

Reason

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF SOCIAL AND
GENERAL PHILOSOPHY.

“FOR TRUTH AND RIGHT.”

No. 2.

MELBOURNE, MARCH 15, 1896.

3d.

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PUBLICATIONS.

RICHMOND:
J. A. ANDREWS, PRINTER AND PUBLISHER,
4 RULE STREET.

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No. 2. MELBOURNE, MARCH 1, 1896. 3D.

“LET US INCREASE OUR EXPORTS!”

The daily papers are persistently urging, in common with Parliamentary luminaries and a host of inspired wiseacres, that every possible effort be made to increase the colony's exports, in order to abolish the depression.

If, for instance, the farmer sells more butter to the English—what will he do with the credit placed to his account for it?

Employ Victorian workmen in manufactures? What a commentary on our social system, this idea of the colony sending its products abroad for permission to the citizens to employ each others' labor at home! Have we not plenty of bootmakers short of butter, and farmers with only remains of boots? And that the farmer must make butter and sell it to foreigners for a mere authorisation to arrange an exchange of services with his neighbour the bootmaker! Men of every trade unemployed, eager to get each others' products, eager to go to work for each other; factories idle, farms going to ruin, materials rotting in our stores! Oh yes! let us sell all our supplies to John Bull, he will pay us with pieces of paper permitting the farmer to get a piece of stamped metal from a place called a Bank, and give it to the bootmaker, who will then give a pair of boots to the farmer, and also hand back the coin and take some bacon, cheese and butter. We shall be enjoying Solid Prosperity when we give away all our wealth for a permit to make some more and distribute it among each other!

But this glorious boon is unrealisable. The foreigner would be sending all his bits of stamped metal to our banks and getting none back; he has to tell the banker, “I owe the farmer so many coins, he owes them to the bootmaker, the bootmaker owes them to somebody else, and so on till they are owed back to me. Pay what I owe and keep what is owed to me.” But to this end the farmer or someone he is already able to owe money to must buy the foreigner's goods to the price of the butter exported. If the farmer

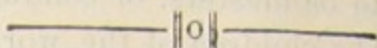
benefits on one side of the transaction, on the other it is the foreign and not the Victorian industrial operative who is allowed to work for and be in return fed by the farmer—even if it does not mean throwing so many more Victorian operatives out of work and selling as much less butter at home than previously, as comes to the price of the more sold abroad.

In any case, it amounts to no more than this last for the farmer, in the long run. If he starts by selling more butter in England—as there is no more chance of opening an exchange of services with the moneyless there than here, he can only sell to those who are able to spend a reasonable sum on butter already—he disemploys the Danish or Dutch dairy-farmers; or granting that there has been less butter in England than would go round among those able to pay a reasonable price for it, he disemploys people whose living has been oleomargarine, lard, dripping, cocoanut oil, jam or treacle. Those who are thus deprived of their incomes cease to give employment to English miners, loom and mill hands, etc. So many people are deprived of their previous power of buying butter, they can only regain it by working for the farmer or his creditor, up to the value of the butter he has placed on the market, thus enabling those primarily affected to eat a part of the butter themselves and pass on the remainder to those who are dependent for it on supplying them with other things. The farmer can only increase his sales in England by displacing somebody else *both* as a vendor *and* as a purchaser in England. The competition to sell butter being accordingly rendered fiercer there while the relative demand for other goods remains in the old ratio to the supply, there follows a reduction in the price of butter, so that for the larger quantity sold he receives no more value than for the smaller previously. Then, in order to keep up his English trade he must transfer to England the purchases he used to make in Victoria, and so starve out his Victorian customers; or on the other hand, not buying so much of English goods with the smaller sum he now gets for a given quantity of butter (and any increased quantity he tries to sell at the reduced rate only repeats the complications) he must similarly lose English customers. Thus is "prosperity established on a sound and permanent basis." !!! !!! !!!

No amount of wriggling under the present social system will set things right, and the only way we can do any good by "increasing our exports" is to export those people who have not the sense, the honesty or the courage to rightly conceive, desire, and work to realise, a radical transformation of society.

We have to thank a number of friends in Adelaide for their very material assistance. They not only undertook the responsibility for a good many copies, for which they paid in advance, but sent us £4 as an act of solidarity. We should be glad if friends elsewhere would interest themselves in extending the circulation, as we have all uphill work cut out for us.

THE SOCIAL QUESTION NOT A "CLASS" QUESTION.



There are persons who see in the social problem, only that presented by a war of classes ; there are malcontents and reformers who perceive nothing as a false principle in society except class domination and class servitude.

But the class domination and class servitude of to-day are not independent facts—not primary elements of the social constitution ; they are evolved phenomena, produced from one fundamental error, namely the desertion of individualism, the substitution of rule for the free action of individual reason, in short the abnegation of freedom, and particularly in the economic field by that particular rule called Ownership, which, first substituting a catalogue of things sacred to this or that person, for the rational principle of respect for one's fellow-man's purposes, (whereby it implies that, contrary even to the possibility of itself being in good faith socially recognised, the normal relation of human beings to each other is one of the grossest avarice and rapacity) arrives at imposing a jealous and haggled *exchange* upon the distribution of natural resources, of products, of services, of the entire social wealth. This system has naturally created all the evils which it took for granted. In a Society cramped down upon lines of rigid mistrust and mutual hostile isolation, the efforts of individuals to secure their own position could only result in developing from the casual inequalities of advantage for the enforced struggle, a condition in which some were placed by rule at the mercy of others more favorably situated.

Hence the antipathy of Socialists to individualism ; which should be against the conditions in which a, by these, mutilated remnant of individualism is restricted to operate.

If there were any real body with a distinct and positive interest in maintaining this state of things, there would be nothing for it but war, having for its object, on the one side the thorough and permanent subjection of herds of human cattle, on the other the slaughter and extermination of a race of vampires. Happily, the case is very different.

In the first place, there is nothing permanently identifying individuals, let alone families, with any class. Every day, someone previously wealthy sinks into commercial insignificance, into actual poverty. As continually, do we not see wage workers, stimulated by ambition or more often by the lack of wage employment, become the founders of small establishments which, especially in times of depression, nibble like swarms of rabbits at the custom of the larger houses ? In vain that these latter seek to defend themselves by making prices less than cost ; they may crush individual puny competitors by the dozen, but those who perish are replaced by more. Sooner or later, the giants fall, exhausted ; and it will be found after a few years, that some of the small establishments have taken rank among large

capitalistic concerns, while of the old houses that have been able to retain their importance the *owners* are new men, and the former owners either serving where they used to be masters, or conducting a powerless rivalry, on a diminutive scale. The children of the worker at a trade, or of the "unskilled" laborer, become clerks, his grandchildren merchants; and the offspring of the well-to-do stream down by thousands into the ranks of the proletariat, replenishing the incessant waste wrought by disease, the forced sterility of poverty, the hereditary degeneration of exhausted vitality, among the masses who have lacked power or opportunity to rise.

The landlord, the employer, the merchant, the financier, in following these avocations, occupy an immoral position; but the immorality is not, at the foundation, their own. The victims share in it—it is that of Society; of the System which everyone feels compelled to adhere to because every one else adheres to it. The exploiters themselves are driven slaves of the system. And, instead of plundering and oppressing the rest of society for *their* benefit, the System, having plundered and oppressed at large, turns upon them with all the fury of an appetite only whetted by devouring. Even the landlord, commonly regarded as of all exploiters the one who robs in most cowardly perfection of security, knows not but next year, next week! the closing of a factory, the extension of a railway, the reconstruction of a bank, the introduction of new machinery into a trade, will put a sudden end to his rents, and reduce him to poverty, it may be to beggary.

