maintain that there is not room in the country for all the children of the country, and that they warn our women to be less prolific. In France, in spite of the desire of the people, in spite of the national belief, eating and drinking are regarded as privileges, labor a privilege, family a privilege, country a privilege.

M. Anthony Thourret said recently that property, without which there is neither country, nor family, nor labor, nor morality, would be irreproachable as soon as it should cease to be a privilege; a clear statement of the fact that, to abolish all the privileges, which so to speak, exclude a portion of the people from the law, from humanity, we must abolish, first of all, the fundamental privilege, and change the constitution of property. M. A. Thourret, in saying that, agreed with us, and with the people. The State, the Press, political economy, do not view the matter in that light; they agree in the hope that property, without which, as M. Thourret says, there is no labor, no family, no Republic, may remain what it always has been,—a privilege.

All that has been done, said, and printed to-day and for the last twenty years, has been done, said, and printed in consequence of the theory of Malthus.

The theory of Malthus is the theory of political murder; of murder from motives of philanthropy and for love of God. There are too many people in the world; that is the first article of faith of all those who, at present, in the name of the people, reign and govern. It is for this reason that they use their best efforts to diminish the population. Those who best acquit themselves of this duty, who practise with piety, courage, and fraternity the maxims of Malthus, are good citizens, religious men; those who protest against such conduct are anarchists, socialists, atheists.

That the revolution of February was the result of this protest constitutes its inexplicable crime. Consequently, it shall be taught its business, this Revolution which promised that all should live. The original, indelible stain on the Republic is that the people have pronounced it anti-Malthusian. That is why the Republic is so especially obnoxious to those who were and would become again, the toadies and accomplices of kings,—*grand eaters of men*, as Cato called them. They would make a monarchy of your Republic; they would devour its children.

There lies the whole secret of the sufferings, the agitations, and the contradictions of our country.

The economists are the first among us, by an inconceivable blasphemy to establish as a providential dogma the theory of Malthus. I do not reproach them; neither do I abuse them, intentions in the world. They would ask nothing better than to make the human race happy; but they cannot conceive how, population and production can exist.

Ask the Academy of Moral Sciences. One of its most honorable members, whose name I will not call,—though he being the prefect of it, I know not which department, saw fit to have thenceforth fewer children by their wives. Great was the sensation among the priests and gossip, who looked upon this academic morality as the morality of sense! The *servant* zealous defender of the family and of morality; but, he observed with Malthus, at the banquet of Nature there is not room for all.

M. Thiers, also a member of the Academy of Moral Sciences, lately told the committee on finance that, if he were minister, he would confine himself to *conspicuously and stacally passing through the crisis*, devoting himself to the expenses of his budget, enforcing a respect for order, and carefully guarding against every financial innovation, every socialistic idea,—especially such as the right to labor,—as well as every revolutionary expedient. And the whole committee applauded him.

In giving this declaration of the celebrated historian and statesman, I have no desire to accuse his intentions. In the present state of the public mind, I should succeed only in serving the ambition of M. Thiers, if he has any left. What I wish to call attention to is that M. Thiers, in expressing himself in this wise, testified, perhaps unconsciously, to his faith in Malthus.

Mark this well, I pray you. There are two millions, four millions of men who will die of misery and hunger, if some means be not found of giving them work. This is a great misfortune, surely, and we are the first to lament it, the Malthusians tell you; but what is to be done? It is better that four millions of men should die than that privilege should be compromised; it is not the fault of capital, if labor is idle; at the banquet of credit there is not room for all.

They are courageous, they are stoical, these statement of the school of Malthus, when it is a matter of sacrificing laborers by millions. Thou hast killed the poor man, said the prophet Elias to the king of Israel, and thou hast taken away his inheritance. *Occidisti et possediti*. To-day we must reverse the phrase, and say to those who possess and govern: You have the privilege of labor, the privilege of credit, the privilege of property, as M. Thourret says; and it is because you do not wish to be deprived of these privileges, that you shed the blood of the poor like water: *Possediti et occidisti!*

And the people, under the pressure of layments, are being eaten slowly; they die without a sigh or a murmur; the sacri-cation slowly; they die without a sigh or a murmur; the sacri-cation slowly. Providence will finally conquer fate. Contrary to the condition of your fathers, the soldiers of the republic, at the sieges of Gênes and Mayence, was even worse than yours.

M. Léon Faucher, in contending that journals should be forced to furnish securities and in favoring the maintenance of taxes on the press, reasoned also after the manner of Malthus. The serious journal, said he, the journal that deserves consideration and esteem, is that which is established on a capital of four to five hundred thousand francs. The journalist from four to five hundred thousand francs, like the workman who has only his who has only his pen in the market for his services or get no arnis. If he can find no market for his enterprise, it is a sign that public opinion is against him; he has not the least right to address the country; at the banquet of public life there is not room for all.

Listen to Lacourlaire, that light of the Church, that chosen vessel of Catholicism. He will tell you that socialism is anti-christ. And why is socialism anti-christ? Because socialism is the enemy of Malthus, whereas Catholicism, by a final transformation, has become Malthusian.

The gospel tells us, *cris*, the priest, that there will always be poor people, *Pauvres semper habebitis vobiscum*; and that poverty, consequently, in so far as it is a privilege and makes property, is sacred. Poverty is necessary to the exercise of people, is sacred. Poverty is necessary to the exercise of people; at the banquet of this world here below evangelical piety; at the banquet of this world here below

there cannot be room for all.

He feigns ignorance, the infidel, of the fact that *poverty*, pain, not hard times and the condition of the proletariat, and how could he who went up and down *Julius* crying, *Woe to the rich!* be understood differently? In the thought of *Jeans Christ*, woe to the rich meant woe to the Malthusians.

If *Christ* were living today, he would say to *Lacodaire* and his companions: "You are of the race of those who, in *arias*. Your law is not my law; from *Aled* only *Zach-God!*" . . . And the *Lacodaires* would *crucify Christ* as a seditious person and an atheist.

Almost the whole of journalism is infected with the same ideas. Let *Le National*, for example, tell us whether it has not always believed, whether it does not still believe, that paperism is a permanent element of civilization; that the enslavement of one portion of humanity is necessary to the glory of another; that those who maintain the contrary are dangerous dreamers who deserve to be shot; that such is the basis of the State. For, if this is not the secret thought of *Le National*, if *Le National* sincerely and resolutely desires the emancipation of laborers, why these anathemas against, why this anger with, the genuine socialists—those who, for ten and twenty years, have demanded this emancipation?

Further, let the Bohemians of literature, today the myriads of journalism, paid slanderers, courtiers of the privileged classes, envious of all the vices, parasites living upon other parasites, who prate so much of God only to dissemble their materialism, of the family only to conceal their adulteries, and men who shall see, out of disgust for marriage, caressing monkeys when Malthusian women fail,—let these, I say, publish their economic creed, in order that the people may know them.

Faites des filles, nous les aimons.—beget girls, we love them,—sing these wretches, parodying the poet. But abstain from getting boys; at the banquet of sensualism there is not room for all.

The government was inspired by Malthus when,—having a hundred thousand laborers at its disposal, to whom it gave gratuitous support,—it refused to employ them at useful labor, and when, after the civil war, it asked that a law be passed for their transportation. With the expenses of the pretended national workshops, with the costs of war, lawsuits, imprisonment, and transportation, it might have given the insurgents six months' labor, and thus changed our whole economic system. But labor is a monopoly; the government does not wish revolutionary industry to compete with privileged industry; at the work-bench of the nation there is not room for all.

Large industrial establishments ruin small ones; that is the law of capital, that is Malthus.

Wholesale trade gradually swallows the retail; again Malthus.

Large estates encroach upon and consolidate the smallest possessions; still Malthus.

Soon one half of the people will say to the other:

The earth and its products are my property.

Industry and its products are my property.

Commerce and transportation are my property.

The State is my property.

You who possess neither reserve nor property, who hold no public offices and whose labor is useless to us, TAKE YOURSELVES AWAY! You have really no business on the earth; beneath the sunshine of the Republic there is not room for all.

Who will tell me that the right to labor and to live is not the whole of the Revolution?

Who will tell me that the principle of Malthus is not the whole of the counter-Revolution?

And it is for having published such things as these,—for having exposed the evil boldly and sought the remedy in good faith, that I each has been forbidden me by the government, the government that represents the Revolution!

That is why I have been deluged with the slanders, traucheries, cowardice, hypocrisy, outrages, descensions, and failings of all those who hate or love the people! That is why I have been given over, for a whole month, to the mercy of the journals of the press and the screech-owls of the platform! Never was a man, either in the past or in the present, the subject of so much execration as I have become, for the simple

reason that I wage war upon cannibals.

To slander one who could not reply was to shoot a prisoner—Malthusian carnivore, I discover you there! Go on, then; we have more than one account to settle yet! And, if calumny no one can avoid his fate, and I am at your discretion, you shall not conquer me; you shall never persuade me. But people, while I live and hold a pen, that, with the exception of yourselves, there is one too many on the earth, I swear it before the people and in the name of the Republic!

DRINK AND PROGRESS.

I purpose to show in this paper, that the worship of the god Alcohol is a great obstacle in the road to progress. I feel too, that the subject chosen is to many people a rather unpleasant one, for nearly all audiences, save those composed chiefly of abstainers, send up a howl of sympathy for the unfortunate total abstinent. Now, I fail to see in what sense the publican is unfortunate, save one, that is, in having chosen such a degrading occupation, that of a mere money-grubber. I will not attempt to narrow up your feelings by reciting the many enormities the publican has to wince at for the sake of his business, but will say a word on the advantages which the grog-seller has over honest traders, and describe, briefly, a few of his faithful allies who have been engaged—it is impossible to tell how long (history cannot)—in working up his business. Ignorance, I imagine comes first. In the dark past, when we were slowly evolving from the brute, unguided by a knowledge of chemistry, they discovered (by accident most likely) that under favorable conditions, certain vegetable matter produced alcohol. This discovery was hailed with delight. It produced new sensations and intensified old ones; it filled men in turn with a species of heroism (now called ditch courage), strange eloquence, fanaticism, hate, love, vice, and filly. A liquid possessing such miraculous power was held to be of supernatural origin, and soon became an instrument in the hands of priestcraft; for history tells in unmistakably plain language that in the great majority of religions, drink has been and is now the faithful ally of the priest. These two firm friends have done much to saddle the man with the absurd drinking customs that are so popular nowadays, this desecrated trinity, drink, religion and custom, forced men into hereditary drunkenness with all its attendant evils. In primitive times, the communistic system which men adopted in their convivial gatherings, helped to mitigate in a measure, the sufferings that generally follow a debauch; but in these days, with a high pressure grain system in full swing, greed seems to govern most men in this, as in every other matter, so that the appeal of the "stone broke" inebriate is not always responded to as it was in days of yore; and this same trinity, reinforced by greed, are still the faithful beneficiaries of the distiller, brewer, and publican. Then again, the publican can scoop in coin for sixteen hours per day, a privilege denied to men engaged in useful occupations by our wise legislators (?) and there can be but little doubt that much liquor is dispensed after the legalised time of closing. Our noble guardians of the law can almost invariably be squared. Even should Boniface err, in not being liberal enough with his tips, and be summoned, he will most likely recognise a few of his own calling, or it may be a ready brewer or distiller, on the bench; and you can then afford to lay long odds that the delinquent will be let down easy—a legal shuffle can accomplish much.