When we look at the immense productivity which science and invention have rendered possible with a minimum of labor, and, on the other hand, at the enormous amount of toil actually consumed, not in production, not in distribution, not in the organisation of demand and supply, but in the mere *struggle for Ownership*, in the task of struggling along each for himself on the lines imposed by social superstition and its resulting system—we cannot possibly escape the conclusion that the members of the "privileged classes" would, as simple producers intelligently associated for mutual supply, be able to procure all the real means of enjoyment which they can at present, and with no more exertion and less anxiety than they must now expend to secure them at the cost of their socially subjected brethren.

Actually, in the civilised world the families that live by performing the muscular or mental work of production, preservation and distribution as such, do not exceed one half of the population. The other portion, half or more, consists of families dependent in some way on the mere traffic in ownership. (By making allowance for the dual character of some occupations connected with commerce and management, anyone practically versed therein, and knowing how far they really subserve effective ministrations to the needs of the consumer, and how far they are concerned with restricting it to subserve the exigencies of a rigid property-system and the profit of a proprietor, will readily perceive how small a proportion of commercial labor termed distributive, for example, is so in reality.) Even of those classed as

productive laborers. great numbers merely furnish the material implements of this traffic. Look, for instance, at the formidable army of workers of all grades, from miners and ragpickers to engineers, type founders, paper makers, carriers, chemists, artists, engravers, literary specialists, printers, whose labors are absorbed in the production of this only sum total, this marvellous addition to the world's wealth and happiness—endlessly varied in repetition, infinitely monotonous and inane in essence : behold !

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And this vast army is only a small fraction of the horde who have their food, clothing, and comforts as members of the gigantic Establishment that the Ownership-System must keep up to nourish its activity and continue its existence.

Adding to these the producers of luxuries consumed only by the wealthy—producers who consume the products of the residuum of producers, but whose own products do not reciprocate to these latter—and taking into account the periods of enforced idleness endured by producers, who have to prepare all the supplies for themselves and their devourers for a whole year in much less than a full working year per head, we cannot be rash in computing that every family of social producers, besides its own maintenance for the time during which it is at work, is saddled with the maintenance of three families more for an equal period out of that same labor. In fact, an intelligent analysis of official statistics will go to show that this estimate is much below the reality.

Thus on the average each family has, at most, a fourth of what it could have away from the System. But if the wealth available weekly per family throughout a community is raised, say from that now represented by £2 10/- to that now represented by £10, the increase in comfort to any one of them will be many times greater than what would be represented by the present addition of £7 10/- to *its own resources alone*. For when means of enjoyment become plentiful, although at first this enables the private possession of what only a limited partial resort to could be had before, the smaller economy of utilisation is not only set off by the greater convenience, but there arise new economies in the process of production ; and when they become still more plentiful, there is no inconvenience in their being used in common instead of further quantities being produced ; so that ample energy is set free for attending to new gratifications, and each person is enabled to satisfy more needs than if the increase to him had not been accompanied by the increase to others. Besides, their prosperity benefits him by enabling him to find so many the more people possessed of the leisure, the means,

and the culture to become his congenial associates. And it is then easy to obtain many gratifications by the cooperation of those intent on them, that an enormous fortune (*i. e.*, an enormous command of other people's task-labor) alone could procure for a man isolated in a community of the over-worked, the poor, and the ignorant.

Hence, the alteration of the social constitution is requisite in the interest not of a *class*, but of all people.

† †

LAW-WORSHIP AND ITS DOWNFALL.

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BY JEAN GRAVE.

Laws are all that is most arbitrary in the world. They sum up the spirit of a moment, the aspirations of a party, or the average opinion of a nation; but, being made by some men, they are colored with their passions, their defects, their qualities—if those who made them were sincere. They may indeed satisfy those who partake the way of looking at things of those who fabricated them, but they chafe upon many more. To obtain unanimous approbation, a law would have to be of a perfection which is not of this world; but then it would have no need of being placed on the Statute Book—its sanction would be in its very justice. One erects into laws, only what meets with resistance on the part of a sufficiently important fraction of the population. †

Those who make laws or are charged with applying them, have reason not to suffer them to be discussed. Based upon the arbitrary, law is like creed—discussion is its ruin. To wish to discuss it, is to commit an act of revolt; it is the beginning of insubordination. An order discussed is only half executed. Not a single law would remain capable of being carried into application from the day when each individual should want to reason upon it according to his own conception.

There is no law which does not, by the fact that it is law, wound someone in his individuality, his sentiments or his autonomy. It is to ask for

† The force of our friend's argument is evident in the fact that nobody dreams of a law to impose eating, which all are agreed is necessary, and if the same unanimity and force of conviction prevailed, say with regard to voting at Parliamentary elections, we should never have heard of a proposal to make voting compulsory. Nor, if all parents were deeply convinced of the desirability of vaccination, would there be any compulsory vaccination Act, any more than there is one to ordain that a mother shall suckle her baby or that marriages be kept dry.—ED. REASON.

more than worship from those whom it wounds, to ask them to bow before it even though they recognise it for unjust. It is calling for the "*Credo quia absurdum*" of Saint Augustine—"I believe, *because* it is absurd!" The weak and the timorous may bend, but the strong and the worthy will always refuse to bow docilely to what their reason reprobates.

Whereupon, all the forces of society have to be made to intervene to assure the sanctity of the laws; which proves we are right in saying that law is only the argument of the stronger.

Certainly, force would not always be sufficient to ensure respect for the law. History gives us numerous examples where it has sufficed for authority to seek to apply some laws, more detested, if not more absurd, than the others, to rouse up public opinion to the point of resistance, and contribute to lay low the power which had enacted them. The succour which force brings to the law can only be temporary, like all that rests upon force; the latter has only a relative value, and if sometimes, nearly always up to the present, it is found on the side of the oppressors, it happens also, intermittently, that the oppressed find it on their side, when they resume the consciousness of their dignity and of their rights.

Therefore, in order to bring about the acceptance of the law, besides brute force it has been necessary to clothe it with a certain moral force which should make the greater number accept it as a social necessity, sometimes painful, but useful to the general well-being; and the skill of rulers was in presenting it as such. That explains to us all the theatrical effects with which it was formerly enveloped, all this stage pomp and masquerade, so ridiculous to-day to the reflecting, but which rulers are careful to conserve, because mummery has always the gift of impressing imbeciles and influencing them.

Formerly, authority was pretended to be an emanation from God. The holders of power were the representatives on earth of the divine majesty; their will was to be respected as equal to decrees of Providence. God being infallible, his delegates partook of his omniscience and omnipotence. To discuss their orders was a sacrilege. Therefore in the Ages of Faith, authority was as much respected as feared, without the worst turpitudes that it committed seeming to menace its prestige.

But, slowly, imperceptibly, yet surely, human evolution was accomplishing its work of criticism. Divinity was placed under doubt, and at once the legitimacy of authority, as a divine essence, faded beneath review. The result was the fall of the royalty of right divine, and the accession to power of the middle class, the bourgeoisie.

The latter, on installing themselves in power, brought forward to consolidate it a new theory of authority. The God-entity having lost weight, they created the Nation-entity, which had later on to be transformed into the Society-entity. Law was no longer the Divine Will, but the National

Will. To give to the material force which they had just seized, the moral force without which there is no permanence, the bourgeoisie invoked the "will of all" to coerce the individual will.

Whist people believed in the legitimacy of majority-rule—in necessities of "society" transcending the necessities of the people as individuals—the laws that the bourgeoisie used or decreed in their own interest were submitted to by the mass. Were they murmured against when they pressed too hard, they were excused by invoking the "general interest."

But the bourgeoisie had dealt authority its death-wound, in working to sap its divine origin. From the day when people commenced to discuss it obedience was more apparent than real—respect for authority being wounded in its vitals. The dummied-up that the bourgeoisie effected could not much longer deceive anyone.

Physical science teaches us that the fall of a body is accelerated cumulatively in an increasing ratio, as it nears the centre of the earth. It is the same with the progress of human evolution. The more points of concordance that a brain possesses between its internal faculties and its external relations, the more it is in a condition to acquire new ones, and the more quickly is this adaptation of the new conquests effected. It took thousands of years to lay low the authority of the sword † and that of divine right, which sustained each other. A century has sufficed to shatter the authority of number as of riches. At the present time it no longer has respect; even its holders lack belief in it; the swathing-cloth it has willed to wrap around the individual is bursting all over; its dogmas become worthless in the hands of those who seek to analyse them; at the present time there is no longer anything but brute force that maintains it; ‡ and its definite fall is no longer a question of more than seconds in the chronology of human evolution.

† *The power of the sword remains, and some of the despotism of the sword. But authority is the authorisation or sanction for controlling the ruled, given by them or a sufficiently strong third party; or the state of being privileged in which this sanction places rulers. And no longer do people in general believe that mere might justifies any use it may be put to, no more do they therefore approve the rule of the sword over themselves or others. Hence, the authority of the sword has departed, and with it so much of the despotism as that authority rendered possible. It is the like authority of possessors, functionaries, delegates, representatives, majorities, etc., with the correlated despotism rendered possible on the part of these by it, and with the remaining force-despotism held in reserve, and operated by virtue of its institutions, that Grace, like Kropotkin, Reclus and a host of others (ourselves included), is combating.—Ed. REASON.*

‡ *Alluding here, of course, not to authority in the abstract, but to the applied system of which it is the vital principle.—Ed. REASON.*

PRISON SOCIOLOGY--II.

BY J. A. ANDREWS.

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I mentioned as a degenerative influence added to that of an extreme poverty of impressions, the direct weakening of will-power and independent purpose by authority. This is a powerful factor. The prisoner is for months or years deprived of almost every possibility of entertaining a single purpose of his initiative, and comes out almost incapable of forming a purpose, and still less capable of following it up if it requires more than an un-intelligent automatism for its realisation. For months or years he is deprived of the use of his will, except in that application which consists in forcing oneself to become a mere obedient puppet, and he comes out destitute of will-power.

On this point Kropotkine says :—

“All the transgressions of admitted principles of morality can be imputed to the lack of a firm will. A greater part of the dwellers in prisons are persons who have not had sufficient firmness to resist the temptations which surrounded them, or to master a passion which carried them away. Well, in a prison, as in a monastery, everything is done to kill the man's will. He has not the choice between two actions, the very small opportunities which he has of exercising his will are excessively short; all his life has been regulated and ordered in advance, he has only to go with the tide, to obey under penalty of severe punishments. In these conditions all the will which he might have before his entrance into prison, disappears. And where shall he find the strength to resist the temptations which will spring up before him, as if by enchantment, when he is outside the walls? Where shall he find the strength to resist the first impulse of a passionate disposition, if, during several years, everything has been done to kill in him his inner strength, in order to make him a docile tool in the hands of those who govern him? This fact is, in my idea, the strongest condemnation of every system based upon the privation of the freedom of the individual.”

If the prisoner has any scope at all for the exercise of will and purpose, it is by means of stealth, evasion, trickery, deceit. Thus, deliberate action is habitually associated with these things only, until it becomes that if the prisoner has any force of character left, it is inseparably bound up with the secretive faculties; in short, the only powers which have any chance of remaining alive in him are precisely those most liable to be perverted to immoral ends. Nor does any respect for law and authority come in to secure him from lapsing into legally constituted crimes. In becoming a mere puppet, he becomes incapable of resisting temptation except under the direct supervision of an official; and whenever he sees himself threatened with any privation or the lack of a possible gratification, as the penalty of not committing an offence, and there is nobody in presence to threaten

more severely to the contrary, he *obeys* implicitly, not being accustomed to think of a matter in its various bearings to make a choice, but only to act as dictated by the fear of bodily hardship.

In gaol, a man does not have to worry about getting money to pay for his food, shelter, and clothing. He does not even have to work for them, though he has to work. He would have to be fed, in there, if there were no work for him; and though a "labor scale" of diet exists, this will give him more or less to eat, not for how much work he does or how he does it, but for the sort of work he is put to. It is also the kind of work assigned to him, or rather some particular "billets," which can entitle him to any tea or tobacco. From these facts are derived several instructive phenomena.

If the Government deliberately intended to produce larceny, it could not proceed more effectively than by relieving a man for a long time of the necessity to earn money, and the necessity and opportunity to husband his earnings with a view to making his preferential purchases; and then suddenly turning him adrift in a world where everything is a matter of money. It is only natural that with such a preparation he should be reckless in spending what he can get, and when he has spent it, or has not been able to get any, that he should be prompt to meet his requirements by passing outside the conventional methods of a system from which his habits have been broken. Thus persons at first imprisoned for any other cause tend to return for theft, even when not pressed to it by dire want.

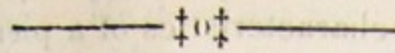
In gaol, however, there is very little theft by prisoners from prisoners, and least of all where the most prized luxuries are concerned. This may seem very simple to the believers in authority and discipline. It is very simple, but in the opposite way to their conception, for the prisoners do not call in the gaol authorities against each other, and he who denounced his worst enemy would soon feel the consequences of general detestation. The absence of authority from the relation between the prisoners causes a certain sense of honor to operate in most cases. Apart from this, there is ample evidence in the social life of the prisoners among themselves that even those who may be called thieves by predisposition, would do far less serious harm than is commonly supposed, were it not for the artificial system of Property. For if they are unduly prone to annex, without thought for the needs of the possessor, the first object capable of yielding them a gratification, it is true on the other hand that they are generally more prone than others to bestow what they have, with little thought for their own prospective needs. Therefore, society in the aggregate would suffer less from their peculiarities than from divers other idiosyncracies not usually regarded as criminal, even were larceny absolutely tolerated, which of course I am not advocating. The plan of Property, which substitutes a code in place of the principle of the rational distribution of the use of the social wealth, confines the compensation by benefit of the larcenist's

tendencies to a few persons, and imposes the inconvenience rigidly on those out of whose possession it happens to be that the things are taken.

To the prisoner, as I have pointed out, the measure of food supply, the possession or not of luxuries, come primarily as perfectly casual advantages or disadvantages, like the characteristics of a piece of land. They are in short, what a Single Tax prison reformer would claim to be Economic Rent and its complementary deficit. Now if the Single Tax notion were put in practice, there would be some authoritarian body to collect from every prisoner, compulsorily, the difference between the smallest ration and any larger he might be receiving, and the whole of any tobacco, tea, or other luxuries allowed to him; with a view to a redistribution. Now, the prisoner gets no more than comfortably sufficient for himself. Yet a redistribution is effected, and pretty thoroughly, for the benefit of the worse-off, and that voluntarily, without centralisation, regular organisation, or even a traditional plan, and not by but in spite of authority. This is not a distribution per head, but bears a relation to the amount of hardship to be undergone, so that a prisoner with a sentence of a few days only would not receive any consideration unless for personal reasons, nor if versed in gaol matters would he probably accept even then unless a casual "local glut" existed without facilities for a more extended distribution. I do not care, for obvious reasons, to go into detail. In Biloela, however, where there was least dearth of impressions, there being views at that time across the harbor and surrounding country—where the prisoners mingled the most freely together, and where there were large dormitories instead of cells for three, the practice was more wholly communistic than at Darlinghurst, where some buying and selling took place, though this was the least factor in the readjustment of possessions. The purchasing medium for these commercial transactions was tobacco, sometimes called prison money, but having nothing in common with money except in the most superficial aspect of purchasing power. If money in existing society were not necessary to procure subsistence, and were not a credit but a real commodity, an article of luxury in general demand for its own sake, the comparison might stand. At Biloela, however, I never knew of a single bargain except that prisoners who had tobacco for work that necessitated their rising before the others, and who could not rely on waking so early as to have time for making up their bedding as required, might pay to get this done for them habitually. On the other hand, I remember a prisoner hawking his six days' allowance of hominy sugar all round the gaol in the utterly vain attempt to sell it for one *chew* of tobacco. He was told by several that if they had any tobacco to spare for him, they would not want his sugar for it, and that any they did not smoke themselves they gave away—as was the case. Within each circle of associates (these, even if hostile cliques, overlapped or had connecting links) it was everyone's own

business to see that his neighbor was not short of a smoke, and if on any evening one went without, it was by reason of a general famine.