Nor must we forget the selective properties of the article the publican vends. I will now endeavor to bring under your notice the theories advanced by Samuelson, Richardson, and others, regarding instinctive desire for alcoholics. Samuelson calls in question the doctrine propounded by many eminent total abstainers (Dr. W. B. Richardson amongst the number) which maintains that there is no instinctive desire for alcohol in either animals or man, as neither young children nor animals prefer it to water; that inasmuch as there have been nations that have never shown the instinct, therefore the historical evidence which is advanced in favor of the instinctive theory breaks down; and, strangest of all, not only has nature provided no instinct in any young animal for alcohol, but she has not provided the alcohol for the instinct! Samuelson says Richardson's statement is far too sweeping.

ROBERT BENTLEY.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

POETRY.

GO YE FORTH AND PREACH.

Knock off the shackles from their weary limbs,
Unbind their eyes and let them see the light,
Let them behold the blue sky warm and bright,

"TITAN."

FREEDOM.

O Freedom! thou art not, as poets dream,
A fair young girl, with light and delicate limbs,

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No. 8.

MELBOURNE, : APRIL, 1888.

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CO-OPERATION AND PROFITS

Free laborers are the foundation stone of a prosperous society.

The profit-making system is the enslavement of the laborers. While it exists, industry cannot be released from the bondage of capitalism; for capitalism is solely built upon profits, and capital's profit is labor's loss.

And yet the workers are seeking to free themselves through a profit-making system! It is time they hesitated, reflected, and marked out a wiser course for the future than they have adopted in the past. Australia, like other countries, has long had a plentiful supply of trades unions, mutual stores, equitable coöperative societies (so called), labor legislation, and numerous other agencies for supplying and regulating our economic wants; but they have none brought relief to the laborer, nor gone towards the solution of the social problem. Nor can they ever do so.

The true theory of commercial exchange—the only one which can produce results satisfactory to the producers—is that in which *equity* is the corner stone. In an equitable system of coöperation, the laborer exchanges with the laborer on terms of equity; he works on the cost principle; he estimates the cost to himself of the raw material and the time consumed in manufacturing his article, and taking that as the value of the manufactured article he offers it for disposal to others at that price; other laborers, working at other pursuits, make similar calculations and offer similar terms; and thus a general interchange of the fruits of industry is effected. Such is the true theory of equitable commerce; it is genuine free trade.

But modern capitalism, developing out of ancient militancy and mediæval feudalism, has introduced a new factor—*profit-making*. The tools of labor are monopolized; law has created the fiction of property, and the implements of the laborer have thus become the absolute possession of a caste entirely distinct from himself, and to whom he must render tribute in the form of profits, for the privilege of laboring for his own support. If the gardener desires to exchange the fruits of a day's labor for the fruits

of a day's labor of the hunter, he dare not do so for the ruling caste must first be paid their charges; and so on throughout the entire industrial system, the demands of the proprietary, capitalistic, and plutocratic caste must first be responded to, before laborer can exchange with laborer,—and on terms, too, that seem almost incredible.

In America, the home of industrialism, the system has had an uninterrupted development, and has borne its fruits. And what are they? The statistics of the United States show that while the average daily earnings of every wage-worker is 10 dollars, the average daily wage paid to them is but 1½ dollars. That is, the laborer gets as a reward for his exertions, barely one-eighth of what he has produced. In England, it is generally estimated that the laborer receives an average wage equal to about a sixth of his product. And this is the system which is prevailing in Europe, Australia, and the other centres of the "civilized" world! And yet the economists have the insolence to brand this wholesale robbery of the producers by the privileged caste as "free trade" and "protection"! The working people of Australasia earn annually £133,000,000, out of which they receive probably £24,000,000, the remaining £109,000,000 going to reward usurpation and plunder, in the forms of rent, interest, taxation, and income on business capital.

Picture a tailor, who, having made a coat worth 7/- for labor and material, sells it for that sum to another; and with the amount purchases four pairs of boots for himself and his family. That is an equitable exchange. But now the capitalist springs up; he pays the tailor 7/- for making the coat, and offers it for sale at 42/-; besides treating the shoemaker in a similar fashion. What is now the state of affairs? Why, the tailor wants to shoe the family, but has only 7/- to buy 42/-worth of boots with, so he buys a pair for the eldest boy, and the others wear their worn-out ones a little longer. The bootmaker is similarly situated; his 7/- will not purchase a coat equivalent to the value of the boots he has manufactured, for the price demanded is 42/-, and he must go threadbare a little longer and practise thrift with all possible

piety. The capitalist, finding the workers not buying his coats and boots as fast as they are manufactured, reduces the wages or dismisses some of the hands. And so it is throughout every trade. The laborer, who works for a profit-maker can never repurchase his product, but wages may bear to the value of his product. He will lament his poverty; and the employer will lament the "over-production" and the dullness of trade.

Profit-making is the condemnation of trade-unions, for they seek to increase the price of the article while raising the wage, and leave the worker's position unaltered; it condemns the existing "mutual stores" and "co-operative societies," as they are established on a profit-making basis and simply exist to bring dividends to plutocrats; and it condemns legislative tinkering, for all legislation must be made in the interests of the property system, which solely exists for the exploitation of labor. It condemns the absurd strikes of the laborers, which, as in the recent case of the Melbourne tramway employees, only throws the laborers out of employment, leaves their places to be filled by other wage-slaves, fails to injure the exploiting speculators, and leaves the profit system to flourish as vigorously as ever.

Labor can free itself by exchanging with labor on the cost principle, giving equivalent for equivalent, value for value; and allowing no scheming speculator to intervene and filch the greater part of the products exchanging. When the workers themselves carry that system into effect, they will be free; while they support the profit system, they will remain slaves. Are they ready to act?

LOUISE MICHEL.

Louise Michel was lecturing at Le Havre (France) on Jan. 22, in aid of the funds of the local Anarchist paper, when a very fanatic fired a revolver twice upon her, the first shot cutting her right ear, and the second tearing her cheek and neck and lodging in the left side of her head. The doctors were unable to extract the bullet. It is noteworthy that this brave woman's first care was for the welfare of her assassin and his family who were dependent upon him. She entreated her friends not to injure him, and refused to make any charge against him. With philosophic calmness and heroic forgiveness, and the bullet still in her head, she wrote to *L'Intransigeant*: "The heated atmosphere of a room overflowing with people, ideas which he did not understand of whirling about him, must have magnified as the poor fellow. My denial of the existence of his god, and the calumny spread about by the good-for-nothings, that I was living at the expense of the people, must have revolted his fanaticism and his jealousy, so a man of the stone age. The workings of his clumsy brain must necessarily have enlaid as they did. He is a being of another epoch, to whom ideas taken burning hot from our epoch of transition, have given this brutal and false instinct. We shall see plenty more of his sort in our times. I think I am right in saying that science would be a lie if it did not serve to make us more just to irresponsible people." To a letter from the wretched murderer, asking her mercy and forgiveness, she replied: "Monsieur Lucas.—I am sorry to give you great pleasure; it is one more proof that we are right in believing that you were suffering from an hallucination, and consequently cannot be judged. For the rest I am going on well, and my greatest desire is that you should be restored to your family. That will be justice, and we hope that it will soon be done. So take courage. —LOUISE MICHEL." The French people may well be devoted to their noble Lenin. We sincerely hope that her wound may not prove fatal.

The Italian Anarchists recently undertook to publish a complete report of the Chicago Anarchists' trial; but the authorities seized all the copies from the printers, causing the publishers a loss of over £500 francs. A number of other pamphlets have been issued by their associates, besides several newspapers.

"HONESTY" PUBLISHING FUND.

Comrades and Friends, who desire to assist in bearing the expense of publishing the paper, are invited to contribute to this fund.

SCRIPTIONS RECEIVED (not otherwise acknowledged).—
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MELBOURNE: APRIL, 1888.

"Whenever we depart from the great principles of truth and honesty, of equal freedom and justice to all men, whether in our relations with other states, or in our dealings with our fellow-men, the evil that we do surely comes back to us, and the suffering and poverty and crime of which we are the direct or indirect causes, help to imperish ourselves."—ALFRED RUSSELL WALLACE.

ON THE LOOK-OUT.

The present issue of *HONESTY* is reduced below the usual size, in order to avoid the lengthy intervals that have occurred of late, and to revert to the regular monthly issue. It is issued for a lower sum, due allowance, of course, being made to subscribers. The size will be increased as opportunity permits.

A good comrade is lost to us. On the evening of March 20th., William Adam Gregory died at his residence in North Melbourne, at the age of 55. He had long been one of the most active workers at the Melbourne Anarchists' Club, and a frequent contributor to this paper, writing under the nom de plume of "Juste as Milien"; the news-notes in a recent issue signed "G.," were also from his pen. His geniality, his earnestness, and his ability, made him greatly respected by his comrades; and his loss is keenly felt.

That energetic worker in the anti-Chinese agitation, the Sydney *Bulletin*, said in a recent issue: "At Naranbulla, according to Mr. John Patta, the Queensland anti-Chinese delegate, a white man is employed in building a house for a Chinaman at a contract price of £2. He has been already five weeks over the job, during which he reckons he will have made six shillings a week. White men in that district are digging potatoes for Chinamen at ten-pence a day," and then follows the usual advice to "Young Australia" to beware of John Chinaman. Whether the statement be true or false, it is certainly a strange one for the *Bulletin* to bring forward in support of its ridiculous position. That paper is always howling for the expulsion of a unfortunate Celestial because he works for such a small pittance, and reduces the rate of wages below what the European can subsist upon. But now the tables are turned; and we find the European working for such a wretched wage that the despised Chinaman has become his employer;—and the anti-Chinese-champ-labor paper blames him for the European's sin (?) of laboring still cheaper! When will these papers learn to be consistent, even if not rational? If they devoted their attention to the villainy of the capitalist system of exploitation, instead of denouncing the unfortunate victims of it, they would be far more deserving of support from the working people.

Our Spaniards contemporary, *El Socialismo*, notices us as follows:—"We have had the pleasure of seeing, for the first time at this office, our beloved Australian colleague, *HONESTY*; an interesting Anarchist publication which appears monthly in Melbourne. The 5th number has on the first page a portrait of Proudhon, which is a remarkably true engraving. We wish this new soldier of the revolution every success, and recommend it to the comrades who read English." (Translated.)

Mr. Isaac Selby has been publishing a "Dialogue between a Social Reformer and an Anarchist." A most ingenious distinction! He might fittingly follow it up with a "Dialogue between a Religioist and a Christian."

Some speculative individual has just issued a pamphlet in Melbourne, entitled: *Anarchy, or The Dance of Death in the Gaol Yard*. It pretends to be a history of the recent Anarchist "trial" in Chicago; but is merely a sensational effusion, consisting of a few facts (the most important being all omitted), and a multitude of fictions. It is published with caution against shillings of the inquisitor, and the public are cautioned against taking it as in any way illustrative of the opinions and actions

for which our comrades were murdered by the executors of "law and order."

Our energetic comrade, W. C. Andrade, is now publishing a weekly newspaper in Queensland, called the *Maclay Banner*. In addition to a very interesting discussion on "The White Labor Problem" which has been running through several issues, there is much matter of general interest and value.

The *Radical* (Hamilton, N. S. W.) has increased in size with the commencement of the new volume, and is more attractive than ever, besides being more radical in its tone. We are glad to note its increasing prosperity, and wish it may continue.

And still another paper! *Our Good Words* is the name of a modest little sheet issued by the Rev. Charles Strong, and which, notwithstanding its stilted indefiniteness and extreme delicacy in argument, has much to recommend it. The editor seeks to reconstruct the primitive "Church" which he tells is "simply a 'regenerated' Society," a Society whose great fundamental principle is not Hebrew law, or Roman law, or even British law, interpreted and administered by lawyers, scribes, barristers, judges, &c., at enormous cost to the country and to everyone who seeks justice, but the spirit of equity, honor, sincerity, fidelity, and brotherliness.—&c. This strongly savors of Anarchism, which is somewhat dangerous ground for the vacillating to tread upon; our editor appears to realize this, for he continues a little further on: "The Church and hypocrites, must offend prejudices, rouse opposition, be called bad names, be left out in the cold, be stoned and maligned."

Proudhon's pamphlet on *The Mathusians*, which appeared in this paper, has been republished in handy pamphlet form, and can be obtained at this office, price 3d., or 2- per dozen copies. It contains a portrait of the author on the first page.

The unemployed difficulty is again commencing to trouble the authorities. A deputation, which waited on Sir Henry Parkes, was informed by that worthy that "it was no part of the Government's duty to find work for the people." Just so; its sole duty is to serve the proprietor—not the worker.

Some London Anarchists have just started a cooperative store on the cost principle.

The Melbourne Anarchists' Club will hold their second annual meeting on the evening of Tuesday, May 1, when the members will deliver speeches, songs, and recitations; and it is also contemplated to open with an "afternoon tea." Admission will be by tickets which will sold to the public as well as to members. The Secretary desires all comrades to assist in making the meeting a success.

The usual debate meetings held during the past few weeks at the Melbourne Anarchists' Club have been successful as their predecessors. On Feb. 18, Mr. D. A. Andrade read the Rev. J. Kimball's remarkable sermon on Anarchy recently delivered in America; an interesting discussion following the remarks of the large-minded humanitarian pastor. The Sunday following, Mr. D. W. Brookhouse spoke on "Caerion in Anarchy," in which he undertook to refute the erroneous popular impression that because Anarchists were opposed to arbitrary, compulsory, and coercive measures they had no means of pushing their principles into practice. Mr. Petric opened the discussion on March 4th, with a brief paper on "Law and Liberty," maintaining that the two principles were ever in conflict and must remain so; the opposition was well represented, and an unusually animated discussion ensued, no less than eleven speakers taking part in it. Mr. John White opened on the 11th, with a paper on "The Villany of all Governments," which he brought a heavy bill of indictment against the State and showed most conclusively that it was an institution existing for the benefit of the wealthy and the sile who control it, and for the disaster of the toiling masses.

It is becoming a popular custom in Italy to name girls *Anarchia*. The *Leaflet Newspaper* is the title of a diminutive sheet issued in the interests of labor, in London. It is published weekly at the small price of one penny for 25 copies.

Anarchism is spreading in South America. The Anarchists of Buenos Ayres held a meeting of indignation at the murder of the Chicago comrades. The police prevented them using the theatre they had engaged for the purpose, but they held it elsewhere. The Anarchists of Montevideo, Rosario, and La Plata, expressed their sympathy with the meeting by means of letters, telegrams, and appointed delegates. The meeting had a number of handbills printed and distributed giving particulars of the atrocious crime committed by the Chicago rulers.

HIBBERT'S GORE.—A place on earth has been found where taxes are unknown. It is a territory bordering on the north-eastern line of Lincoln county, Me., called "Hibbert's Gore." It contains 334 acres of land and 10 flourishing families. It is bounded by the lines of three counties, Knox, Lincoln and Waldo, but is not claimed by either. The inhabitants do not maintain a municipal organization, and cannot vote for President, Governor, members of the Legislature, or town officers, but they are contented with their lot, have fine farms and good roads, their pork barrels and potato bins are open to one another, and they do not care a snap about politics.—*Asahbury*.

DRINK AND PROGRESS.

(Continued from Page 82.)

Many children do like intoxicating drinks unless they have a disagreeable flavor. And practically there are myriads of children born with an innate tendency to indulge in such beverages. Richardson says elsewhere, that the taste for drink with its consequences is transmitted from parent to child; then as but it may be argued that this is the result of their associations with mankind. Possibly so, but the same does not hold good in the case of monkey tribes, the highest of all the inferior animals and those who approach nearest to human beings in their structure and habits. Darwin tells of many kinds of liquors, and of having seen them smoke tobacco. The natives of North Africa catch laloons with strong beer. He has noticed, too, that monkeys after a delirium turn from a morndom than many men. Shrewd man, Darwin! Then again, as regards the argument that nature, were it herself not provided but nature did not even clip her flints for prehistoric man, and if none of our instincts could be gratified, excepting those for which the materials are ready made to our hand, we might lead good bye to civilization and once more return to a state of nature. But even in theory the writer of this essay is hardly correct. Wherever the juice of fruits or any liquid containing sugar stands at a temperature of 70 degrees for a few hours it begins to ferment, hence the negroes in certain parts of Africa have nothing to do but make an incision in a particular part of the palm tree in the morning and allow the sap to run in order to obtain the same afternoon what is to them a pleasant intoxicating drink.

I myself believe with Richardson in the non-instinctive theory. I feel convinced that the taste for intoxicants is only young children for intoxicating drinks rendered palatable by flavoring is but an acquired taste transmitted to them by their parents. Even that the leverage has to be smuggled into the child's system, as it were, by being artfully blended with other ingredients. Samuelson does not attempt to deny that the fondness for wine exhibited by many domesticated animals is the result of their association with man; and let me add that it invariably costs man an effort to cultivate that fondness in them, but he seems inclined to make capital out of the fact that laloons are caught by the natives of North Africa with beer. This only goes to show that a large number of the human beings we see around us today are intellectually (in this respect anyway) mere laloons and can be gilded quite as easily as those in North Africa. Samuelson seems to forget that monkeys, although the highest among the inferior animals, are still mere monkeys and will naturally try to imitate man; and it is only when tempted by man that the monkey is guilty of the crime of drunkenness. Darwin tells us, too, that monkeys have a horror of the morning reviver so eagerly sought after by the human *beast*; and tells of one American monkey, an intimate acquaintance of his, who had been seduced into drunkenness once, but could not be made by either force or persuasion to touch it again. Darwin never tells of having seen monkeys chew and smoke tobacco, drink tea, coffee and spirituous liquors, in their native haunts and away from man's influence; therefore I think the last instinctive theory in monkeys falls through. Further on, he says that a human instinct. I don't it. I imagine it is a mere trite one out of which man has not yet evolved. I believe when man has thoroughly shaken off the brute, there will be no more wars. Nature did not even clip her flints for prehistoric man. Quite so; but she planted within him the spirit of enquiry which led him on but little above the brute—a often into vice as into virtue; and while this spirit lives, it is in possible for us to lead good-bye to civilization and return to a state of nature. It was this spirit that urged the African to follow up the knowledge gained by observing the result which followed the incision of a palm tree, and prompted him to store the sap, which, in his ignorance, was most likely accepted as a divine gift. Even in this case, nature does not provide an intoxicant without an effort on the part of man; he has to climb the tree in the morning, make the incision, suspend the vessel to receive the sap, descend, return the same afternoon, ascend, and descend again with the coveted beverage.

ROBERT DEATHE.

(To be Continued.)

Honesty

AN OUTSPOKEN ADVOCATE OF SOCIAL REFORM ON THE BASIS OF
JUSTICE, EQUITY, & LIBERTY.

"There is no terror, Cassius, in your threats; for I am arm'd so strong in Honesty, that they pass by me as the idle wind, which I respect not."—SHAKESPEARE.

No. 9.

MELBOURNE, : MAY, 1888.

Price, 1s.

FREE LAND!

"Free labor on free land!" That is the cry that is now resounding from corner to corner of the civilized world. It is the cry of hope that is heard swelling up from the working millions; it is the cry which portends the downfall of the system of property.

The development of land monopoly, with its resultant exploitations, is almost beyond belief. In Australasia, we have the land monopolized by 6% of the population, and 91% landless; while less than 200,000 landlords and squatters are in possession of our birthright, over 2½ millions are disinherited. In most of the countries of Europe, 6% of the population appropriate the land, and the other 94% are more or less their slaves; in other instances, the proportion of land monopolists varies from 14% to 4%. In the United Kingdom—the home of those Britons who "never shall be slaves"—0½% of the population are land-owners, and the other 99½% are their disinherited slaves! And while, during the past half century, the population has there increased 42%, the rents have increased 150%! and the earnings of the laborers have only increased 25%.

The laborers are beginning to learn that the political faiths of their fathers are untenable; and they are treating the popular platitudes of the politicians with contempt, as one after another they are shown to be unable to stand the test of criticism. Profits have been shown to be the luxury of the few at the expense of the many. Protection has been shown to be protection of local profit-mongers from foreign competition, at the cost of working consumers. Free trade has been shown to have no real existence, except for the privileged plutocrats who are free to trade in the lives and liberties of the toiling slaves. Interest has been shown to be an unjust power of increase, from which the laborer derives no benefit but by which he is perpetually exploited. The ballot is a mere badge of slavery; the form of government, a mere form, for every government is a tyranny. And the divine right of property is known to be the demonic wrong of conquest and monopoly.

And the cry is heard louder and louder: "THE LAND FOR THE LABORERS!"

But how shall they obtain it? Not by force of arms, for they have given all their arms to their oppressors; their brothers in slavery have enlisted against them; and the gold of their masters can buy the services of more slaves, can make laws, can appoint judges, pack juries and decide verdicts, can enlist spies, detectives, informers and police, from the ranks of slavery, to defend the interests of property. Aye, more; a victory for the laborers would be a defeat, for, the same system existing, the seeds of usury would bid into another upsurge of capitalism, watered and manured by the blood and sweat of the toiling millions who had sacrificed their lives in vain.

Shall they then free their lands by political measures—by newly devised schemes of taxation or rental, legislative decree or legal petition? Nay; all that passes through the political machine comes out conservative. The State was formed, and exists, to foster property; if the State is to exist, it must create the fiction of property; if the land is free, the State expires. The land is now nationalized in the hands of the State (the monopolists of power), and loaned or granted by them to the plutocrats (the monopolists of the means of acquisition and exchange); this atrocious system, the Land Nationalists would develop still further—the laborer would no longer pay rent to landlords, the rate being limited by competition; but he would pay it to his rulers, the rate being fixed by officialdom and unlimited owing to the monopoly. Rent is taxation; taxation, rent; and both must be destroyed if labor will be free. Lands that are rented, taxed, leased, sold, or in any way monopolized, are not free; neither are the workers upon them.

Use is the only just title to land. Every individual has the right to use the earth without any payment to another; his right of possession extends over what he is using alone, and expires when he ceases to use it.

Free land is the laborer's hope; but it can only be realized when profit-making, usury, and the State are abolished by labor cooperation.