(For continuation.)



A VICTORIAN TO VICTORIANS.—II.

In the early days of our history nothing was more strongly marked than the spirit of national independence, which, as I have said, is intimately associated with that of personal independence—in fact, wherever *real*, the collective form of the latter. It was recognisable at a distance, for one need not have been in Victoria to know the force of this sentiment when the flag of the Southern Cross was hoisted at EUREKA STOCKADE. It is equally a matter of history that the separation of Victoria from New South Wales was effected in response to a sentiment so intense that very little would have sufficed to bring about a resort to arms; and that the northern boundary remains the Murray instead of the Murrumbidgee simply because, a clerical error having been accidentally or wilfully made in the description, the moderates thought better to accept Home Rule for the mutilated area, than to risk the loss of all through the non-success of an appeal to force which it was foreseen the more extreme among the malcontents could no longer be restrained from making if the separation were deferred.

To-day we have, on the contrary, a certain parrot cry for "Federation." What does "Federation" mean? In the sense of a real solidarity between the different Australian settlements, we are federated enough already whenever occasion requires. The Trades Unionists were really federated throughout Australia in the great strike of 1890. So were the Governments against them, except that of South Australia. There was an International Federation of Labor for the London Dock Strike. The public services of the railways, telegraphs, post, etc., are also permanently federated throughout Australia—the two latter throughout the world. For this federation, centralisation and uniformity are not at all essential. In New South Wales letters are transmitted, within the town where posted, for 1d. In Victoria the charge is 2d. anywhere. There are other differences, and two different managements, but all this does not impair the fact that a Sydney man can have a letter delivered in Melbourne, as simply and certainly, and even at the same charge, as if he had addressed it to Newcastle; and that a Melbourne man—unless indeed his correspondent is on the list of seditious suspects who are in N.S.W. subjected to the *ensorship of the Post*—can communicate with a person in Sydney as simply, safely and cheaply as with one in Ballarat. And similarly in any other respect where there is *practical* unanimity respecting any good to be gained by associated action between the colonies.

All that this Federation cry means, then, is that we are to surrender a portion at least of the relative local autonomy which we enjoy as Victorians, and confer upon outsiders the privilege of dictating to us in our affairs, in return for a certain complicity in dictating to them as to their affairs. Already in Victoria we have felt the harmfulness of too much centralisation, we have developed tendencies towards relying upon a still more local degree of autonomy, witness the mining boards, municipalities, water trusts, and scores of things which have no official expression. And we are called upon to retrograde and adopt a policy of more centralisation, more authority, less local autonomy.

In Victoria we have municipalities everywhere: in New South Wales the functions these perform here are, over most of the country, vested in the central Government. And all the municipal log-rolling does not prevent our system from being the more efficient. Are the N.S.W. people really more federated than we through having one organisation where we have dozens of separate ones? Just the reverse; for having to beg as a favor from the central power all that municipalities have in their own hands as a matter of course, the adjoining settlements develop a degree of local jealousy that is seldom found here. And this spirit we find in the municipalities in proportion as these are dependent on the will of the central authorities.

Evidently, if a Federal Government has only to do, so far as Victoria is concerned, what the majority of Victorians desire, it is, so far as Victorian matters are concerned, a superfluity; and if it is, on the other hand, to impose what is contrary to our views, or to impose our views upon another colony, it has no more *raison d'être* in the welfare of the colony so treated than there would be for the often-imagined supremacy of the Russian Czar over these territories.

Another aspect. The early Victorian settlers, who came purely on their own account, were—thanks to the costliness of the voyage to Australia—men whose social position had enabled them to develop their intelligence, to possess some education and culture, and above all to have those gentlemanly sentiments which are the sense of personal independence and the instinctive respect for each others' individuality which is the basis of what we call social equality. Moreover, there were many who had recently taken active part in, or at least been powerfully influenced by, the great international radical movement of 1848, when the thrones and institutions of the Old World were shaken to their foundations. The poorer immigrants arriving little by little, mingled with these in the most equal conditions, and became assimilated with them instead of constituting a class apart; in those days we had no classes, only differences of individual wealth and occupation; certainly no proletarian class, which was only evolved later as the inevitable outgrowth of the State monopoly of access to the soil, and the competitive Property-system.

The present working class, capitalistic, political and official classes of Victoria are for the greater part, indiscriminately the descendants of these men, and are—except those of a peculiar unhealthy mental constitution—necessarily impregnated with some practised self-respect, some positive instinct of social equality, some active radical tendencies, in spite of their relative positions under the present social system.

These influences did not operate in the building up of the other colonies.

The early settlers of New South Wales were convicts, crushed into abject slavery; brutalised officials; ignorant imported farm-cattle who venerated "the Squire"; and a sprinkling of gentry and parvenus who found themselves dominating those they had always been accustomed to dominate and see dominated. The convict system flourished, debasing the status of all workers and breeding every arbitrariness on the part of the propertied and governmental classes. It lasted from long before Victoria was founded, up to within the memories of men still in the prime of life; and effectually prevented any development of civilising influences that might have sprung out of the gold rushes, there transient and of little importance. A population so produced could not but be saturated with moral degeneracy.

Accordingly, the working classes, wherever the old blood prevails, are largely sunk in a grovelling abasement loathsome to a Victorian. The first thing to force itself on my notice was the frequency of illiteracy. The phrase "I am only a working man," I heard frequently even from, comparatively, extreme radicals. And I repeatedly heard working men *boast* how some "toff," visiting the establishment where they had permanent employment at the best wages, would "sling them a 'tip' of a couple of shillings." My previous experience of *Victorian* working men led me to believe that had it happened here, the "toff" would have run some risk of a thrashing.

The capitalistic and governmental orders, for their part, have never had the least sentiment of popular liberty and public equality. The politicians were not, until the last few years, even a separate class with interests apart from those of ordinary capitalism. Parliament was in the most literal sense, and it is not vastly different even now, nothing but a recognised Board of Directors for the propertied class, in whose acquired feelings, as I have said, the convict system had for years operated to degrade the status of the laborer, and legitimatise all arbitrariness.

It was much the same with Queensland; and the later population added to it, mainly from Victoria, condemned in advance to the proletarian state of existence, is robbed by the most barefaced tyranny of even its nominal share of political power. The Queensland Governments have for years been nothing better than a combined landjobbing syndicate and piratical organisation for the conquest and sale of slaves of all colors. West Australia was a penal settlement till a few years ago, and though it has since become peopled from Victoria, the political power is in the hands of half-a-d-zen

men who in the past succeeded in practically monopolising the habitable part of the country. South Australia was colonised by the serfs of a private syndicate, but later by an exodus from Victoria, before our national character was determined; the people, including the governments, are civilised, in about the same degree as our own, though a little differently; but Victoria and South Australia would at present easily be swamped by the colonies that carry the taint of the convict system—a taint that nothing but the remedy of warlike revolution seems capable of eradicating.