FREE LAND IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

The Newcastle (N. S. W.) Pasturage Reserves is an area of land of several thousands of acres in extent. It was swampy and thought to be useless, and was hence set aside by some District Surveyor in the early days as a reserve, where cattle awaiting shipment might be pastured. All the official records of the reservation were lost, and through some departmental oversight the government omitted to appoint trustees, and the land came to be regarded as a sort of "no man's land." Land monopoly set in all around this swamp, and new comers were forced into the swamp to escape advanced land values and exorbitant rents. They reclaimed it and made it habitable, and today there stands upon this very swamp the homes of about three thousand persons. They were told that they were trespassers and that they had no law to protect their houses and other improvements, and were hence forced to settle all their differences out of court. What did they do? Did they wage a war of extermination against each other? Did they endeavor to take forcible possession of each other's land? Did they jump each other's land three or four times a year, in the presence of an officer of the law to prevent bloody noses? No—nothing of the kind has been seen upon that land. Any differences that arose were settled by the parties themselves, without the intervention of a third party. They simply took what land they required for use, and left the rest for others; and there was room enough for all. True, one or two instances have occurred where attempts were made to hold land in dross, but when these were jumped, the general verdict was—Well done, jumper.—*Australian Radical*.

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MELBOURNE: MAY, 1888.

"Whenever we depart from the great principles of truth and honesty, of equal freedom and justice to all men, whether in our relations with other states, or in our dealings with our fellow-men, the evil that we do surely comes back to us, and the suffering and poverty and crime which we see the direct or indirect causes, help to impoverish ourselves."—ALFRED RUSSELL WALLACE.

ON THE LOOK-OUT.

The matter for next issue of HONESTY necessitates a double number. Are comrades willing to immediately cooperate in its production?

The second annual meeting of the Melbourne Anarchists' Club was held at the Temperance Hall, Melbourne, on the 1st inst. The meeting was fairly patronized by the public, and many of whom heard Anarchism defined by its apostles for the first time, having previously accepted the lying statements of the capitalist press concerning it. Besides the secretary's report, speeches were given by P. McNaught, David A. Andrade, F. P. Upham, John McMillan, Role, Beattie, and G. C. Newberry; songs by G. Danyon, D. A. Andrade, H. Danyon, and Arthur Newberry; and recitations by G. C. Newberry, R. Beattie, A. Newberry, D. A. Andrade, and J. Fleming. The singing of the "Marseillaise" (English version) by the whole audience, brought this most successful meeting to a termination. Some of the speeches at and songs of the secretary's report, will if possible appear in next issue.

Joseph Symes, finding the arguments of the Anarchists too strong for him, and his abuse and misrepresentation powerless to crush them, is now seeking the expulsion, from the local (freethought (?) association, of those who belong to that body, and some stormy meetings have been held with that object.

It is not often that we notice the remarkable utterances of the gentleman aforesaid, but as there are some people who are apt to place credence on his statements it becomes sometimes necessary to do so. He says Anarchists teach that (1) wholesale murder is permissible, (2) honesty should be repudiated and (3) the rights of others disrespected; and he says (4) the Melbourne Anarchists sympathize with murderers, and (5) that our martyred Chicago comrades were murderers and hanged for such. Each of these statements we deny, and call upon him to specifically prove each one, or be content to be adjudged a wilful liar. Further he says that (6) one Anarchist threatened to drive him out of Melbourne, (7) another threatened to burst up the association over which he presides, and (8) that he believes certain Anarchists want to appropriate the funds of the said association and expend them in the purchase of dynamite to destroy public buildings. Let him, in each instance, name these foolish and bloodthirsty individuals, if they are not the products of his own fevered imagination, or be ranked an Ananias.

One word more. "If I had malign'd or slandered them [the Anarchists] in the most terrible way, as I did not, they could still have no right to complain; for they say every man should do as he pleases, execute his own will in all things, and never think about duty to other people," says Joseph Symes. But his logic has failed him. While the right to do as he pleases entitles him to libel and slander the Anarchists (which he undoubtedly has done), it does not prevent them from complaining. For they say every man shall do as he pleases, and if he pleases to malign them, they may please to complain, to refute and expose him, and to boycott him and lend their support to honest men. If each does as he pleases, no one aggresses; and if Mr. Symes had allowed the Anarchists he had slandered to vindicate their characters in the same columns they would soon have established their position. It is only

when one is in the wrong, that he handicaps his victims by preventing their replies,—thus preventing them from doing as they please, while he does as he pleases.

A cooperation is to be started in Melbourne immediately, for the purchasing, production and exchange of goods on the labor notes; and thus introducing the economic factors which shall destroy profits and other forms of exploitation. Full particulars will, if possible, appear in our next. Anyone desiring to assist this laudable enterprise will oblige by writing to P. McNaught, 9 Alexandra Theatre, Melbourne.

What is coming over Charles Strong? In our last issue we quoted his statement that he sought equity rather than law; but now we find him suggesting that the law be called in to prevent others from enjoying equal opportunity by his self of running a church. He says, in Good Words for last month: "The fact is we have too many churches. One or two large handsome churches would better serve the purpose than half a dozen petty congregations. Two or three ministers could then be attached to each, and these could be paid well. The waste of energy and money at present is a ridiculous one. How would it do to have a local option bill for the churches? A few years ago, when he had no church of his own, he thought there were not enough; now that he has one he thinks there are too many. It is the same greedy spirit of monopoly that bears fruit in religious intolerance; and is as far from charity as it is from justice.

The Sunday evening debates at the Melbourne Anarchists' Club have been productive of much interesting information, both to the members and their visitors. P. McNaught opened the discussion, on March 18, upon "The Impelling Force in Anarchy"; he contended that every one thinks rule unnecessary for himself, and so mankind seems more enlightened, each begins to see that others resemble himself and he reasons that what is unnecessary for him is unnecessary for others—that growing consciousness of the advantage of mutual freedom has impelled, and is impelling, humanity Anarch by words. J. Morris in which he considered the difficulties and obstacles which must be surmounted in order to realize the Anarchist's ideal; a higher standard of individual morality than the now existing was essential; the first necessary step towards a desirable change. On April 1st, F. P. Upham read a paper, entitled "A Trip to Anarchia," in which he described his imaginary visit to an ideal community such as he desired. C. Drake read a very good paper upon "The Cost of Governments" on April 8. On the Sunday following, J. McMillan delivered a philosophical address upon the important question, "Why and How Governments are Villainous." David A. Andrade opened the debate on April 22, with "An Anarchist Plan of Campaign." A discussion on "Hospitality and Public Charities," opened by F. P. Upham on the 29th, brought the secretary's business of the Club to a close.

PROFESSIONAL SECTARIANISM.

Anyone professing rational ideas, who may have been heretofore inclined to understate the demoralization, which happens whenever any form of sectarianism succeeds in entrenching itself representatively in the suffrages of a constituency, let them look on the humiliating spectacle of the leader (small 'l', please) of a local Sectarian Secular Association shrieking out hatred, blame, suspicion, anathema and uncharitableness, at the whole world—more especially at such uncontrolled social thinkers, as consistently dare refuse to be misrepresented or robbed by any of the popular methods; who revolt against all domination whatever, whether of opinion or social destiny; and who reassert the sectarian's abandoned right of private judgment in all things. The evil of sectarianism (a more or less (?) necessary one) has been, and is, that the policy of sect-leading professionally inclines to the self interest, advancement and security of the leaders—to these ends, a spiteful aggressive enmity of others', and narrow minded conservatism of one's own doctrine, being primarily needed, are fostered in the following:

As rationalism itself refuses to become sectarian, all professional sectaries are of course wise in abandoning it, but having abandoned—having succeeded in securing a provision for themselves by reimposing and reorganizing all the subservient conditions of mind which reason dissallows, it is a hopeful sign for us to observe, that the joys of local sectarian empire instituted by professionalism, and supported by irrationalism, are qualified and embarrassed already by early crops of their natural fruit—intolerant hate, vanity and vexation of spirit.

"HONESTY" PUBLISHING FUND.

(Comrades and Friends, who desire to assist in bearing the expense of publishing the paper, are invited to contribute to this fund.)

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Honesty

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No. 10.

MELBOURNE, : JUNE, 1888.

Price, 1s.

THE METHODS OF REVOLUTION.

The present time is an ominous one. The war-cloud in Europe is darkening; a painful suspense is being manifested by those who are watching the pulling of the political wires; and the usual gloomy speculations are being indulged in as to the probable fate that awaits the several nationalities who may at any moment be engaged in the terrible struggle for military and political supremacy, and the subjection and spoliation of their neighbors. England, France, Germany, Austria, Russia, China, even Australia, are among the theatre grounds upon which it is anticipated the great drama may be acted. These are the worst impending dangers in the eyes of the Republicans, Democrats, Monarchists, and all others who see no vital danger except in the instability of political institutions. These constitute the great political party.

Meanwhile another party is viewing the social fabric—a party that sees no national distinctions between man and man, that views all warfare as crime, all political diplomacy as chicanery, all the prevailing political schemes as fraud and plunder. It has imbibed the spirit of the old "International," the Christian catholicity which sectarianism and priestcraft have elsewhere all but obliterated, the broad spirit of humanitarianism which has inspired the thoughts of the wisest men of all ages—which inspired Confucius, Jesus of Nazareth, Thomas Paine, Froudon, and every other enlightened mind that has pondered on the bitter wrongs inflicted upon man by his fellows in the name of country, caste, and creed. This party repudiates all national jealousies, and affirms the kinship of humanity, the unity of race, of clan, of faith. They assert the common interests of mankind the world over; and whether known as Anarchist, Communist, Socialist, State-Socialist, or the other distinctive titles, they have all one common end in view: the overthrow of the present barbarous system of plunder, rapine and destruction, and the establishment of a purer, truer, nobler system, in which equity, harmony, order and happiness shall prevail. These constitute the great revolutionary party.

The political party are interested in the preservation of privilege; the revolutionary party are seeking to free labor from the bondage of privileges. Between these two the real battle of the future will be fought.

But it is not our present intention to consider the claims of privilege. We are for revolution; and are about to discuss its methods.

The workers, the world over, are slowly awakening to the fact of their unbearable slavery. In spite of the intimidations of Church and State, knowledge and literature are growing apace among the masses. Persecution, imprisonment, exile and death are losing their terrors, as the still more terrible

evils of our villainous civilization become understood. The workers are muttering threats of vengeance against their oppressors, and the latter are aggravating them into the commission of deeds of violence that they may spread consternation into their ranks and defeat them. The State-socialists, who daily grow stronger, are seeking to seize and divide the wealth of society by means of that vilest of all vile institutions—the State; and our Communist friends, in Australia as elsewhere, are advocating a forcible uprising and the expropriation of the usurpers who have stolen their birthright. They both assert, and rightly, that the wealth of the world is not in the hands of its rightful owners—those who have produced it—but that legal machinery has rolled them of it and made them the slaves of idlers, and by brute force holds them in that degraded condition. That they are more justified in regaining their stolen products by force, than the present possessors have in holding them by the existing force-methods, no one but a rogue or an ignorant could deny. They are not the aggressing, but the injured, party; and it is their right, in self-defence, to choose their weapons. But the weapons of force are the most foolish, as well as the most suicidal, that the workers can possibly employ. A forcible uprising would end, as usual, in the rebels finding the old conditions still existing; those who had been dispossessed would scheme to regain power; the old economic system would still linger, in fact if not in form; the politically-fostered evil dispositions of the people would remain as bad, if not worse; those who had conquered by force would need conquering themselves; millions of innocent lives would have been sacrificed that might have been spared. The failure of past rebellions shows that bravery without intelligence is but wasted effort. The liberties they have won have been as transient as the advantages they have afforded. New methods are wanted for the future.

Then if revolution be impending—and it is certain that the present self-destructive system cannot hold together much longer—on the heads of those who support the present system of theft and brutality will rest the blame for the evils that may overtake us. If they choose to stand aloof because our cause is unpopular, because it may affect their business relations, because they have the axe of privilege to grind, or because they "haven't time" to trouble about such matters, or if they endeavor to thwart our attempts at labor cooperation as they have done in the past, they will be directly responsible for the disruptions and the bloodshed which prophets are everywhere predicting are to speedily overtake us.

It is for us Anarchists who believe in individuality to stand firmly together to enlighten the people, that they may avoid the mistakes of the past, and that general destruction may be averted. We are few, and must stand the closer together. The political press are too wrapped up in immediate monetary gain to aid us: they will in all probability seek to hasten

QUESTIONS FOR ARCHISTS.*

1. If mankind are naturally just in their dealings with each other, do they require anyone to govern them into right doing?
2. If men are naturally depraved and intent upon mutual aggression, can they be entrusted to govern each other with satisfactory results?
3. Does not every individual's existence on the planet imply his right to life and liberty as the necessary conditions for the continuance of that existence?
4. If there are no natural rights, but only "the right of might," then are not the burglars, incendiaries, housebreakers, rapists, and murderers, doing right in thus employing their might?
5. If man has no natural rights, can statute law bestow upon him those rights which do not exist?
6. If man has natural rights to life and liberty, can statute law rightfully deprive him of them, and is he justified in respecting the law which attempts to deprive him of them?
7. If man has a right to own land which he is not using, has not one man a right to own it all and drive everyone else off the planet?
8. If no man has a right to own more land than he is using, has he any right to charge another for access to land which they are using?
9. If every individual has a natural right to live in the world, has he not necessarily a right to the means of living?
10. If everyone has a right to the means of existence, is anyone justified in charging another for practising that right and is not the proprietor a usurper?
11. If everyone has a right to labor for his own support, is it not robbery to deprive him of any part of what he has produced?
12. If might makes it right to deprive the laborer of his product, is he not justified in regaining it by any means in his power?
13. If robbery is wrong, what justification is there in men robbing others by means of rent, interest, profits, and taxes?
14. As each must satisfy his own natural wants (or else rob his fellows), is it not necessary that he be free to do as he pleases in all things? and is not all crime the invasion of that freedom?
15. If no one has a right to do as he pleases, has anyone a right to please himself by limiting the liberty of others and thus preventing them from doing as they please?
16. Is it not criminal to oppose the Anarchists in their demand that every individual have equal opportunity, the full fruits of his labor, and the fullest freedom in thought, speech, and action?

DAVID A. ANDREAE.

TRADES-UNIONISM.

Of all the institutions which the fight between Capital and Labor has called into existence (from a working man's point of view) Trades-unionism is the most imposing; to the superficial observer it is destined to be the savior of the proletariat; but to those whose ideas have expanded, and whose ambition bids them look forward to something better than wage-slavery, it is, in its present state, worse than useless.

Trades-unionism is built on governmental lines, swamped with officialism, and its intellectual development cramped by rules and regulations; it sinks at the crimes of government in the hope of being able to win some privileges for itself. Never yet have I heard a manly protest emanate from the Trades Hall. At times I fear its officials are degenerating into mere dunkeys; their forte seems to be the deputation business—eriving to obtain as a favor what is theirs by right. It seeks to keep up wages in the face of increasing land by right. It seeks to keep up wages in the face of increasing land; it values a cut-throat competition—the two great sources of laborer's misery; the body of the Hall is being used to display the advertisements of land sharks, some of whom have found their way into the council; it inspires men with a false confidence in its useless machinery (instance the tramway employees), it pays men for doing useless work, and forming an aristocracy amongst workers; it jubili-

ates annually, and flaunts its banner through the streets of Melbourne (painted rags, which, by the way, have cost the workers thousands of pounds) as if proud of the servility of its members; then to crown it taxes its members to foment useless strikes, instead of guaranteeing money for machines, and starting men in co-operative concerns;—this could have been done in the case of the Freling concern.

Trades-unionism, whose favorite motto is "Union is strength," has never yet attempted to show that the interests of all who labor at necessary work are identical and ought to be equally remunerated; that those branches of industry getting a high rate of wage do so at the expense of other workers; that the sinking of a mine, the excavation of a railway, or the clearing of a forest, are of equal importance to the manufacturer of machinery or the builder of a city, since it is impossible for either the builder or machinist to start work before the pioneer. The mechanic assumes all of importance, simply because he has served five years or so to learn a trade. Do not the miner, the navy, and the fishman, work all their lives! and can the mechanic do more! The abject stupidity of the vast majority of Trades-unionists on matters of social reform, such as co-operation, mutual banking, free land, stores of distribution, Anarchy, &c., shows plainly that the advantages it possesses for educational purposes have been altogether neglected. It exhibits such a plentiful lack of intelligent energy on the part of its leaders, that many are led to suspect they love darkness rather than light.

The last and most monstrous crime of which I accuse Trades-unionism is dividing the workers into two classes: *sales* and *non-sales*. The initiatory fees charged by many societies are exorbitant in the extreme, prohibitory in many cases, and unjust in every case. Some even go so far as to close against new members for stated terms.

With land, money, and labor monopolies, developing so fast into such fearful monsters, no wonder so many unfortunate seek oblivion in the Yarra.

ROBERT BEATTIE.

THE ACRES AND THE HANDS.

"The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof,
South God's most Holy Word;
The water bath fish, and the land bath flesh
And the air bath many a bird;
And the soil is teeming o'er all the earth,
And the earth hath numberless hands;
Yet millions of hands want acres
While millions of acres want hands!
Sunlight, and breezes, and gladness flowers,
Are over the earth spread wide;
And the good God gave those gifts to men—
To men who on earth abide;
Yet thousands are toiling in poisonous gloom,
And shackled with iron bands,
While millions of hands want acres,
And millions of acres want hands!
Never a foot bath the poor man here,
To plant with a grain of corn;
And never a plot, where his child may cull
Fresh flowers in the daisy morn.
The soil lies fallow—the woads grow rank!
Yet idle the poor man stand;
Oh! millions of hands want acres,
And millions of acres want hands!

'Tis writ that "Ye shall not muzzle the ox
That treadeth on the corn;"
But, behold! 'ye shackle the poor man's limbs,
That have all earth's burdens borne;
The land is a gift of a bounteous God,
And to labor His Word commandeth;
Yet millions of hands want acres,
And millions of acres want hands!
Who hath ordained that the Fee should hoard
Their millions of useless gold?
And rob the earth of its fruits and flowers,
While profitless soil they hold?
Who hath ordained that a parchment scroll
Shall fence round miles of lands,
When millions of hands want hands?
And millions of acres want hands!
Who hath a claim on the face of day—
This robbery of men's rights?
'Tis a crime, that larns and disarms—
'Tis a lie, that the Word of the Lord disarms—
'Tis a crime, that larns and blights!
And 'twill burn and blight till the people rise,
And swear, while they break their bands,
That the lands shall henceforth have hands!
And the acres henceforth have hands!

—A. J. H. DUGANKE, in the *Mercury Banner*.

"HONESTY" PUBLISHING FUND.

(Comrades and Friends, who desire to assist in bearing the expense of publishing the paper, are invited to contribute to this fund.)

Subscriptions Received (not otherwise acknowledged).—
R. B., 5/-.

* These "Questions" have been published in leaflet form for the purpose of distribution. The article on "Free Land" in our last number, and "Thomas Palmer and Anarchy" in a recent issue, are also issued in the *Liberty Leaflet*, advertised on page 96.

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No. 11.

MELBOURNE : AUGUST, 1888.

Price, 1s.

SCIENCE OR THEOLOGY?

In this age of practical science and worldly wisdom, the voice of the theologian is being constantly heard calling upon the sons of man to prepare for the "kingdom to come." Theology's cry is no longer accompanied with the stake and thumbscrew; its fangs are drawn, and its votaries resort to such milder weapons as business intimidation and intrigue, or fair and open propaganda. But their influence for evil still exists.

It is the theologian who, when mankind are suffering wrong and oppression, tells them to endure the ills in which it has pleased God to place them, in the hopes of a fictitious heaven in a questionable future. It is the theologian who teaches man that his fellows are naturally sinful and depraved, and cannot be entrusted with that freedom which will alone uplift them, as they are bound to err if left the free choice of their actions. It is they who teach men to renounce the world's comforts, while they enjoy them themselves. It is they who destroy their spirit of self-dependence, by teaching them to rely upon their spiritual advisers and the deities they profess to represent, instead of relying on their own efforts. It is they who teach them to accept poverty as a natural necessity, and to endure the tyranny and robbery of their rulers with humility and reverence. Whatever their professions, they are all more or less conservative and retrogressive; they toady to power and wealth and fawn at the feet of privilege; and millions have learned to mistrust them.

Along with this mental development a new party has sprung up—an atheistic priesthood. These professional leaders of heresy have infused new life into the old orthodoxy. Priest now assails priest, and each forms a profitable theme for the other, and assists in making his business brisker. Sectarianism grows, intolerance succeeds, and priestcraft wins on all sides! All are theologians!

But what makes theology so palatable to the people? *The humanitarianism with which it is so cunningly interspersed.* It is the humane character of the man Jesus, as of Paine, Voltaire and others of the world's benefactors, which has won their approbation; take that away, and theology

loses its hold upon the affections. It is the love of man, and not of the gods, which binds mankind together in fraternity: it is knowledge, and not the *theos*, which is man's true savior.

Those who do homage to their deities, fail to do justice to their own manhood. The wretched Hindus, who offer up prayers and sacrifices at the instigation of the priestly Brahmins, and worship their hideous idols, are but a type of the *supplicants*, so profusely scattered throughout the world. The superstitious Buddhists, with their shaven-headed monks, beads, bells, holy water, confessionals, and relic worship; or the Christian sects, who have imitated their strange practices and learnt to act the same harlequinade before the deities upon whom they want to shuffle their own labors and responsibilities,—are equally the victims of theology.

The professional agitators never tire of enumerating the cost to the country of the endowments and emoluments of the clergy, the land grants, tithes, Peter's pence, bazaar proceeds, &c., &c.; but these amount to little. The cost of theology is not measurable by money. The lack of self reliance—of habits of scientific thought—of toleration: these are the true measures of its cost. Add to these the attention which it causes to be diverted from practical affairs, by orthodox and heterodox theologians alike, and then judge the cost!

Life is too short to waste it upon fruitless theological speculation. Rational men are learning that the boycott is the most effective weapon to employ against the churches and their spokesmen. We must study the scientific, and deduce its morality for the guidance of our conduct, or suffer the consequences. We must learn to study good for good's sake, and not for theology's sake. Theology will stand in the way of progress as long as a lazy living can be made at it; and it will remain a means of livelihood as long as plutocracy exists. Destroy Mammon, and neither the clergy, nor their professional opponents will be heard from. Break the political and economic fetters which now enslave us, and our mental fetters will break with them. When men are free in their bodies with them. When men are free in their thoughts; and when they will be free in their thoughts; and when they cease to be dreaming about theology, their thoughts will become scientific.

"HONESTY,"

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MELBOURNE: AUGUST, 1888.

"Whenever we depart from the great principles of truth and honesty, of equal freedom and justice to all men, whether in our relations with other states, or in our dealings with our suffering and poverty and crime of which we are the direct or indirect causes, help to imperish ourselves."—ALFRED RUSSELL WALLACE.