Hence in adopting "Federation," the Victorian people would be largely abnegating their relative independence in favor of the decisions of a population (to take the matter on the most "democratic" basis, but really it would be, not the population, but the most dangerous of its dominators) in which a large proportion of the workers are inferior in social stamina to the worst similar proportion of our own; and in which the propertied classes, officials and politicians are, as a whole, infinitely more barbarous in their ethical conceptions and moral culture than their congeners in Victoria.

But this would be national suicide! . . . Well, equally, it would be if the overwhelming country were of the superior social development. Was it not as much a crime for Uncle Tom's liberty to be denegated in favor of St. Clair as in favor of Legree? Some people regard France, others the U.S.A., as greatly superior to us in social development. Admitting this, then if we were submerged in the French Republic or in the United States the only difference would be, that whilst, not being in personal contact with the French or Americans within their own society, we should have no opportunity of imbibing their socially advanced instincts, we should, on the other hand, lose with the sense of our particular independence, much of the self-reliance, the confidence, the energy, the practical spirit, which depend necessarily on this very sense of independence for their development.

However, to push the principle towards its logical conclusion:

What an impetus would at once be given to social reform if the people, say of Ballarat, could know that they were not politically subjected to all the rest of Victoria! If every city, every town, every borough, every shire, every settlement, were locally independent, federated with the rest only as Australian Labor and the London Dockers were federated, as the world's postal organisations are federated, as outside of Parliament the protectionists, or the freetraders, or single-taxers, or labor-legislationists are really federated with or without Leagues, Associations, Committees, etc., should we not see the land question, the labor question, the thousand and one other aspects of the great Social Question confronted, the answer attempted, in one way here, in another there, until an ebullient evolution real in history as an accomplished revolution?

And again, if each *individual* possessed this autonomy—if he had not to reckon with any formal law, any established rule, any central power, any constituted authority, but simply with the personal wills of his fellow-men would not the transformation to ultimate social harmony be effected with a still more ebullient rapidity? and would not the social elasticity, the social plasticity, when the result had been obtained, be the most effective preservative of harmony through yet future changes and evolutions?

Either the individual should have one voice in a corporation for ruling authoritatively every single individual, and should be ruled authoritatively by (or by the dominant portion of) a corporation embracing all individuals—in which case Imperial Amalgamation is virtue and every degree of local independence is crime; or else a community should be supreme to itself, a "Sovereign State," not bound under the will of other communities, and, in that case, not only as a logical inference, but also as the necessary means to the *natural* delimitations and blendings of communities, the individual should be free among his fellows, neither condemned to obey them, nor privileged to conspire in issuing commands which they are condemned to obey.

(For continuation.)

ANARCHISM VERSUS DYNAMITE.

When I joined with a comrade to publish *REASON*, I thought it best to leave the word Anarchy alone, on account of the popular misconceptions attached to it. I did not lead off with a statement of the Anarchist platform or anything of that sort, because no matter how clearly you state a position, people fail utterly to comprehend the inner essence of it unless they have been led up pretty close to it themselves; an expression cannot construct a new conception in the receiving mind except out of elements already present and in a sufficiently high state of combination. It is sufficient for me to ask any pathologist, chemical expert, geologist, electrician, or civil engineer what sort of comprehension the *educated* public have of the merest commonplaces of his science, let alone an argument or a new theory. How many of them could conceive without your first concentrating their attention on points suggestive of it, the derivative nature of the sense of personality, the application of the principle of the resolution of forces to supersede the concrete-atom hypothesis, the gravitation theory of volcanic and earth-movement action, the process that takes place in a battery and circuit, or even the distribution of stresses in a bridge or building? What idea does even a clear thinker form of the inner aspect of a cosmos of two dimensions, when it is impressed on him that this means a world where thickness does not exist? Flat pictures moving about in a surface! And yet nothing could be further away from the mark, because within a world

from which the element of thickness was absent, there would be no surfaces apparent—they being perceptible only by virtue of the third dimension—but only lines and points. Similarly, if I speak of a form of society from which certain elements of the present one should be absent, everyone has to think of it as if it were conditioned by these very elements; so what I am trying to do in REASON is not to present an elaborated theory of social relations and press for its acceptance, but to bring about the mental combination of the isolated perceptions which people have already, so as to make it possible for them to entertain the true inwardness of our general conception. No sectarian designation was needed for doing this, and the one under which my social ideas pass is surrounded with false prejudices. However, to the public and press it appears I am eternally and preeminently “Anarchist Andrews,” and there is no such thing as getting my views home clear of the preconceptions attached to this word. I must therefore set to work to try and dispose of them. Nearly everyone seems to believe that there is some radical connection between holding these ideas, or at least between the Anarchist party, and a policy of dynamite and personal violence, guided by erratic impulses of vague class hatred, or even absolutely promiscuous, in proportion to the imbecility of the person who believes so. Even among those who are capable at once of understanding the Anarchist ideas, and who acknowledge them to be just, there is scarcely one but will express himself thus—“I can agree with the theory, but not with the line of tactics.” As this prejudice is utterly false, and yet has so come about that the majority of those who entertain it are very excusable, I shall deal with it by a history of the dynamite affairs fathered upon the movement.

When some extraordinary fanatic undertakes a private war of extermination against the powerful, the wealthy, or the corrupters of society from his point of view, and cites the Christian doctrines in support of his conduct, we do not blame Christianity for his extravagances, but attribute them to epilepsy, melancholia, or some other neurosis. And if this disorder has had the effect of making him more susceptible to religious feelings, we do not on that account condemn religion or Christianity as a doctrine tending to attract and develop neurotically violent tendencies, for he might have done the same things to other persons in the name of Atheism. But if there have been such neurotics connected with Anarchism, their acts were prompted by agents provocateurs employed by financiers or political schemers who had urgent interests to be subserved by a panic or a conservative reaction, and in far more instances the alleged “Anarchist Outrages” were either the direct work of such agents themselves, or sham affairs got up by advertising shopkeepers, etc. It would be said, why were the Anarchists chosen as scapegoats if not already identified with something of the kind. The reply is, that like all pioneers of reform-ideas, they were habitually treated as seditious conspirators, and were on this account made the chief victims in a bogus charge of seditious conspiracy directed against the labor movement, in fabricating which case a military bomb was thrown by a private-detective into the midst of a body of semi-private armed police as they charged, by his employer's orders, upon an orderly public indignation meeting, held to protest against previous high-handed brutalities of his said employer. That began all.

History of Dynamite Epidemic in future issues. — J. A. Andrews.

THE PHYSIOLOGICAL ARGUMENT FOR AUTHORITY REFUTED.

L'AUTONOMIE SELON LA
SCIENCE.

(De Lanessan.)

Suite—2me. Partie.