ON THE LOOK-OUT.

Correspondents and others will please note our change of address. Owing to the removal of the journal, the July number could not be issued. The double number will not appear. With the next number will be issued the title-page and index for binding the volume.

"I believe in your Anarchist principles, but I support Republicanism because it is more popular and serves as a stepping-stone," remarked an acquaintance recently. "If this individual had been living in Spain a few centuries ago, he would probably have supported the Inquisition on similar grounds and with as good a reason. How much easier it is to observe conformity than principle!"

The local capitalist papers are finding that even the boycott is powerless to check the growth of Anarchism, so they are commencing to bestow their attention upon it. The latest critic is the *Argus*, which confesses that "the old idea that this class [Anarchists] flourishes in despotic countries alone, and diminishes under free representative institutions, is utterly fallacious, and so it attempts to refute them." "Among the framers of ideal constitutions," it says, "there are in fact, two extremes, both of which are alike unpalatable to the great majority of hard-working citizens. On the one side there is Socialism, which is in reality a complete despotism, and in which the work, recreation, education, and life of every member of the community would be carefully regulated. On the other side there is Anarchy, in which it is supposed that every individual would act rightly of his own free will, without the intervention of law or authority at all. Socialism takes away the one motive which leads a man to labor and to hazard his life, the thirst for wealth or position; Anarchy removes the sole protection which guards the worker from the idler. The one is an impossible system of compulsion; the other an equally impossible scheme of unchecked liberty." "The writer has certainly placed the position of the two great rival revolutionary movements very fairly; but let us see where he errs. The slavery of Socialism (i. e., State Socialism) we do not deny, for it certainly takes away the motive to labor for the accumulation of wealth. But does not the existing political system do the same thing? Are not the best patrons of the *Argus*, for example, the very men who have ceased to labor themselves owing to the opportunity which it affords them of leading a comfortable lazy life by exploiting the labor of others? Certainly they are, as the nature of the editorials themselves testifies. But he tells us that "Anarchy removes the sole protection which guards the worker from the idler." Great heavens! Protection of the worker, indeed! Where is it? What is it like? Is it the protection of holding him in subjection by military organization, and police surveillance, of legislating to restrict his every action, of protecting monopolies at the expense of his existence, of making him an outcast and a trespasser on the earth and a slave to the few who appropriate it, of fleecing him nearly the whole of his product, of holding him in the most relentless form of slavery the world has ever seen—is this the protection afforded the worker? If so, then Anarchy certainly does remove it. The fact is, the worker is nowhere protected except by himself; all the protection law affords him is the protection wolves give to lambs. And the sooner he drops his lamb-like humility and sends the wolves for a holiday the better for him. He cannot hold his own until he is free; and he cannot be free until he ceases to be ruled by rulers. Laws are only necessary for

those who have plundered their fellows, to prevent the lower finding that out. And the workers are fast

"Temple Mystic and Other Poems," a neat little volume by the poem, "Awake," has just been issued from the press. The *nom de plume* of "Jashim Dewar North," the rest are new periodical in those who are poetically inclined. The price of the volume is 2s. 6d., or it may be obtained through the Melbourne Co-operation for 2s.

Is it true that the anti-Synes section of the *Secular Associates* are keeping this paper in the background at their meetings and in no wise identified with the Anarchists? And if so, how do they come to have most of their debates opened by Anarchists?

A few comrades have started a Co-operative Home upon the principle, whereby they have more comfortable accommodation at less expense than living separately. As usual, some who promised co-operation only responded with excuses, but the others are struggling. Others might follow their example with advantage. The preparations for the approaching Centennial Exhibition in this city are approaching completion, and the huge advertising swindle on the part of the capitalists will soon be thrown open to the inspection of the duped public who have to pay the piper. The Victorian Legislature have brought forward a bill to compel fine stone dealers to purchase licenses. So even rag and bone dealers is to become a privilege! It is no wonder papers and theories are on the increase.

During the discussion on the Marine Stores Bill, Mr. McTellan made the sensible remark that "scores of children would be robbed of their means of livelihood" to which Mr. Murray replied, "And a good job for jolly, sunny, and other methods of robbing the poor, if he were robbers of his means of livelihood! The people will yet improve their lot." "The people will yet improve their lot."—and a good job too!

Mr. George Rose, of Chapel St., Windsor, has recently imported some Anarchist literature, and our comrades in that district would do well to give him a call. The Sydney Socialist League have also some of our literature on sale. With the Sydney Socialist League have also some of our literature on sale. With the Sydney Socialist League have also some of our literature on sale.

The most curious literary experiments of the month publication, in this city, of a weekly newspaper called the "Australian Democrat." Its source is not as clear as one might expect to find it, imprinted. It is reported, however, to be printed at the office of Joseph Synes; and judging from its contents, one is led to conclude that its contents and parts" articles for the greater part, and is mostly of a sensational nature. An earlier number made the remarkable statement (so familiar to *Liberator* readers) that democracy is liberty and fraternity, without equality! This says the editor: "We must once for all repudiate the supposition of Equality—for that is a supposition. Equality amongst mankind is no more possible than amongst horses or kangaroos. There is no equality of feature in which men do not share. Liberty and Fraternity should be preached and practiced; but Democracy must drop—and that for ever—the empty cry of Equality." If Democrats should drop Equality, to pick up the charlatans' cry of Privilege, it would be a day for democracy; for Liberty and Fraternity are impossible with inequality. The new paper certainly appears to foreshadow the *Liberator's* old demise, and its incorporation in the former.

The unsuccessful adventurer, Joseph Synes, has just tried, on two occasions, to gain admission to the Melbourne Democratic Club, an organization for the satisfaction of democratic aspirations and alcoholic desires; but in each case he has been black-balled, although his following strained every nerve to secure his election. There are some intelligent men in that body, evidently.

The police are reported to have "discovered" another Anarchist plot to blow up Chicago. The probability is that the plot exists merely in their own brains, as has been said. It is quite sufficient evidence to hang men upon.

Liberata is the name of a new Anarchist journal in the German language, issued from the office of the Boston *Liberator*. It is uniform in general appearance with its English colleague, and is a valuable addition to the Anarchist press. Send 11 dollars for a year's subscription to: Box 2366, Boston, Mass., U.S.A. Orders will be received through this office at the rate of 70c. per annum.

We have received from France a new Anarchist paper, *Le Coeur*, a little devoted from the old Revolutionary war cry—"Habitual person!" The name has thus hardly an equivalent in English, but may be rendered fairly by "Ever Onwards" or "The Battle Cry"; at present in full of reminiscences of the past revolutions and their history, and appears to favor the side of expropriation. This however is not its sole, though seemingly its main, purpose; as it promises to take up the philosophy of Anarchy to some extent as well as being an organ of agitation.

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No. 12.

MELBOURNE : NOVEMBER, 1888. Price, 3d. (WITH SUPP'r, 6d.)

THE RIGHTS OF LABOR.

"Give labor its rights!" is the cry which ever and anon goes up from the lips of plutocracy and simultaneously from the lips of labor. Yes: all are agreed that labor should have its rights—but what are those rights? Who can define them? According to the plutocrat, they are the right to submit to injury and oppression, to tamely submit to a life of wage-slavery, to live from hand to mouth at one time and starve at another, to say all is well or be hounded by detectives, persecuted by the police, or shot down with pistols, rifles, or Nordenfeldt guns by the soldiery or the private constabulary of the capitalists. Such are the rights of labor as defined by the oppressors of labor. Can the laborer himself define his rights? Unfortunately, in too many cases he cannot, or he would not remain deprived of them.

Listen, laborers, and we shall tell you of your rights, that you may know them and secure them.

Everyone in the world has a natural right to live; hence, no one has a right to prevent others from living. Now as none can live without consuming those things which are essential to the preservation of life, and as production must necessarily precede all consumption, it follows that everyone has a right to produce those necessities. Everyone must be free to produce in order to live. And everyone has that freedom, until his fellow by fraud or force interlopes to prevent him from exercising it. That force may be kidnapping or blackmailing on the highway, or it may be organized police and military force in the city, but it is still the same thing: it is Wrong being exercised to deny the Rights of Labor. It matters not whether the force be organized or unorganized, whether it be legal or illegal—in every case, the individual who prevents another from producing in order to consume is a criminal. The proprietor, who withholds from the tramp the lands which he is not using himself, is a criminal. The merchants, who speculate in the misfortune of the disinherited, and plunder them by confiscating a profit out of their labors, are criminals. The rulers, who call themselves the State and its functionaries, and who hold the workers in subjection that this plunder may be effected, are criminals—the vilest of criminals. They are all deniers of the natural rights of labor.

Each, having a right to produce without let or hindrance, has the right to that product. Labor is the sole primary title to wealth. Product that is not acquired by labor, gift, or loan, is theft. The individual, having the right to his product, has the right to choose whether he shall consume or save that product, whether he shall retain or dispose of it, and to estimate its value if he desires to sell it. The laborer does not exercise that right to-day because he is a slave: instead of demanding a price for his services, he accepts such as the buyer (his employer) chooses to award him; he cannot have a choice in the

disposal of his product, for he has relinquished it to another before it is even created. He is a slave indeed.

We hear talk of "the rights of capital." What impudent nonsense! Capital has no rights. All rights are human, and reside not in the product, but in the producer. Capital, which is the product of labor, can therefore bestow no rights upon those who have confiscated it from the laborers in the form of profits, for it has not those rights to give. Property has no rights whatsoever. To talk, as some do, of "Labor and Capital going hand in hand" is to say that work and idleness can be reconciled, that self-denial and plunder shall be friends. Deceptive claptrap!

The cry for "More equal distribution" is another false issue, growing out of erroneous conceptions of the rights of labor. Redistribution cannot mend matters while Monopoly exists; and when Monopoly has gone, the freedom of exchange will satisfactorily direct distribution. The producer must finally become director of exchange. "To each according to his needs" may sound well, but it is unjust to the producer of small needs and great productive activity, and a premium held out to those whose needs are only limited by impossibilities and whose deeds are never more than they can avoid. The plutocrats of to-day are rewarded according to their needs; but if the workers paid them according to their deeds, they would either starve or change their tactics from sheer necessity.

It is the right of labor to combine for mutual benefit, and yet this right is disputed by the idlers. When the workers form a union to better their hard conditions, it is called "conspiracy," and the "strong arm of the law" is brought in to rout or destroy them. When, however, the idlers combine for the mutual advantage of idleness, and form employers' unions, make corners in the markets, buy the support of ecclesiastical institutions by bestowing some of the stolen wealth upon them, meet to dictate the enactment or repeal of laws, and the like, every tyrant in the land applauds them. And yet they are the real conspirators. They are Wrong conspiring to defeat Right. The laborers combine in the interests of labor, and are in the right. The capitalists combine in the interests of plunder, and are in the wrong. When the capitalist calls out the police and army, and appeals to the law courts for support, to suppress the workers, he is criminally guilty, for he is denying the rights of labor. When the worker arms himself with pick-axe or bomb to protect himself against organized villainy (however unwise such action may be for himself) he is morally justified, for he is defending the rights of labor.

The banking institutions, speculating companies, building societies, parliamentary institutions and courts of justice (?) are all carried on by idlers with the express purpose of robbing the workers. They all rest on Might, and not upon Right. They must be abolished.

Laborers, stand up for your rights!

Nihilism of Exchange.

The moment the currency question is settled so that equivalent is really exchanged for equivalent, the social slavery must cease, and the political only, if it shall have survived so long, will be left to combat.

Money is a tally, and a false tally at best. The same coin does not represent the same unit of services rendered, whether directly or through produce, in one place as it does another.

It is also a forgery, for a man may hold money idle for years and it still retains its original quality, whilst the produce or expended labor it represents would, if kept similarly idle by the same party, have long ago been swept away by Nature. It is actually maintaining his belongings during his neglect.

Currency in its present form also makes us support a whole army of men in useless labor digging for unnecessary metals, and mining them.

Moreover, the man who simply finds a nugget is no more entitled to be supported by society on that account, than if he printed ten thousand one-pound notes and alleged that he was worth that sum. If there is to be a common currency it must be commonly owned, and those who get raw material and produce it must pay for their actual services. In other words, a common currency demands a State to distribute it and regulate its equivalent value. And then this State would have to take care that it landed this currency only to those who had labor-products to meet it, just as a bank is supposed to have a reserve of gold to cover its liabilities. Clearly then, a common currency must entail fraud on the one hand, and a nuisance on the other. The State being inherently bad, everything which calls for its existence must be bad also.

We therefore resort to private currency as an experiment. That is at least the present Anarchist idea. But I would point out that it is open to most, though not all, of the objections above stated.* Certainly it does not require any government to work it, nor can it really be circulated by anyone in excess of his ability to render equivalent services, so long as it does not travel out of the immediate neighborhood.

But if widely dispersed, it can be issued to excess without detection, thereby enabling a lazy or greedy man to fatten on the public.

Nor can it indicate the value of services given, although it may show the nature of what has been received in produce, or of the occupation in which time has been spent. The value of a man's labor varies under other circumstances than the manner in which it is expended.

Still, it may be conceded that on an average, under free conditions, a man will not relinquish more important work of his own to do less important for another, nor will one knowingly incur the cost of taking a man from advanced labor to get him to do that of less advantage. But there is no such adjustment of the different values of different or the same sorts of labor at different places.

Then again—even if it be dated, the general deterioration by time can only be avoided, since the equivalent might have otherwise been taken in any kind of permanent or destructible produce. And if a man dies with labor-notes issued by him unmet, the loss falls directly on the holder, whereas under a State currency the latter is insured at the expense of the public. The State system is a robbery, but the other fails to give security. It is true that any security beyond the power of nature, such as the guaranteeing of a return from a man after he is dead, is wrongful, because it must either mislead the acceptor, in which case it is no security, or the return must be divided out of the living, in which case it is fraud.

The whole question of a tally of exchange—a money whether public or private—is so beset with snarls and difficulties, that the other question at once arises, "Of what use is any tally of exchange at all?"

Suppose there were none. . . . Suppose everyone asked for what he required, and worked for himself and for others, and distributed his produce in the ordinary way, keeping an account for his own satisfaction if he wished to do so, but without passing any tallies at all. Obviously the same care would be taken not to supply an idler, that would be taken not to supply

* This essay was written before I had thoroughly comprehended the Free-Basis Labor Note, which certainly makes a nearer approach to the conditions hinted at in this paper as essential to free economics. But I hold that, though a real reform, and useful in fighting the present system, it is imperfect and open to the principal objections here set out; and I am still of opinion that nothing but absolute Nihilism will secure social anarchy.—J. A. A.

one who was issuing labor notes without laboring; and also the nature of his occupation would be more taken into consideration—along with his ability or servicalness to society in any other way—than if he issued notes, on which all points might be taken for granted. This would tend to prevent a man from wasting his time on frivolous or things for which he was not fitted, and if he were a producer of substance or brain work he would receive support, that is to say his labor would be fitted, their marketable value to himself, services would be accepted as would only be accepted at their marketable value to himself—dices of a better kind; so that if he wanted to support himself decently by exchange he would have to produce an article of some other kind, that would be worth the price of an article of its cost to him—equivalent for equivalent.

The facts would become known to each man, and we should know each other better, and know ourselves better. This in itself would be a great assistance to fair dealing and to fraternity.

Transactions would go on just as well as under any tallied system, and with more discernment, whilst the trouble and dispute upon the tallies and their equivalents would disappear. Instead of equilibrium being maintained by artificial calculations would there be any more deception or incidental loss than is dishonored &c. The tally creates a sense of security which may not be warranted by the facts. Without a tally, one goes to shorn of the facts. There is no tally of services in a family, or demerit more friendly intercourse; and yet there is merit or demerit more readily perceived? The tally has the effect of a private Law against extortion on either side, and is thus itself a mark of suspicion and contrary to the acknowledgment which springs from mutual integrity and honor. And the more these are made the factors of all operations, the more they will be strengthened and empowered to supersede all artificial methods for the regulation not only of interchange, but of every act and portion of our lives.

J. A. ANDREWS (Joshua Dewar North).

A LETTER FROM QUEENSLAND.

I am thoroughly tired of Mackay. The place is laboring under a great cloud of depression, and hundreds are leaving it weekly. We have had 6 or 8 months' continued drought, and consequently had sugar crops. The worst feature of the affair is that the people (encouraged by an ignorant press), are whining for government aid. Mackay has a fertile soil, sublimous climate, and many other advantages which make her rank high as an agricultural district. But the people are invertebrate animals. As an instance, I may mention the fact that they got a parliamentary vote of £50,000 for the erection of "Central Mills," which are worked on the State Socialistic basis. They promise to be rank failures. One of the conditions is that no kaka labor is to be used, but as the whites are too lazy to work as the islanders do, it means that when the government subsidies cease, the mills will cease also. Another Governmental "white elephant" was the erection of a bridge over the Pioneer River, at a cost of £60,000—a political job. The importation of black labor will be entirely suspended next year, and the consequences to Mackay will probably be ruinous. If the farmers here would cooperate, enter upon some good scheme of irrigation, and otherwise combine their forces, instead of as at present playing into the hands of capitalists, they would do splendidly. There must be something radically wrong when in a young land like this, where nature's gifts are so plentiful, men should be longing about the streets as unemployed.

We started a FreeThought Association here, and although I am not so enamored of these fickle organizations as I once was, I am glad to say this one has started well. On my recommendation they decided not to have resident or vice-president, but to elect chairmen at meetings. Their rules are few and comprehensive. The chairman is guided by custom, and is liable to be ousted by a majority vote; their objects are stated to be absolutely free discussion of all subjects.

W. C. ANDRADE.

DISCONTENT.—The first thing which the social reformer has to do is to excite discontent with the existing state of affairs. No progress is possible amongst a population which accepts the evils that afflict it as inevitable, and is prepared to bear with resignation whatever it has.—The Age (Melbourne).

CORRESPONDENCE.

Editor reserves the right to reject all letters which he deems unsuitable. Rejected manuscripts will return unopened and addressed envelopes; no responsibility will be taken, however, in the event of their being misrouted.

All communications should be addressed to THE EDITOR OF "HONESTY," Cooperative Home, 47 Victoria Avenue, Albert Park, Melbourne.

A PLEA FOR EXISTING INSTITUTIONS.
(TO THE EDITOR.)

The subject of existing evils seems to have occupied the minds of the great men of all nations, at all times; and to-day, men and women of all nations are seeking that which justly belongs to them—*liberty*. They feel that they are bound down with a yoke which they can no longer bear. They have at last become aware of the weight of the "stone roll," which has so long held them in subjection, and have at last resolved upon striking out boldly for freedom.

From reading history, and looking around at the past and passing events, we see plainly that great and wise men and noble women have labored in vain with the great evils that surround us, and which we are ever ready to swallow up those who may for a short while be off their guard, also the ignorant. History further tells us, that the sages of those great men and noble women have sunk within them and failed them, when they looked around, beheld these poor people, for whose benefit they have been laboring, assail them from all sides, and who were ever ready to cast the first stone (1). This to my mind very clearly shows that it is a moral impossibility for any single individual to attempt to ameliorate the masses of human beings, that are, for the most part, at present living in a state of slavery (2). The voice of any single individual may be compared to throwing a stone into a lake; it will make a splash, then the ripples are seen to surge from the centre, or the place on which the stone was thrown; the ripples travel on and on, until at last they disappear, and are lost; thus all is over, and in order to produce more ripples, a fresh stone must be cast into the lake. A brave man stands up before the world and gives forth golden words of truth; they are grasped by some, but rejected by multitudes. The brave man dies; his words have gone like the ripples in the lake—may be for ever.

The evils that exist are great, but what is wanted is a proper and rational system to deal with them, which must be thoroughly organized (3). It must be a system which embraces all men and women who are workers, which must have branches all over the globe, a system that will strike simultaneously, which of necessity will take a long time (4). We must use every *expedient* that we can, in order to stop the stream in safety. Then, when the goal is reached, which will only be done by progression, we can afford to cast all those institutions, which at present we are bound to use, to one side as obsolete; but we must be careful, and not run too fast for the stream, lest in our zeal we may run our legions ashore, which would then become a prey to the huge vultures that are constantly hovering about.

Now, all reforms must be brought about by ourselves (the workers) by legislation and alter hard work. We must first use the present law (5), tyrannical though it be, to compel people to educate their children, for it is the schoolmaster that will open the eyes of the coming generations (6); in the schoolmaster lies our first hope; then the mind becomes trained, and will become rational, and ready to grasp and retain that which is true.

It is only learning that will cast us into the cancer which has already got such a fast hold on society (7). Learning will tend to open the eyes of those who, being ignorant, cringe and lick the hand of those who are their oppressors—*tyrants*—who may be tempted to dole out some of their charity (8) in the shape of wages. There are some who don't believe in Trades-unions. Well, they have proved useful in many instances; they have many times shown employment when men work they must have wages (9), otherwise capitalists would have reigned supreme. We must progress, and it is obvious to all that those organizations have proved most useful in many cases.

A limited Monarchy takes the place of Theopist; Republicanism replaces Monarchy; so, by slow degrees, the goal will be reached. Unity is strongly so we must unite, and on the one common platform (10) in unity must meet the Socialist, the State Socialist, the Anarchist, the Republican, the Millist, the Feinian, and all other organized bodies that exist. Class distinctions must die, and the great chasm that separates the rich from the poor must be filled up, and every man must get what he justly craves, a full reward for his labor (11).

We must advocate every man his freedom; liberty and freedom are ours; intelligence begets wisdom; give all men their rights, and they will become noble, rational, and useful members of society.

Liberty and freedom is our right, therefore if we only ask for it, we are covetous; we must demand it!

Glasgow, N. Z.

"PAX."

[The confusion in the mind of "Pax" is that so common to those who swing more or less distinctly the evils of our present social system, yet consider these evils necessary. Because evil is, that is the very reason it should be uncompromisingly battled with. We certainly cannot employ it without evil results.

1. It is not to be wondered at that those great men were disheartened when it is remembered that they employed wrong methods. In fact, it is always those who are most ready to compromise with existing institutions, who have least satisfaction in the result of their efforts. The republican movement in the last century, for example, was a most noble one, and the reformers' condemnations of monarchy deservingly so; but they clung to old forms and customs, and have thus been raising institutions, and we who live in the present century have learnt our best that the one is as tyrannical as the other. If the framers of the American Declaration of Independence had adhered to the principles therein laid down, and not created institutions which

practically denied them, their successors at this day might have told a very different tale, and their hearts need not have sunk within them. They believed with "Pax" that Liberty belonged to all; but like him, 2. No greater mistake could be made than to believe that it is a liberation. All the greatest reforms in the world's history have been by the individual, inaugurated by the individual, carried out by the individual, and consummated by the individual—his action every body else to do everything that nothing is done at all; but when one takes the initiative, others follow. Human incentive bears no resemblance to throwing pebbles into a lake; for the human race is animalized, and the lake is not. The ripples in the lake die away from want of renewed vitality; but the ripples of human action are carried on and on by one after another, until the number of individuals who throw pebbles of thought into the muddy waters of conformity are so many, that the ripples soon become a tempest, the patrician order of law and precedent are swept away, and the waters of equity become clearer and regain their former calm.