Il faut d'abord avoir bien soin de distinguer ce que l'on nomme *la vie* d'un animal pluricellulaire, de la vie réelle des différentes cellules qui entrent dans sa constitution..... Nous avons, par exemple, l'habitude de dire que la décapitation entraîne la mort instantanée de l'homme décapité. Cette manière de parler est erronée. Il est vrai que l'individu décapité, chien ou homme, ne peut plus agir comme il le faisait auparavant, mais aucune de ses parties, prises isolément, n'est morte; elles ont simplement perdu les relations qui sont indispensables à l'accomplissement de certains actes. La tête, le tronc, toutes les cellules de ces deux moitiés séparées jouissent encore, pendant un temps relativement assez long, de l'intégrité de toutes leurs propriétés. Nous avons déjà vu qu'on pouvait ranimer et la tête et le tronc. Cela tient à ce que toutes leurs cellules vivent encore. Qu'on examine, par exemple, une fibre musculaire; elle se contracte avec la même énergie qu'avant la décapitation, et sous l'influence des mêmes excitations. Les cellules nerveuses subissent encore les impressions qui leur sont transmises et les font parvenir par l'intermédiaire des cordons nerveux, aux cellules musculaires, etc..... Ce qui vit dans un Etat, ce n'est pas l'Etat, c'est chaque citoyen pris individuellement. De même, ce qui vit dans un animal pluricellulaire, dans un homme, ce n'est pas l'homme, ce sont les cellules qui le composent. Le moi de

AUTONOMY ACCORDING TO
SCIENCE.

(De Lanessan)

Continued—Part 2.

Good care must first be taken to distinguish what is called the *life* of a pluricellular animal from the real life of the different cells which enter into its constitution..... We are, for instance, in the habit of saying that beheading entails the instantaneous death of the man beheaded. This manner of speaking is erroneous. It is true that the individual beheaded, dog or man, can no longer act as he used to do before; but none of his parts, taken isolatively, is dead; they have simply lost the connections which are indispensable to the accomplishment of certain acts. The head, the trunk—all the cells of these two separated halves still enjoy, during a relatively long enough time, the integrality of all their properties. We have already seen that both the head and the trunk could be re-animated. That is only because all their cells are living yet. Let a muscular fibre, for instance, be examined; it contracts with the same energy as before the decapitation, and under the influence of the same stimuli. The nervous cells are still sensitive to the impressions which are transmitted to them, and cause them to reach the muscular cells by the medium of the nerve-cords; etc..... What lives in a State is not the State, it is each citizen taken individually. Similarly, what lives in a pluricellular animal—in a man—is not the man, it is the cells which compose him.

l'homme n'est qu'une entité métaphysique, ne répondant à rien de réel, au même titre que l'Etat, n'est qu'un vain mot quand il ne désigne pas un ou plusieurs citoyens exerçant une action dominatrice sur les autres membres de la société. Louis XIV, en disant: "l'Etat, c'est moi," exprimait un fait réel, car lui seul en France exerçait la puissance et le commandement, et tous les autres individus étaient ses sujets, ou pour mieux dire, ses esclaves; mais quand nos républicains autoritaires affirment qu'avec nos institutions actuelles, "l'Etat, c'est le peuple," ils font preuve d'une grossière ignorance ou d'une insigne mauvaise foi. Le peuple est en effet fatalement divisé en deux parties; l'une qui commande, c'est la "majorité," l'autre qui obéit, c'est la "minorité."

Cela nous amène à examiner la dernière proposition de M. Hæckel, et à nous demander si, comme il le prétend, le corps des animaux supérieurs est assimilable à une monarchie fortement centralisée. Certains faits semblent bien indiquer qu'une centralisation considérable existe dans le corps des animaux supérieurs. Lorsque, par exemple, on voit un animal être tué par la piqûre du plancher du 4^{me}. ventricule, dans le point que Flourens a nommé le *nœud vital*, on est tenté d'en conclure que cette partie du corps commande à toutes les autres; mais nous savons déjà qu'en réalité aucune partie de l'organisme n'est encore morte. La piqûre du 4^{me}. ventricule n'a eu d'autre effet que d'arrêter les mouvements respiratoires et par suite la respiration. Celle-ci étant indispensable à l'entretien de la vie, l'animal meurt, ou pour mieux dire les manifestations vitales de son ensemble s'arrêtent; puis, les éléments ana-

The ego of man is only a metaphysical entity and answers to nothing real, on the same principle as the State is only a vain word when it does not designate one or several citizens exercising a dominating action upon the other members of society. Louis XIV, in saying "I am the state," expressed a real fact, for he alone in France exercised power and command, and all the other individuals were his subjects, or it were better to say his slaves; but when our authoritarian republicans affirm that with our actual institutions "the State is the people," they give proof of a gross ignorance or of a signal bad faith. The people are, in point of fact, absolutely divided into two parts, the one which commands, that is, the "majority," and the other which obeys, that is, the "minority."

That leads us to examine Hæckel's last proposition and to ask ourselves if, as he puts forward, the body of the superior animals is likenable to a strongly centralised monarchy. Certain facts seem indeed to indicate that a considerable centralisation exists in the body of the superior animals. When, for example, one sees an animal killed, by the pricking of the coat of the 4th ventricle, in the point which Flourens has named the "vital knot," one is tempted to conclude from it that this part of the body commands all the others; but we know already that in reality no part of the organism is yet dead. The pricking of the 4th ventricle has had no other effect than to arrest the respiratory movements and in consequence respiration. This being indispensable to the maintenance of life, the animal dies, or rather, the vital manifestations of the ensemble of its organism are stopped; then, the anatomical elements of the di-

tomiques des diverses parties du corps ne recevant plus les matériaux nécessaires à leur nutrition, meurent réellement les unes après les autres. Chez les animaux qui respirent non seulement avec les poumons mais encore avec la peau, la piqure du nœud vital entraîne aussi l'arrêt des mouvements respiratoires, mais l'animal n'est pas tué; il continue à respirer par la peau, et peut vivre encore pendant un temps plus ou moins long; en hiver, les grenouilles vivent pendant plus d'un mois après la destruction du nœud vital..... Peut-on dire que le nœud vital soit assimilable à un monarque qui commande à tous ses sujets ou au gouvernement d'une république centralisée? En aucune façon. Le nœud vital peut, tout au plus, être assimilé à un pont par lequel passerait toutes les voies se rendant à une ville bâtie sur un îlot. Qu'on détruise le pont, la ville ne peut plus être nourrie, et ses habitants succombent les uns après les autres, après avoir consommé toutes les provisions qu'ils avaient accumulées.

De ce que l'intégrité du pont duquel je viens de parler est nécessaire à l'alimentation de la ville qu'il rattache au reste du monde, personne, évidemment, ne s'avisera de déduire que ce pont représente le centre social de la ville, et qu'il exerce une autorité quelconque sur les habitants.

vers parts no longer receiving the materials necessary to their nutrition, die really, one after another. Amongst the animals that breathe not only with the lungs but also with the skin, the pricking of the vital knot causes likewise the arrest of the respiratory movements, but the animal is not killed; it continues to breathe by the skin, and can continue to live for a greater or less length of time; in winter, frogs live for more than a month after the destruction of the vital knot..... Can we say that the vital knot is likenable to a monarch who commands all his subjects, or to the government of a centralized republic? In no wise. The vital knot may at most be likened to a bridge by which pass all the ways leading to a town built on an island. Destroy the bridge, the town can no longer be nourished; and its inhabitants succumb one after another, after having consumed all the provisions they had accumulated.

From the integrality of the bridge of which I have just spoken being necessary to the alimentation of the town which it joins to the rest of the world, nobody, evidently, would think of inferring that this bridge represents the social centre of the town and that it exercises any authority whatever upon the inhabitants.

[To be continued]

We cannot pay for food, rent, paper, ink, postage, etc., out of the sum of thirty shillings per issue, which was about the return upon our first number from the sales. We have not received the support we had every right to expect. Our Adelaide friends have done more than their share, and half the circulation was there. The other half was in Melbourne, and obtained mainly by myself and two or three personal sympathisers not at all identified with the opinions promulgated in REASON. Nobody anywhere else seems to have taken the slightest interest. I am trying the effect of 10,000 copies of enclosed sheet, arranged for with enormous difficulty; it would be much better if a lot of alleged sympathisers with the ideas would wake up and push the sale, if they can do no more. As it is, we shall have to get in money from Melbourne sales to pay postages to elsewhere.—J.A.A.

The great topic of the month has been the amending Factories Bill, now slaughtered by the Legislative Council. The present Government have shown a higher ethical conception than is usual with Governments; they have sought less to dictate than to represent; this bill in particular they certainly brought up with all honesty and sincerity of purpose, and kept it virtually under revision by the Trades Hall, the discussion societies, in short the whole body of those who not only approved the general idea of legislating on the subject, but had also some views as to the form this legislation should take. No legislative measure could have more accurately embodied the general opinion in this sense, and a handful of nominally elected, practically self-appointed plutocrats lawfully vetoed it.

But, after all, what was the bill? Pure nonsense; the voice of the people crying out against the effects of the competitive Property-System, whilst they were too ignorant, or too timid, or both, to assail the cause of these effects. A legislative proposal to prevent insanitary conditions from producing disease—leaving the insanitary conditions still there; instead of the people setting to work practically, and exercising and organising their personal efforts to abolish the insanitary conditions.

Furthermore in calling for this anti-sweating legislation the people confirm and sanction the principle which renders sweating possible and even inevitable. It is to recognise the right of some men to own the means of subsistence of the rest, to seek to impose conditions upon it; just as it was to sanction negro slavery, to make regulations for the treatment of the negroes by their masters.

Under the heading "The Pietist and the Proletariat" someone gives the CHAMPION, in its issue of 14th of march, a smart rap over the knuckles for its articles "boosting up and belauding" the various churches and peripatetic evangelists, "as if it were a popular penny daily with a circulation of 100,000." He asks "why it is that the CHAMPION dishes up to strong-brained, thinking men such poor mental pabulum as fricassé Church?"

Champion knows better than he performs, and so do some of the Fabians behind him. But—always at some point a commercial necessity creeps in, and Renan has somewhere remarked that "Philosophy does not suffice for the multitude. They must have sanctity." And to how many "strong-brained, thinking men" does the CHAMPION dish up fricasséed Church?

Capital is anything which a man does not use to satisfy his own needs with, and prohibits anybody else from using to satisfy his, except on the condition of paying tribute.

"While the principles advocated by philosophers were true," said then premier Duncan Gillies, in 1889, "it rested with statesmen as to when they should be applied." What we say is that it should rest with each person to apply them, and with nobody to forbid their being applied.

Gesetz ist mächtig, mächtiger
aber ist die Noth.

Law is mighty, but mightier is
Need.

Full freedom for the entire race to search, and know, and work in whatever direction inclination may urge or occasion invite, would seem to be now the most certain foundation of human progress.—Maudsley, in *The Pathology of Mind*.

It is futile to expect a hungry and squalid population to be anything but violent and gross.—Huxley.

Massachusetts, in its heroic day, had no government—was an anarchy. Every man stood on his own feet, was his own governor, and there was no breach of peace from Cape Cod to Mount Hoosac.—R. W. Emerson.

To see a truth occasionally is one thing; to recognise it habitually, and admit no propositions inconsistent with it, is another.—John Stuart Mill.

Beliefs rest for the most part on foundations which arguments cannot reach—on feelings, habits, prejudices, the bias of interests and of wishes and of fears, and they change without Reason when the substratum of feeling in which they are rooted changes. All history shows that revolutions of popular belief have not taken place gradually in consequence of the assaults of reason, but suddenly from no immediate help of reason, in consequence of a certain change of sentiment that has been insensibly brought about.—Maudsley, *Pathology of Mind*.

[Reason is however only a special mode of sensation, as is sentiment, and both respond to actual facts, with almost identical liabilities to error, except that reason being a sensory process operated in conjunction with what we call will, there is less chance of merely casual blunders.—Ed. R.]

Let our friends be not idle, but remember that in the war of opinions we all have to do our best to propagate ours.—W. R. Winspear.

In proportion as a belief enters the mind, it modifies sentiments and instincts by as much as they had been able to favor or obstruct its being accepted. It has been well said, faith is made manifest in works, and again, he who does not act as he thinks, thinks incompletely.

Any course of life, then, which persistently ignores the altruistic relations of an individual as a social unit.....initiates a degeneracy which may issue in actual mental derangement in his posterity.—Maudsley, *Pathology of Mind*.

Reaction is going back to a lower ground to pick up something which has been dropped, forgotten, left behind, in the progress of man. The condition of progress is that nothing shall be lost; the lower truth must be preserved in the higher truth, the lower life taken up into the higher life.—J. F. Clarke, in *Ten Great Religions*.

J. A. Andrews, printer and publisher, 4 Rule Street, Richmond, Victoria.

Reason

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF SOCIAL AND
GENERAL PHILOSOPHY.

PUBLICATIONS.

From Portland, Oregon, N. Pacific Slope, U.S.A., we have received a libertarian paper "The Firebrand," for the burning away of the cobwebs of ignorance and superstition." It is published weekly at fifty cents (2/1) per year, which would be about 5/- here including money exchange and postage. Can be ordered through us, or direct from P.O. Box 477, Portland, Oregon, U.S.A. Its perusal would benefit Australians.

Les Temps Nouveaux, libertarian weekly, similar in its general purpose to REASON, and contributed to by Kropotkin, Jean Grave, Elie Reclus, Elisée Reclus, Octave Mirbeau, &c., quarterly 4/-, half-yearly 7/-, yearly 12/-, through us, covering all expenses, or direct from 140, Rue Mouffétard, Paris, on receipt of P.O.O. for eight francs net for one year.

London Freedom, monthly, 2/- per year, from 7 Lamb's Conduit Street, London, W.C., England; or through us, 2/6.

If we get a few subscribers to the above we can reduce the local cost to published rates of subscription for transmission to outside the country where published. That depends on having regular arrangements.

On hand, a few remaining copies of Temple Mystic and Other Poems, by J. A. Andrews, slightly soiled, post free 1/-

"The Social Question Not A Class Question" has been stereotyped, and friends wishing to have copies for distribution, in the form of a four page leaflet, can be supplied at cost, 1/- per hundred, 7/6 per thousand.

Printed and published by J. A. Andrews, 4 Hule St., Richmond, Victoria.

Supplement to March Number of "Reason."

THE SOCIAL QUESTION NOT A "CLASS" QUESTION.

There are persons who see in the social problem, only that presented by a war of classes; there are malcontents and reformers who perceive nothing as a false principle in society except class domination and class servitude.

But the class domination and class servitude of to-day are not independent facts—not primary elements of the social constitution; they are evolved phenomena, produced from one fundamental error, namely the desertion of individualism, the substitution of rule for the free action of individual reason, in short the abnegation of freedom, and particularly in the economic field by that particular rule called Ownership, which, first substituting a catalogue of things sacred to this or that person, for the rational principle of respect for one's fellow-man's purposes, (whereby it implies that, contrary even to the possibility of itself being in good faith socially recognised, the normal relation of human beings to each other is one of the grossest avarice and rapacity) arrives at imposing a jealous and haggled exchange upon the distribution of natural resources, of products, of services, of the entire social wealth. This system has naturally created all the evils which it took for granted. In a Society cramped down upon lines of rigid mistrust and mutual hostile isolation, the efforts of individuals to secure their own position could only result in developing from the casual inequalities of advantage for the enforced struggle, a condition in which some were placed by rule at the mercy of others more favorably situated.

Hence the antipathy of Socialists to individualism; which should be against the conditions in which a, by these, mutilated remnant of individualism is restricted to operate.

If there were any real body with a distinct and positive interest in maintaining this state of things, there would be nothing for it but war, having for its object, on the one side the thorough and permanent subjection of herds of human cattle, on the other the slaughter and extermination of a race of vampires. Happily, the case is very different.