3. Anarchy is that system in fact, the evils complained of are in every case the denial of Anarchy—the denial of that liberty which it is agreed we have all a just claim to.

4. The time it will take to achieve our liberty is exactly proportionate to the amount of energy put forth by every single individual who does not believe his ultimate success to be morally impossible.

5. The present laws are no "stepping-stones" to liberty, for if that are not superfluous are a denial of liberty, and the fruitful cause of existing evils, as history, statistics, and economic and sociological science have demonstrated over and over again.

6. And it is the schoolmaster who closes them, by the inculcation of all the popular superstitions—political, religious, and social. The truest education is that which springs from self-education and competitive instruction.

7. It all depends upon what is meant by "learning." "Pax" will find very few schoolmasters who will teach that capitalists are the oppressors of labor; in nearly every case, the "learning" will teach the opposite.

8. But they had not taught them the truth that their "wages" are only the restoration of a minute portion of that which has been plundered from them.

9. No one desires a universal union of the laborers more than ourselves; but we have no hopes of such a union as the one proposed by "Pax." As well try to unite something with nothing. It is certainly a "moral impossibility" to unite the Anarchist with the Republican, for the former refuses to rule or rob anyone else, or to be ruled or robbed by them; and the latter aspires to nothing higher than having a finger in the ruling of every other man and a voice in the management of that which has been robbed from their fellows. The State Socialist would have slavery universal, and the State supreme; but the Anarchist is satisfied with nothing short of the entire abolition of both. Certainly there need be no cause for ill-feeling between these and those widely-divergent schools; but while demagogues, rulers, and politicians abound, we must expect to find it.

10. When each gets a full reward for his labor—that is, his entire product—plunder will have ceased, and there will be no taxation, no room for legalism, monarchism, or any form ofarchy. And the sooner the laborer demands his Liberty, the better for him, for in liberty is man's only salvation.—Editor, HONESTY.]

WE WANT "SPECIAL" THINKERS.

(TO THE EDITOR.)

"Crime is the invasion of another's freedom; vice, the invasion of one's own." We have been for a long time trying to get at a general understanding of this fact; but people perceive things of which they do not perceive the relation to one's own or anybody else's freedom, do not perceive the relation to one's own or anybody else's freedom, and even among Anarchists, the detailed application of the principle to guide the ordinary matters of social life outside of mere tradition and money concerns is such a matter of darkness. The individual judgment is such stronger by cooperation—with all using their judgment to the methods of application, then whenever do not devote some time to the methods of application, and much trouble, in any particular we have the freedom to use our individual social freedom, the method of action will have to be discovered, and much trouble will be had in experimenting with the methods of moral relations (using the word before like to see systematic methods of moral relations) which will be found in the way of its (ordinary sense), as well as what are already recognized as economic relations, propounded and discussed, in addition to merely breaking down the artificial ones which exist under a wrong system. It is thus that we shall obtain many adherents who accept the theory of freedom as an ultimate truth, but deny its practical feasibility. I write this largely in hopes that the point may be noticed by other Anarchist publications, with the result of forming the acquaintance over the world a perfection by *experimentation*, as well as a purification by abstract comprehension, of social ideas, which must be complete before the practice can be assured of completeness.

J. A. ANDERSON.

Governments are the foes to freedom; Privilege and Authority are their support; they exist by the exploitation of labor, and by the creation of monopoly—the fountains of social inequality; exploitation; they are the destroyers of social prosperity; all the good works ascribed to them are done outside of them, and would be better done did they not exist; the combined knavery and ignorance of barbarians created them; the combined intelligence and determination of the civilized shall destroy them. The political system of the world is a system of tyranny and robbery shall give place to the Anarchist system of liberty and honesty. Friends of freedom, hasten it! adieu!

DON'T LAUGH!

The following clipping from a recent editorial by Joseph Symes is too ludicrous to need comment—

"In the meantime—before the final battle is fought, let our people keep calm; let no violence be used except in sheer self-defence; let our two great duties devolving upon us—to beat the anarchists; and to do so by legal and honest means—be kept in mind; and let our people be like tigers will thirst for more. They have shot the first blood; and will not hesitate to murder, if they see the chance of escaping detection. We are not misrepresenting those men; we are sorry and ashamed to have to write so about persons that once associated with us, who were with us, though not of us. But duty impels us thus to speak. There is in Melbourne an anarchic clique who openly preach robbery and dynamite; that clique has already been guilty of fraud, of wholesale robbery, and of intentional murder. We should be guilty of aiding and abetting them if we did not expose them to the world. When they have set Melbourne on fire or murdered a few policemen it shall not be said that the "Liberator" failed in its duty and refrained from denouncing those ghastly criminals. We may have to pay for this with life; but if we should be found murdered, let it not be forgotten that the anarchists who stole our property are guilty too of the crime of that murder. We will not stay our tongue or pen for fear of the dynamite clique; nor will we cease to denounce those who openly declare that they have renounced all law and government, and who regard dynamite and worse if possible as the proper weapons to change the government. The authorities may neglect their duty; but we shall perform ours."

THE LABOR NOTE *versus* USURY AND PROFIT-MAKING.

Man kind live by the exertion of their labor upon the natural materials of the earth, and the exchange of their products with each other. The freer that exchange, the greater their prosperity. Profit-making is that scheme by which the laborer yields up ever a portion of his product, for the privilege of being permitted to work in order to exist, any by which he can never repurchase his product, but always remains in slavery.

Usury is the reward of idleness and the power of increase given to monopoly, by which the holders of the medium of exchange eternally rob the laborers in their exchanges.

The world's coinage is limited in quantity and incapable of increase, but its owners demand increase in the form of interest, and the borrowers are constantly becoming further involved in debt to them from which they can never extricate themselves.

It is the legal monopolized currency which holds men in slavery. It is that which makes industrial depressions. Everything is subservient to money. The owners of money swallow up the proceeds of labor, rob the owners of the lands which they have been compelled to mortgage to them; control the public morals, the press, the judiciary, make the laws, and control all the destinies of the nation. A few people—less every year—are accumulating all the world's money.

This will continue while money is monopolized. The Labor Note, on the other hand, is not monopolized, but its issue keeps pace with the demand; it does not reward idleness, but simply monopoly, for it is issued by the laborers themselves and is possessed by them. It performs all the useful functions of a monopolized medium of exchange, without any of its disadvantages. The merchants of the world, in their largest transactions, themselves trade without coinage and without the payment of interest, through clearing-houses; the laborers do the same thing by the adoption of the labor note.

The Labor Note is the memento of service rendered and a promise to fulfil a contract. It is based on personal security, which is the only sound basis in existence.

By the adoption of the labor note, the people can free themselves by continuing to trade with a monopolized, interest-bearing medium of exchange, they will remain in slavery.

DAVID A. ANDRADE, in *An Anarchist Plan of Campaign.*

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POETRY.

THE MARSEILLAISE.

Ye friends of freedom, wake to glory. Hark! hark! what myriads round you rise!
Your children, wives and grandires hoary; behold their tears and hear their cries!
Shall hateful tyrants, mischief breeding, with hireling hosts, a ruffian band,
Affright and desolate the land, while peace and liberty lie bleeding!
To arms, to arms, ye travellers! avenging sword unsheath!
March on, march on, all hearts resolved on liberty or death!
Now, now the dangerous storm is rolling, which treacherous kings confederate raise;
The dogs of war, let loose, are howling, and lo! our fields and cities blaze.
And shall we basely view the ruin, while lawless force, with guilty stride,
Spreads desolation far and wide, with crimes and blood his hands staining?
To arms, &c.

With luxury and pride surrounded, the vile inmate despoils there,
Their thirt of p'ver and gold unbanded, to mete and vend the light and air;
Like leasds of burden they would load us; like gods, would bid their slaves adore;—
But man is man,—and who is more? Then shall they longer lash and goad us?
To arms, &c.

O Liberty! can man resign thee, one having felt thy generous flame?
Can dungeons, bolts, and bars confine thee, or whips thy noble spirit tame?

Too long the world has peev, bewailing that falsehood's dagger tyrants wield;
But freedom is our sword and shield, and all their arts are unavailing.
To arms, &c.

I'VE GOT A LITTLE LIST.

(Sung by the writer at the second annual meeting of the Melbourne Anarchists' Club.)

[AIR FROM "THE MIKADO"]

As it may shortly happen that some victims must be found,
I've got a little list, I've got a little list,
Of society's offenders who might well be underground,
For they never would be missed, they never would be missed,
There's the div'ner with his salary—ten thousand pounds a year,
A useless ornament is he, as idle as he's dear,
And then there are his manions, and his costly retinue,
And perquisites, etcetera—(they're all paid for by you!)—
And his ministry, who likewise run a tidy little list,
They never will be missed, they never will be missed.

Chorus to each verse:
He's got a little list, he's got a little list,
And they'll none of 'em be missed, they'll none of 'em be missed,
There's the civil servant, as he's called, curt master though is he,
I've got him on the list, I've got him on the list,
Innocent premier, knighted knave, and those who've got to le,
They never will be missed, they never will be missed;
And our country's brave defender (I), with his coat of brilliant red,
Who's plenty in his cartage, though but little in his head,
Who once a year plays soldiering, as every youngster knows,
And as readily would shoot us as defend us from our foes—
All legal butchers who, to shoot their fellow-men, enlist,
They never will be missed, they never will be missed.

There's a lobby X.Y. number 1, who's never to be found,
I've got him on the list, I've got him on the list,
He can't prevent disturbance, though he often brings it round,
He never would be missed, he never would be missed;
The bankers filching interest, and laudible drawing room,
While not forgetting they and his little "bant per about" (I);
The judge who can take up bribes, and pack a jury too,
Or make the judgeship for themselves, as some are known to do;
And the lawyers who on payment of enormous fees insist,—
They'd none of 'em be missed, they'd none of 'em be missed.

The doctors who may kill you by prescribing God-knows-what,
I've got them on the list, I've got them on the list,
Who'd vaccinate our babies, and make corpses of the laid,
They never would be missed, they never would be missed;
The parson, who conducts a trade of pointing out folks to heaven,
And guarantees their passage if they're good one day in seven;
The chap who make the laws for us, and make some stiff ones too,
Who are always making mischief, as they've no other use to do;
And the man who lives on others, and is called philanthropist,—
They never would be missed, they never would be missed.

I've added to be impartial, and treat every one the same,
I've added to the list, I've added to the list,
Some folks well known to most of us, and some I needn't name,
Who nobody will miss, who nobody will miss—(per track,
The chap who says: "Ye Anarchists are one long war far turn back";
But as your goal's a long way off, you'd better far turn back";
Another who says Anarchy's not good enough for him,
But while man robs his fellow-man, he'll be it" with the swim;—
And the nobby-pooler, lack salary weak-kneed Anarchist,—
They never can be missed, they never can be missed.

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