In the first place, there is nothing permanently identifying individuals, let alone families, with any class. Every day, someone previously wealthy sinks into commercial insignificance, into actual poverty. As continually, do we not see wage workers, stimulated by ambition or more often by the lack of wage employment, become the founders of small establishments which, especially in times of depression, nibble like swarms of rabbits at the custom of the larger houses? In vain that these latter seek to defend themselves by making prices less than cost; they may crush individual puny competitors by the dozen, but those who perish are replaced by more. Sooner or later, the giants fall, exhausted; and it will be found after a few years, that some of the small establishments have taken rank among large capitalistic concerns, while of the old houses that have been able to retain their importance the owners are new men, and the former owners either serving where they used to be masters, or conducting a powerless rivalry, on a diminutive scale. The children of the worker at a trade, or of the "unskilled" laborer, become clerks, his grandchildren merchants; and the offspring of the well-to-do stream down by thousands into the ranks of the proletariat, replenishing the incessant waste wrought by disease, the forced sterility of poverty, the hereditary degeneration of exhausted vitality, among the masses who have lacked power or opportunity to rise.

The landlord, the employer, the merchant, the financier, in following these avocations, occupy an immoral position; but the immorality is not, at the foundation, their own. The victims share in it—it is that of Society; of the System which everyone feels compelled to adhere to because every one else adheres to it. The exploiters themselves are driven slaves of the system. And, instead of plundering and oppressing the rest of society for their benefit, the System, having plundered and oppressed at large, turns upon them with all the fury of an appetite only whetted by devouring. Even the landlord, commonly regarded as of all exploiters the one who robs in most cowardly perfection of security, knows not but next year, next week! the closing of a factory, the extension of a railway, the reconstruction of a bank, the introduction of new machinery into a trade, will put a sudden end to his rents, and reduce him to poverty, it may be to beggary.

When we look at the immense productivity which science and invention have rendered possible with a minimum of labor, and, on the other hand, at the enormous amount of toil actually consumed, not in production, not in distribution, not in the organisation of demand and supply, but in the mere struggle for Ownership, in the task of struggling along each for himself on the lines imposed by social superstition and its resulting system—we cannot possibly escape the conclusion that the members of the "privileged classes" would, as simple producers intelligently associated for mutual supply, be able to procure all the real means of enjoyment which they can at present, and with no more exertion and less anxiety than they must now expend to secure them at the cost of their socially subjected brethren.

Actually, in the civilised world the families that live by performing the muscular or mental work of production, preservation and distribution as such, do not exceed one half of the population. The other portion, half or more, consists of families dependent in some way on the mere traffic in ownership. (By making allowance for the dual character of some occupations connected with commerce and management, anyone practically versed therein, and knowing how far they really subvert effective ministrations to the needs of the consumer, and how far they are concerned with restricting it to subserve the exigencies of a rigid property-system and the profit of a proprietor, will readily perceive how small a proportion of commercial labor termed distributive, for example, is so in reality.) Even of those classed as productive laborers, great numbers merely furnish the material implements of this traffic. Look, for instance, at the formidable army of workers of all grades, from miners and raggickers to engineers, type foundrymen, paper makers, carriers, chemists, artists, engravers, literary specialists, printers, whose labors are absorbed in the production of this only sum total, this marvellous addition to the world's wealth and happiness—endlessly varied in repetition, infinitely monotonous and inane in essence: behold!

Adding to these the producers of luxuries consumed only by the wealthy—producers who consume the products of the residuum of producers, but whose own products do not reciprocate to these latter—and taking into account the periods of enforced idleness endured by producers, who have to prepare all the supplies for themselves and their devourers for a whole year in much less than a full working year per head, we cannot be rash in computing that every family of social producers, besides its own maintenance for the time during which it is at work, is saddled with the maintenance of three families more for an equal period out of that same labor. In fact, an intelligent analysis of official statistics will go to show that this estimate is much below the reality.

Thus on the average each family has, at most, a fourth of what it could have away from the System. But if the wealth available weekly per family throughout a community is raised, say from that now represented by £2 10/- to that now represented by £10, the increase in comfort to any one of them will be many times greater than what would be represented by the present addition of £7 10/- to its own resources alone. For when means of enjoyment become plentiful, although at first this enables the private possession of what only a limited partial resort to could be had before, the smaller economy of utilisation is not only set off by the greater convenience, but there arise new economies in the process of production; and when they become still more plentiful, there is no inconvenience in their being used in common instead of further quantities being produced; so that ample energy is set free for attending to new gratifications, and each person is enabled to satisfy more needs than if the increase to him had not been accompanied by the increase to others. Besides, their prosperity benefits him by enabling him to find so many the more people possessed of the leisure, the means, and the culture to become his congenial associates. And it is then easy to obtain many gratifications by the cooperation of those intent on them, that an enormous fortune (i. e., an enormous command of other people's task-labor) alone could procure for a man isolated in a community of the over-worked, the poor, and the ignorant.

Hence, the alteration of the social constitution is requisite in the interest not of a class, but of all people.

From March number of REASON.

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PROBLEMS IN LOGIC.

Our Readers are invited to send in
logical solutions, which should be ex-
pressed as tersely as possible.

1. By induction from the facts of
individual existence it is established
that well-being requires each indi-
vidual to be free to live according to
his own initiative. By a like induction,
giving regard to the interdependence
of individuals, it is inferred that each
individual has the right, in his own
interest, of modifying the lives of the
rest. What is really indicated?

2. It is proved that every person
has, independently of anyone else, a
natural right (propriety of freedom)
to avail himself of any natural re-
sources whatever. Also, it is proved
that the resources capable of being
used by different individuals—other
things being equal—differ in favor-
ableness. Does this establish a speci-
fic collective ownership of natural
resources by the community against
the individual, or not?

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The following BOOKS, PERIODICALS, etc., may be ordered
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On hand, a few remaining copies of Temple Mystic and
Other Poems, by J. A. Andrews, slightly soiled, post
free 1/-

CURRENT NOTES.

Thoughtful people will hail with
pleasure the new monthly magazine,
REASON, of which the second number
is just making its appearance. This
publication, which is issued at the
very moderate price of threepence, is
devoted to the discussion of social
problems and general philosophy. It
is not called a Labor paper, for the
reason which the article reprinted on
the other page makes evident; but it
is no trimming preacher of compro-
mises. It maintains that in the vital
interest of all individuals, in what-
ever station in life, a radical change
in the constitution of society is most
urgently necessary; but it does not
see in the conventional socialism of
the day the reform required.

The current issue opens with an
exposure of the "much-advocated
"expert remedy" for the depression
—which is shown to mean only a
worse than futile attempt to shift
this disagreeable incubus on to other
people's shoulders, instead of des-
troying it. Next comes the article
reproduced on this sheet; then one
from Jean Grave, of Les Temps
Nouveaux, Paris, on Law-Worship
and Its Downfall; this is of excep-
tional interest, since Grave is at the
present time the central figure among
the European Anarchists, who, it is
necessary to inform the reader, have
no more intimate connection with
dynamiting than the Jews have with
boiling down Christian babies to get
their grease for purposes of sorcery.
Some explanations on this subject
occupy another part of the magazine,
by way of preface to a highly sensa-
tional exposé of the recent dynamite
scares in Australia and elsewhere,
to run through succeeding issues.

"A Victorian to Victorians," in
this issue of REASON, touches on the
Federation proposals, and points out
that for reasons not generally taken
cognizance of, they involve a serious
menace to public liberty, especially
for Victorians.

J. A. Andrews, now the publisher
of REASON, was twice imprisoned in
New South Wales (where the official
definition of freedom is "the power

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